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RAMAVARMA-YASOBHUSHANAM AND VASUMATI-KALYANAM.

BY A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A.

As is the case with almost all the branches of Indian culture, Sanskrit poetics was also developed with the analytical exactitude of a science, and there have been many works written on the several sub-divisions of this subject, giving clear rules on the art of good composition; and although this cut and dry standardisation acted sometimes as a drag on the genius of great poets, a close adherence to the rules, however, enabled even mediocre authors to achieve some success, or at any rate, to avoid the pitfalls of bad composition.

One such treatise of the fourteenth century is *Pratâparudrîya* or *Pratâparudra-yaśôbhûshaṇa*, which is familiar to students of Sanskrit literature as a work on Sanskrit poetics composed by the poet Vidyânâtha, who flourished in the court of Pratâparudra II (A.D. 1291–1322), the last great Kâkatîya sovereign of Warangal, and modelled on the lines of, but covering a wider range of subjects than, Bhâmaha's *Alaṅkâra,* Mammaṭa's *Kâvyaprakâśa* and Vidyâdhara's *Êkâvalî*. Its comprehensive character can be correctly gauged by a consideration of the subjects dealt with in the nine chapters into which it is divided, *viz.*, the Nâyaka, Kâvya, Nâṭaka, Rasa, Dôsha, Guṇa, Śabdâlaṅkâra, Arthâlaṅkâra and Miśrâlaṅkâra *prakaraṇas*. In addition to being thus a work of literary merit and an exhaustive treatise on poetics and rhetoric, *Pratâparudrîya* has, as it's name implies, this peculiarity, that the verses illustrative of the definitions and rules are of the author's own composition, wherein one or the other of Pratâparudra's merits, such as his prowess, bravery, generosity, beauty, etc., real or imaginary, are extolled with poetic embellishments. That such an achievement has been possible with the limited range of the attributes of a single hero, goes far to exhibit the high attainments of the author and the flexibility of the Sanskrit language when wielded by a master-hand.

Since the appearance of this work in the beginning of the fourteenth century, several other poets have emulated this model for glorifying their respective patrons; and among such compositions may be mentioned *Nañjarâja-yaśôbhûshaṇa*[1] of Narasiṁhakavi, *Âlaṅkâramañjûshâ*[1] of Purôhita Nâhanabhâi and *Śaṭavairi-vaibhava-divâkaram*[2] modelled after *Kuvalayânanda* of Appayya-Dîkshita. In Tamil, too, instances of this temptation to panegyrise the contemporary kings in the illustrative verses are not lacking; for, we find in the *Iṟaiyanâr-agapporuḷ-urai*[3] nearly 315 out of the 400 verses cited as illustrations are in praise of a certain Pâṇḍya king Neḍumâṟan, and in *Mâṟaṇalaṅkâram* the verses of the author's composition are all in glorification of Mâṟaṉ *alias* Nammâḻvâr, the great Vaishṇava Saint

1 Introduction to *Pratâparudrîya* (Allahabad Edition).

2 Introduction to *Mâṟaṇalaṅkâram* (Madura Edition).

3 In *ante*, vol. XXXVII, p. 193.

of Tirukkurukûr. But none of these works, either in Sanskrit or in Tamil, is so comprehensive in its contents or so completely independent of extraneous help for its rules and their illustrations as *Pratâparudrîya.*

In the Trivandrum Palace Library there is a manuscript entitled *Râmavarma-yaśô-bhûshaṇa,* which, on examination, proved to be an exact reproduction of *Pratâparudrîya* with regard to the rules, definitions and their explanatory notes classified under the same nine chapters detailed above, but with the illustrative verses composed, agreeably to its title, in praise of the Travancore king Râma-Kulaśêkhara-Vañchipâla. The author of this work is said to be a certain Sadaśiva-makhin,[4] son of Chokkanâthâdhvarin ; but further details about his pedigree are not available here. A drama written by this author in the reign of the same king and called *Lakshmî-kalyâṇam*[5] contains the statement that he belonged to the Bhâradvâja-gôtra and that his mother's name was Mînâkshî ; but the village wherefrom he hailed still remains undetermined. We know of three different persons of the name of Chokkanâtha, who lived at the end of the seventeenth century :—*viz.*, (1) the son of Tippâdhvarin who composed his drama called *Sêvantikâ-pariṇayam*[6] at the request of king Basava-kshitîndra, who may perhaps be identified with Ikkêri Basavappa Nâyaka (1691–1714) or with Basavarâjêndra (A.D. 1700) ; (2) the learned commentator[7] of the *Yudhi-shṭhiravijaya,* who was the son of Sudarśana-bhaṭṭa of the Bhâradvâja-gôtra, Chhandôga-pravara and a native of Śâttanûr near Śrîraṅgam, and (3) the preceptor and father-in-law of Râmabhadra-Dîkshita (1693) and the author of *Śabdakaumudi* and *Bhâsyaratnâvalî.*[8] Of these, No. 3 may be eliminated from the list, as he was of the Saunaka-gôtra and cannot therefore have been the father of our author Sadâśiva of the Bhâradvâja-gôtra ; and of the other two, both of whom were of the latter *gôtra,* No. 1 may be the fifth son of Tippâdhvarin (a Telugu brahman) and the author of *Kântimatî-pariṇaya-nâṭaka* and *Rasavilâsa-bhâṇa,*[9] but it is not known if he had a wife named Mînâkshî. As regards No. 2 he has mentioned at the end of his commentary that it was completed in the year[7] Vikrama, Nabhas (Śrâvaṇa) month, Monday, Rêvatî, *ba.*, *tritîyâ,* and as these details seem to be correct for A.D. 1760, August 29, he may be *tentatively* considered as the father of Sadâśiva, until other confirmatory evidence becomes available.

Unlike *Pratâparudrîya,* which has furnished many interesting tit-bits of historical information about its Kâkatîya hero that have since been verified by epigraphical researches, the 'Adornment of the glory of Râmavarman' is a composition of purely literary

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4 चोक्कनाथाध्वरिसुतस्सर्वविद्याविशारदः । सदाशिवमखी सोऽयं प्रबन्धा भावुकामणीः ॥
सोयं सदाशिवकृतिर्मधुरोक्तिबन्धा सालङ्कृतिस्सरसभावनिरूपणोक्ता ।
कान्तं समिच्छति वधूरिव वञ्चिबालश्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरसार्वभौमम् ॥

5 अस्ति खलु भारद्वाजकुलकलशजलधिहिमकरस्य सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रस्य चोक्कनाथयज्वनः तनूजस्य
मीनाक्षीगर्भशुक्तिमुक्तामणेः सदाशिवयज्वनः कृतिः अभिनवं लक्ष्मीकल्याणं नाम नाटकम् ।

6 तिप्पाध्वरीन्द्रतनयो ननु चोक्कनाथनामा विपश्चिदयमद्भुतनाटकेन । (and *QJMS.*, Vol. X, pages 257-8).
सन्तोष्य सद्गुणनिधिं बसवक्षितीन्द्रं लब्धाधिकां बहुमतिं स्वपुरं प्रयातः ॥

7 This commentary in manuscript is in the Trivandrum Palace Library, and at its end is found the following :—

इति श्रीभारद्वाजकुलतिलक छन्दोगप्रवर श्रीसुदर्शनभट्टात्मजेन...हस्तिगिरिशिष्येण शात्तनूरग्रामवासिना चोक्कनाथेन विरचिता ॥

विक्रमाब्दे नभोमासि रेवतीसोमवासरे ।
कृष्णपक्षतृतीयायां व्याख्यैषा पूर्तिमेयुषी ॥

8 In *ante*, vol. XXXIII, page 126.

9 *Ibid.*, page 130.

merit; for its author, evidently an East Coast Brahman, whose knowledge of or interest in the history of Travancore in those troublous times could never have been great, has failed to give an historical setting to his panegyrical verses, and has only revelled in the usual stereotyped but commendable descriptions, similitudes and imagery. If this should be so in the case of an author who flourished only a century and a half ago, there is nothing to wonder at in the paucity of historical material in the compositions of many of our earlier Sanskrit poets, with but a few honourable exceptions. The criticism that the average Indian author is lacking in the historical instinct can hardly be regarded as undeserved.

The few points worthy of attention in this work may now be noted. That the hero of the work is none other than the nephew of Mârttâṇḍavarman, the Great—the illustrious Râma-Kulaśêkhara-Vañchipâla of the Solar race, who ascended the throne in Kollam 934 (A.D. 1759) and had a long eventful reign of 40 years till Kollam 974 (A.D. 1799), is understood from a verse,[10] which records, with a *double entendre*, that after Mârttâṇḍa (the king, the sun) had set, Râjâ (king Râmavarman, the moon) ascended the Udayagiri (Udayagiri hill near Padmanâbhapuram, the eastern hill). One item of new information furnished by this book is that Râmavarman was the son of a queen called Pârvatî [11], and it follows therefore that the princess of the Koḷattunâḍ family, who was adopted by Uṇṇi-Kêraḷavarman[12] in Kollam 893 (A.D. 1718), had this name or got it on adoption, Lakshmî and Pârvatî being alternately the names borne by the Râṇis of Travancore. The fact that the king has been compared to god Subrahmaṇya[11] may also contain the additional reference to his natal star being the Kṛttigai-nakshatra. He must have had more than two brothers, for they are referred to in the plural number as '*sagarbhyâh*,[13] and are cited as types of *Dhîralaḷita*-heroes, spending their time in their mansions in amorous dalliance; but we know of only one brother Ravivarman[14] (probably the Makhayiram-tirunâḷ of the Genealogical Table[15]), who was present at the time of the dedication of the Travancore State to the god Padmanâbha, the tutelary deity. The munificence[16] and charitable disposition,

10 सतां मार्गे स्थित्वा सकलशुभमाधाय जगतां
विपक्षक्षोणीभृत्तिमिरहरतेजस्विनि विधेः।
गतेऽस्तं मार्त्तण्डे विधुरिव जनानन्दजनकः
कलासिन्धू राजाद्युदयमधिरूढो विजयते ॥

11 पार्वत्यास्सुकृतोदयेन जगतीक्षेमाय सद्वृद्धये
दुष्टानामिह शिक्षणाय सपुनः स्कन्दस्सुरैः प्रार्थितः।
भूत्वा वञ्चिधराधिपः प्रथितया शक्त्या रिपून् शिक्षयन्
सुब्रह्मण्यपदं व्यनक्ति भुवने श्रीरामवर्मा नृपः ॥

12 *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I, page 324.

13 सौधाग्रोदितरत्नदीपकलिकाव्याजार्कबिम्बोदय-
व्याक्षिप्तेन्दुभयप्रदानचतुरस्त्रीयास्यचन्द्रोदयैः।
गायद्भिर्निजयौवतैः प्रतिनिशं सक्तास्सगर्भ्या नृपा
वञ्चिक्षोणिपतेर्निरन्तरयशस्संप्रार्थयन्ते मुदा ॥

14 *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. IV, page 110 n., quoting :—

तदनुज रविवर्मा भागिनेयः स्वनामा
स्वयमपि सतु वञ्चिक्ष्मापतिश्चैकभावाः।
सकलभुवनभारं पद्मनाभाय दत्वा
मनुपतिकुलभूपे स्वामिभृत्यस्वभावः ॥—*Bâlarâmabharatam*.

15 *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I, page 333.

16 विद्वद्रजानापि निरङ्कुशवर्त्तिनस्त्वै-
रुद्दामगुणैः कनकशृङ्खलिकानुबन्धान्।
कृत्वावासि प्रतिपदं ननु वञ्चिबाल-
श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखर सार्वभौमः ॥

prowess,[17] literary accomplishments[18] and other incomparable[19] qualities of this sovereign have the contemporary testimony of the author in some of the verses occurring in the work, and these attributes go to justify the names of *Dharmarâjâ* and *Kiḻavanrâjâ*, by which he was lovingly remembered by his subjects, and to confirm the ideal picture drawn of him in the pages of the *Travancore State Manual.*[20] It is a pity that no reference has been made to any of the stirring political events of those times, as probably the work was composed early in the King's reign.

The plot of the model drama called *Vasulakshmî-kalyâṇam* inserted in the *Nâṭaka-prakaraṇa* or the third chapter of the book is as follows :—

The king of distant Sindhu had a daughter named Vasulakshmî and had set his heart on marrying her to the king of Travancore, Bâlarâma-Kulaśêkhara, whose accomplishments were much noised abroad. But the queen, who had another bridegroom in view in the person of her nephew, the prince of Siṁhaḷa, started her daughter on a voyage ostensibly with the intention of visiting a famous temple, while the proposed destination was in reality Ceylon. Providence, however, upset the queen's calculations and the royal barge was stranded on that part of the Travancore shore which was in the jurisdiction of the frontier-captain (*antadurgapâla)* Vasumadrâjâ, the brother of Râmavarman's consort, Vasumatî. The shipwrecked princess was then sent by this captain to his sister at the capital, where her beauty at once captivated the pliable heart of king Râmavarman, the hero of the drama. The usual love intrigues culminate in a clandestine meeting of the lovers in the Palace garden and the jealous senior then attempts to dispose of her rival by marriage to her cousin, the Pâṇḍya king. But this scheme is frustrated by the king and his accomplice, the inevitable Vidûshaka, who in the disguise of the Pâṇḍya king and his friend receive the bride. In the meantime, the Sindhurâjâ learns the whereabouts of his missing daughter through Nîtisâgara, the Travancore minister, and coming to Travancore with a large escort, confirms the betrothal of king Râmavarman with Vasulakshmî, which happily proved agreeable to his own inclinations.

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17 त्रैलोक्यप्रथमानभास्करकुलक्षीराब्धिराकाशशी
प्रत्यर्थिक्षितिपालमौलिमणिभिर्नीराजिताङ्घ्रिर्मुहुः ।
दिक्कान्ताकुचकुम्भचन्दनरसोन्मीलद्यशोमण्डलः
राज्यश्रीसमलङ्कृतो विजयते श्रीरामवर्मा नृपः ॥

18 यदृच्छासल्लापैस्समधिगतषट्तन्त्रविभवै-
श्चमत्कुर्वन् धीरान् सदसि रसभावप्रकटनैः ।
कवीन्धिन्वन् गानक्रमविवरणाद्गायकवरान्
परिष्कुर्वन्वञ्चिक्षितिपतिलकोऽयं विजयते ॥

The King was himself the author of the following works : *Râjasûyam, Subhadrâharaṇam, Gandharva-vijayam, Pâñchâlîsvayamvaram, Kalyâṇasaugandhikam* and *Bâlarâmabharatam.*

19 स एव देवो भुवनेऽब्जनाभः स एव देशस्तदुपाहिताब्धिः ।
सानन्तपुर्येव पुरी स वञ्चिक्षितीश एव क्षितिपालकोऽद्रि ॥

20 *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I, pp. 407 *et seq.* and *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. IV, part 1. In this connection, the tribute of praise rendered him by his nephew, Sri Râmavarma Vañchiyuvarâja of the Aśvati-nakshatra (1755–87) in his *Rukmiṇîpariṇayam* is worth noting:

" अस्ति निखिलखलहृदयनिचक्रन्यमानशोकशल्यस्य शल्यस्येव धर्मजातबद्धचेतसः प्रचेतस इव पार्श्वपरि-भ्राजमानवाहिनीतहवस्य सहस्रदीधितेरिवोन्मुखपद्माकरगृहीतपादपल्लवस्य वैनतेयस्येव भृशमहितापदानवतः कार्ति-केयस्येवाप्रतिहतशक्तेराकण्डलस्येव प्रकटितशतकोटिदानविस्मयस्य सकलपरिपन्थिमण्डलात्ययाविश्रान्तचापकर्मणोऽपि सकलदिगन्तश्रूयमाणगुरुगणध्वनेः पार्थिवप्रधानस्यापि गुणमयस्य राज्ञः श्रीपद्मनाभदासवञ्चिपालकुलशेखररामवर्मणः "

This, in short, is a summary of the five-act drama purged of all the extraneous matter that had of necessity to be introduced to illustrate the several rules and definitions of dramaturgy and the long drawn love-scenes dictated by the conventional canons of literary tradition. It is not known if there is any inner significance underlying the story of Vasulakshmî's parentage in far-off Sindhu, her shipwreck on the Travancore shores *en route* to Ceylon, and her marriage with Râmavarman to the discomfiture of the two other rivals in the field, the princes respectively of Siṁhaḷa and Pâṇḍya. In the present state of our ignorance about the royal household of king Râmavarman, we can only say that this love-episode is a mere creation of the poet's imagination and the combined result of an anxiety on his part to flatter his patron and to compose a work in the accepted style, in conformity with the orthodox literary rules. The names given by the author to the important *dramatis personae* are very misleading and, except the name of the king, there is none other answering, so far as we know, to those of contemporary historical personages. The minister bears the professionally significant name of Nîtisâgara, while the coast-captain is a Vasumadrâjâ, his sister is a Vasumatî, and the Sindhu princess is a Vasulakshmî, all these three being derived from the word *Vasu* (= wealth). The suggestion therefore offers itself whether the author wanted to glorify in allegory some of the king's and his uncle's conquests[21] and annexations near by, though not in Sindh, or whether a merchantman laden with cargo from Sindh and bound for Ceylon, which was perhaps stranded on the Travancore shores owing to the inclemency of the weather, was overhauled as prize by the Travancore coasting garrison and sent as salvage to the king at his capital.[22]

There is again in the same Library an extremely ill-copied manuscript of another five-act drama called by the same title of *Vasulakshmî-kalyâṇam*, which is stated to have been composed in the year Viśvâvasu[23], without any indication, however, of its equivalent in the Śaka or the Kollam era ; but as Kollam 960 (A.D. 1785), the twenty-sixth year of reign of Râmavarman, was also the cyclic year Viśvâvasu, that year may be taken to be the date of composition of this drama. Its hero is the same illustrious king of Travancore[24] and its author, who is different from Sadâśiva, the composer of the other drama inserted into the *Yaśôbhûshaṇam*, is a certain Veṅkaṭasubrahmaṇyâdhvarîṇ[25] of the famous family

21 *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I, pp. 333 *et seq.*

22 There is (however, no) reference to such an incident in the *Travancore State Manual.*

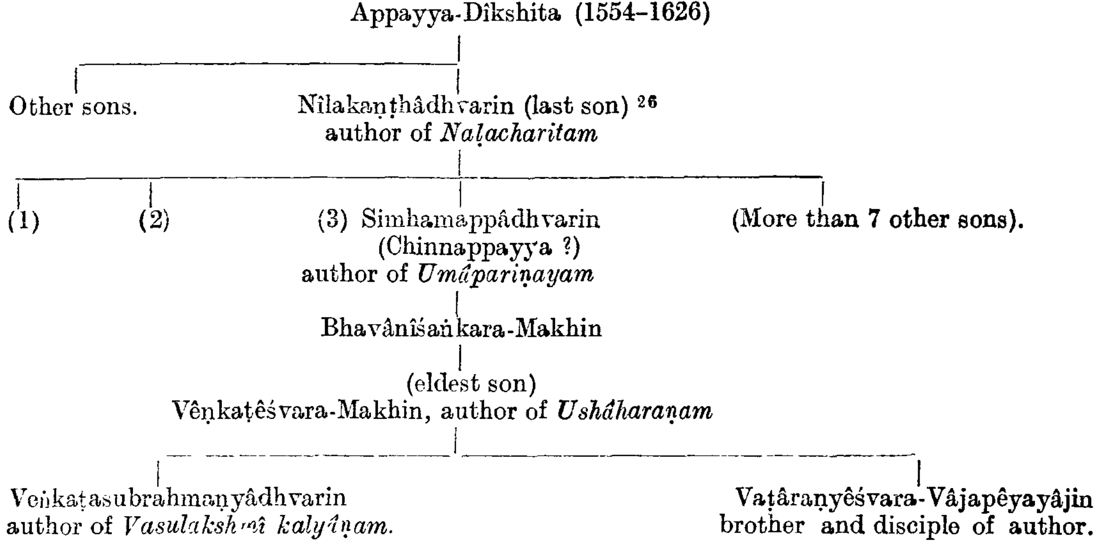
23 The mere names of the year विश्वावसु and वसन्तर्तु are mentioned at the end, without any other astronomical details or the year in any of the eras, Kali, Śaka or Kollam.

24 तदामुष्यायणस्यास्य प्रबन्धे विशिष्य पुण्यमहाराजरामवर्मकुलशेखरचरितानुबन्धे कुतो नमे भूयाना-
दरातिशयः स्यात् ।

25 अप्पय्याध्वरिणस्सुतेष्व(षु) चरम श्री[नील]कण्ठाध्वरी
तत्पुत्रेषु दशाधिकेष्वपि तृतीयस्त्विह्मप्पाध्वरी ।
तस्माच्चापि भवानीशङ्करमखी ज्येष्ठो गुणैरावभूत्
तस्यैकोऽजनि वेङ्कटेश्वरमखी यस्याद्यसूनुः कविः ॥
विद्वत्कुलगुर्वप्पय्यमखिनां वंशो महोन्नतो जीयात् ।
वेङ्कटसुब्रह्मण्याध्वरिकविविद्न्मणिर्यतोह्युदभूत् ॥

इत एवाधीतनिगमादिसर्वविद्यः दिगन्तविदितनिजवैखरीविभवविचासितविमतवादिगजकेसरी वटारण्येश्वर-
वाजपेययाजीत्यभिज्ञायते ।

of Appayya-Dîkshita (1553–1626) of Aḍaiyyappalam, whose genealogy is traced in the *prasthâvanâ* of the drama in the following manner :—



The plot of this drama, though similar in all essential particulars to that of the model drama noticed above, has been amplified in some details ; but it is also unfortunately devoid of any 'specific' historical interest, except that the marriage of the princess of Sindh with Râmavarman is stated to have been a diplomatic alliance, calculated to raise him to the status of a Sârvabhauma through the augmented friendship of the Hûṇarâjâ[27] (the Hon'ble East India Company ?). There is no reference at all to the attempted invasion of Travancore by Haidar 'Ali (A.D. 1769), or to the anxious political outlook of the country with the incubus of an impending foreign invasion looming to the north of the Travancore Lines, or even to the Mahârâja's grand pilgrimage to Râmêśvaram, which was undertaken in A.D. 1784[28] just a year previous to the date of compilation of the drama. Instead, the author has given the usual conventional setting to the whole plot, which makes it difficult to discover whether, if at all, any allegorical significance has to be read between the lines. With the exception of king Râmavarman, the hero, all the other important characters of the drama are given fictitious names coined from the same Sanskrit word '*vasu*,' as can be seen from the appended list.

Buddhisâgara—Travancore minister, Vasusêna—Commander, Vasumatî—the consort of the Travancore Mahârâja, Vasumân—the consort's brother and frontier-captain, Vasuvarman—Chêra prince, Vasunidhi—Sindhurâja, Vasurâśi—his son, and Vasulakshmî—the Sindhu princess. The story of this drama is briefly as follows :—

The minister Buddhisâgara, who has seen the portrait of Vasulakshmî, the Sindhu princess, is anxious that the king of Travancore should marry her, so that the latter's political

26 This name is incorrectly mentioned as Śrîkaṇṭha in the *śloka*, but it ought to be Nîlakaṇṭha: compare also अस्य कवेः पूर्विकाः श्रीमदप्पय्याध्वरितनुच्छन्नस्य भगवतश्चन्द्रमौलेरंशभूताः नीलकण्ठमखिचिन्नप्पय्याध्वरिवेङ्कटेश्वरमखिप्रभाकरदीक्षितप्रभृतयः षड्दर्शनीवल्लभाऽपि नळचरितोमापरिणयोषाहरणहरिश्चन्द्रानन्दप्रभृतिभिरपरिमितैर्नाटकादिप्रबन्धैरुपक्रमादेव, etc. The genealogy of Nîlakaṇṭha, the author of *Naḷavilâsa* as given on page 121 of Vol. XI of the *Mythic Society's Journal* requires revision.

27 परीक्ष्य लक्षणज्ञाता दैवज्ञानां मुखात्स्वयं ।
निश्चैषीद्विवाहुस्तां सार्वभौमत्वलम्भिकाम् ॥

28 *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I, page 384.

influence may extend northwards and his friendship with the Hûṇarâjâ may also be strengthened. When news is received that the Sindhu princess is voyaging to Ceylon, the minister manages to waylay this ship in Travancore waters with the active cooperation of the Hûṇa fleet, and Vasumân, the officer in command of the sea-coast who was also the brother of the Travancore king's consort, sends the captive princess to the royal Palace. There the king falls in love with her and manages to meet her in the royal pleasure gardens, to the intense chagrin of Vasumatî, who tries to marry her rival to the Chêra prince Vasuvarman and thus remove the unwelcome competitor out of the way. This plot fails, as in the other drama, by the counter-machinations of the king and his Vidûshaka, who successfully personate the Chêra prince and his boon-companion. By the artful scheming of the minister, coupled with the influence of her brother, Vasumatî is, however, finally won over to consent to the marriage of Vasulakshmî with her own husband, and Vasurâśi, the Sindhu prince instructed by minister Buddhisâgara, comes post-haste from his country to celebrate his sister's marriage with the Travancore king. By this alliance, it is stated, the friendship of both the parties with the Hûṇarâja [29] was strengthened and the influence of the Travancore king was visibly enhanced.

It will be seen from the above summary that the thread of the story is the same as that of the other drama of the same name and that the difference is only in the names of the characters. The only new point here is the introduction of the Hûṇarâjâ as the third party in the alliance ; but unluckily no definite clue to the identification of this foreigner is forthcoming in the drama. In all probability, however, the allusion may fitly be to the Hon'ble East India Company, which has been described [29] as, and was in fact a fast rising power in the political horizon of India, whose help and goodwill were much coveted and sought after by the Indian princes of that period. From the *Travancore State Manual*,[30] it is learnt that 'the port of Alleppey was opened out for commerce in the reign of this king (Râmavarman) much to the detriment of the Dutch trade' and that great facilities were afforded to certain wealthy merchants of Sindh and Cutch to colonise at that port, so as to assure the commercial prosperity of the State. In the drama again Sindhurâjâ is mentioned as the friend of Râmavarman's uncle,[31] Mârttâṇḍavarman, and although the province of Sindh [32] is located in northern India, with the country of Kachchha in its vicinity, we are led to think that the references in the drama are not to the northern provinces of Sindh and Cutch as such, but to certain merchants of these countries, who were generally carrying on a brisk trade along the West Coast down to Ceylon, and whose settlement at the new port of Alleppey was the happy achievement of king Râmavarman. When the Dutch trade was thus undermined, the Hon'ble East India Company, which had only a few decades before got a slippery footing at Anjengo and Vilijnam, was now enabled to have a more secure commercial as well as political base of operations on the West Coast, and with the establishment of good relations between the Travancore king and the northern merchant-princes of Sindh and

29 तदनेन तीर्थेन हिमवत्पश्चिमानूपवासिनोऽपि भरतवर्षमात्राध्यापिनः हूणराजस्य चिरप्रवृत्तमपि सख्यं देवेन बहुळीभविष्यतीतिमन्ये ।

30 Vol. I, p. 372.

31 अस्मन्मातुलबालमित्रमसकृत्कर्णान्तरङ्गीकृतः
योधीति धनुरागमेषु सहतैः तुल्यश्च बाह्वोर्बले ।

32 सिन्धोरुत्तरकच्छभूमिमवधीकृत्य हिमाद्रेः क्षितिं
रक्षन्दिक्पातिसन्निभो वसुनिधिः ख्यातप्रभावः क्षितौ ॥

Cutch, it also rapidly strengthened its influence and extended its sphere of activity further in the north. This appears to be a plausible interpretation of the story of *Vasulakshmî-kalyâṇam*, in the absence of other evidence to connote an actual marriage of the king with a Sindhu princess called Vasulakshmî. Her name, which means literally the 'Goddess of Wealth', may aptly do duty for a personification of the anticipated commercial prosperity of the State consequent on the new colonisation by the northern merchants, whose introduction into the country and the grant of special privileges to whom were, however, first viewed with disfavour and jealousy by the conservative 'natives of the soil', as personified in the legal consort Vasumatî (the Earth), until their prejudice was tided over by proper arguments adduced by the able minister; while Vasumân, the *vêlâdurgapâla* (the port-officer ?), who was also convinced of the advantages that would accrue to the State by Vasulakshmî's marriage (increased commercial activity), heartily sided with the minister in his endeavours to win over Vasumatî's consent.

If the above significance was really intended by the author of the drama, he could have better achieved his purpose by a more direct treatment of the subject, which though it would have robbed him of opportunities for much sentimental rhapsody, would however have enhanced the value of his work with its quasi-historical associations. Or, if it was considered that a drama could not endure without the enlivening pigment of love, some manly historical theme connected with the great king's public life, touched up here and there with the poetic brush of imagination, could equally well have furnished the author with the necessary outlines for ardent colouring; but instead both the authors have pitched upon the marriage of a hypothetical Sindhu princess for their plots! All the same, the dramas under reference are good productions so far as their literary side is concerned, and the second author, true to his pedigree from the great Advaitin Appayya-Dîkshita, has managed to give a philosophical twist to some of the mundane experiences of love.

I am indebted to Pandit V. Srinivasa Sastriar for bringing to my notice the existence of the two manuscripts in the Palace Library and for reading out the works from the ill-written *cadjan*; he has also helped me with some references.

VASUBANDHU OR SUBANDHU.[1]

(*A Glimpse into the Literary History of the Mauryan Age.*)

BY A. RANGASWAMI SARASWATI, B.A.

THE relation of the life of the famous Buddhist philosopher Vasubandhu to the history of the Gupta Empire forms an important landmark in the literary history of India. Paramârtha, a famous Buddhist author of the sixth century and the author of a biography of Vasubandhu, states that Vikramâditya of Ajodhya, who at first was a liberal patron of the Sâṅkhya philosophy, was induced by the eloquence of the celebrated Vasubandhu to turn a favourable ear to the teachings of Buddhism and to patronise its professors with equal liberality. His queen and the prince Balâditya, who later on succeeded to the throne, both became disciples of Vasubandhu, and Balâditya after his accession continued his favours to the Buddhist sage. The famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsang also gives a variant form of the story, describing the king as Vikramâditya of Srâvasti. This information about the life of Vasubandhu is augmented from an unexpected source. The ancient work on Alaṅkâra, written in the form of aphorisms (*sûtras*) by Vâmana, who also composed a gloss upon it, cites a half-verse wherein Vasubandhu appears to be referred to. This was first

1 This paper was first prepared in the year 1921 and read before the Second Oriental Conference in January, 1922.

brought to the notice of scholars by Prof. Pathak. The half-verse is followed by a short gloss by the author in explanation of the same. The half-verse and the gloss are given below.[2] It occurs under the *sûtra* defining *Ôjas*.

The translation of the hemistich would run thus, "This very son of Chandragupta, the young Chandraprakâśa, the patron of men of letters, fortunate in the success of his efforts, has now (*samprati*) become king." The author explains the passage further in the gloss of the *sûtra*, that the phrase, "Patron of men of letters" is an instance of "allusion," containing a reference to the ministership (*sâchivya*) of Vasubandhu.

This reading of the passage and the comment thereon were first challenged by Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasada Sastri, who said that the correct reading of the passage should be *cha Subandhu* in the place of Vasubandhu, and maintained that most of the manuscripts of Vâmana's work examined, had the reading Subandhu. He thought that the passage contained a reference to Subandhu, the author of the Sanskrit romance *Vâsavadatta*. He also raised the objection that Vasubandhu, who was a famous orthodox Buddhist Bhikshu, would not have accepted the office of minister under a sovereign. He took Chandraprakâśa in the passage to be the name of Chandragupta's son, and suggested that the emperor Chandragupta II had two sons, Chandraprakâśa and Kumâragupta, and that upon the death of Chandragupta II, a civil war broke out between the two brothers, in which, however, Chandraprakâśa was worsted and Kumâragupta was successful.

This interpretation of the passage was objected to by Dr. Hoernle, who thought that the correct reading was Vasubandhu and not Subandhu. He answered Mah. H. P. Sastri's objection that a Buddhist monk would not accept office, by saying that the word "*sâchivya*" which occurs in the passage may simply mean companionship or friendship. He took the word Chandraprakâśa as the name of Chandragupta's son. But unlike the Sastri, he does not deduce out of the passage a civil war, which broke out on the death of Chandragupta II between his two sons. He says, "Is it not much simpler to suppose that Chandragupta II's son was known as Chandraprakâśa. before he assumed the regnal title Kumâragupta upon his accession to the throne.

Mr. R. Narasimhacharya of Mysore (*ante*, Vol. XL), referring to the same passage, says that his examination of various manuscripts of Vâmana's *sûtras* showed that the correct reading of the disputed portion of the passage was *cha Subandhu* and not Vasubandhu. He says "in the well known tenth verse of *Vâsavadattâ*, Subandhu mourns the death of Vikramâditya, *i.e.*, Chandragupta II, who was apparently his patron. There is nothing unreasonable in supposing that he became the minister of Chandragupta's son, Kumâragupta." It might be urged against this supposition that Subandhu, who mentions Udyôtakâra, and according to some manuscripts, Dharmakîrti's works, could not have been a contemporary of Kumâragupta, who lived in the first half of the fifth century. But according to him, this does not raise any difficulty about the chronology, since the dates of the Udyôtakâra and Dharmakîrti have not been settled. He thought that the half verse occurring in Vâmana's work is a quotation from the introductory portion of some drama, giving the Sûtradhâra's words.

Again Prof. K. B. Pathak wrote in *ante*, Vol. XL, 1911, p. 170, "Kumâragupta, son of Chandragupta II, is alluded to by Vâmana, as a patron of the Buddhist author, Vasubandhu." Vasubandhu was according to him the contemporary of three successive Gupta sovereigns,

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2 साभिप्रायत्वं यथा—
सोऽयं संप्रति **चन्द्रगुप्ततनय**श्चन्द्रप्रकाशो युवा
जातोभूपतिराश्रयः कृतधियां दिष्टयाकृतार्थश्रमः ।
आश्रयः कृतधियामित्यस्य **वसुबन्ध** साचिव्या पक्षप परत्वात्साभिप्रायत्वं ॥

namely Kumâragupta, Skandagupta and Balâditya, and the interesting half-verse quoted by Vâmana was taken from some lost *Guptavaṁśamahâkâvya*, in which the name of Vasubandhu is directly mentioned, or which was composed by Vasubandhu himself, to congratulate Kumâragupta on his accession to the throne, as the word "*samprati*," in the verse shows; and he gives expression to the hope that the work may be discovered one of these days and shed fresh light upon Gupta history.

Again Mah. H. P. Sastri (*ante*, Vol. XLI, 1912, p. 15) writes that his study of Subandhu's *Vâsavadattâ*, added weight to his belief that the reading Subandhu in Vâmana's hemistich is correct. Subandhu appears, according to him, to mention Chandraprakâśa in his work in the *śliṣṭa* form of the word *Himakarôdyôta* in the fifth verse. (*Himakarôdyôta* and Chandraprakâśa mean the same thing.) He reiterates the belief that Chandraprakâśa is a proper name. In the sixth verse Subandhu is very bitter against Khalas, the wicked, who are more wicked than serpents. In the seventh he compares the wicked with owls. In the eighth he is again hard on the wicked. The word *Śaśiruk* in this verse again means Chandraprakâśa, and he complains that the commentator who did not know history does not note the point.

The tenth verse is well known throughout India, and is in the mouth of every Pandit. It says that, "on the death of Vikramâditya, love of art and poetry are gone." "Upstarts are flourishing and everybody's hand is on his neighbour's throat." "What does this mean," he questions, "unless it means a revolution, in which the author did not fare well on the death of Chandragupta Vikramaditya. Read the hemistich with the prefatory verses of *Vâsavadatta*[3] and the inference is irresistible that the changes of the times were ruinous to Subandhu and his party."

Simultaneously with Mah. H. P. Sastri, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*ante*, Vol. XLI, 1912, pp. 1 and 2) gave it as his opinion that Vasubandhu represents the original reading. His conclusion will best be expressed in his own words. "All things considered, Gôvindagupta appears to be the Chandraguptanaya (son of Chandragupta) alluded in the verse quoted by Vâmana, and also the Balâditya, son of Vikramâditya (Chandragupta II), mentioned by Paramârtha." Gôvindagupta Balâditya has to be placed, according to him, between A.D. 411 and 414. He says that Balâditya may have been ousted by his brother Kumâragupta, or he might have died a natural death and without an heir.

[3] सजयति हिमकर लेखाचकास्ति यस्यो मयोत्कया निहिना ।
नयनप्रदीपकज्जलजिघृक्षया रजतशुक्तिरिव ॥ 4 ॥
भवति सुभगत्वमधिकं विस्तारित परगुण सुजनस्य ।
वहति विकासित कुमुदो द्विगुणरुचिं **हिमकरोद्द्योतः** ॥ 5 ॥
विषधरतोऽप्यति विषयः खल इति न मृषा वदन्ति विद्वांसः ।
यदयं नकुलद्वेषी सकुलद्वेषी पुनःपिशुनः ॥ 6 ॥
अतिमलिने कर्तव्ये भवति खलानामतीव निपुणा धीः ।
तिमिरेहि कौशिकानां भवति खलानामतीव मलिनत्वं ॥ 7 ॥
विध्वस्तपरगुणानां भवतिखलानामतीव मलिनत्वं ।
अन्तरित **शशिरुच**ामपि सलिलमुचां मलिनियाऽभ्यधिकः ॥ 8 ॥
हस्तइवभूति मलिनो यथायथालङ्घयति खलस्सुजनम् ।
दर्पण इवतंकुरुते तथा तथा निर्मलच्छायम् ॥ 9 ॥
सारसवत्ता विहता नवका विलसन्ति चरतिनोकङ्कः ।
सरसीवकीर्तिशेषं गतवति भुवि **विक्रमादित्ये** ॥ 10 ॥

The next scholar who took up the subject and dealt with it in a masterly fashion was M. Noel Peri, who wrote in the *Bulletine de l'Ecole française d' Extrême-Orient* and his conclusions were accepted completely by Mr. V. A. Smith, who has given a separate note on the subject in the last edition of his *Early History of India* (pp. 328—334). It would be best to quote his own words on the subject. "If M. Peri is right, as he appears to be, in holding that Vasubandhu lived and died in the fourth century, the Gupta king who patronized him must have been the learned and accomplished Samudragupta, son and successor of Chandragupta I, who might have been actually known as Vikramâditya. It is also possible that the title, even if not actually assumed by Chandragupta I, may have been traditionally assigned to him, as being an ordinary recognised title of any Gupta King. There is no reason whatever to doubt that Samudragupta was actually in possession of both Ajodhya and Śrâvasti, and in all probability his father was so likewise. Assuming the recorded traditions connecting Vasubandhu with a Gupta king to be well-founded, it follows that Samudragupta in his youth must have borne the titles of both Chandraprakâśa (Prabhâva) and Balâditya or Parâditya. There is no difficulty about believing that to be a fact. I therefore conclude, that Samudragupta received Vasubandhu, a Buddhist author and patriarch at Court, either as a minister or as an intimate counsellor with the sanction and approval of his father Chandragupta I, and further that Samudragupta, although officially a Brahmanic Hindu, studied Buddhism in his youth with interest and partiality."

There seem to be many serious difficulties in accepting this conclusion. The initial objection, whether the correct reading of the name in the passage from Vamana is Subandhu or Vasubandhu, is not answered. Manuscript evidence seems to lead to the preference of the reading Subandhu, which does not fit in with the theory propounded above. Again, in trying to establish his theory, M. Peri has recourse to too many conjectures. There is nothing whatever either in literature or epigraphy to show that Samudragupta had the titles or other names of Chandraprakâśa (Prabhâva) and Balâditya or Parâditya. Of these we know that the term Balâditya was the title of Narasiṁhagupta, and we do not know any other prince who assumed that title. No attempt is made here to prove that no other king could have had that title. There is nothing to prove that Samudragupta was otherwise known as Balâditya. Again as to Chandraprakâśa or its variant Chandraprabhâva, it does not appear to be either the name or the title of any king. It seems merely to be descriptive of the prince, whose full name ought to have occurred in the latter portion of the verse, which has not come down to us so far.

The next difficulty is about Vikramâditya. The two sources of information about Vasubandhu vary in their accounts of the capital of this Vikramâditya. One says it was Śrâvasti and the other Ajodhya. This discrepancy might not be very material. But to a large section of scholars, Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty is too early a sovereign to have had that title; and according to them the first Gupta sovereign to assume that title was Chandragupta II, son of Samudragupta. But there are others who think that there might have been an earlier Vikramâditya, who might have founded the era after his name, or lent his name to an already existing era of Mâlava. Even among these, none seems to favour the view that Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty was a Vikramâditya.

Again, it is suggested that the verse may have been taken from a historical work dealing with the Guptas, under some such name as "*Gupta-vaṁśa-mahâkâvya*," which might have been dedicated to Samudragupta, who is mentioned in it as Chandraprakâśa, and that it should have referred to many historical events; and Mr. Pathak expresses the hope that the work may yet be discovered somewhere in Kashmir, where Vasubandhu spent a

considerable portion of his life. But it was Mr. R. A. Narasimhacharya who first thought that the verse might have been taken from the introductory scene of a drama dedicated to the son of Chandragupta, perhaps Kumâragupta, by Subandhu. Subandhu mourns the death of Vikramâditya in the famous tenth verse of the *Vâsavadattâ*, and the other verses also are taken to refer to contemporary events. This theory might have proved unassailable, had the knowledge of scholars been limited merely to the above stated data.

Since these discussions began, there have been some very notable discoveries in the field of Sanskrit literature, which promise to throw additional light on the subject and clear the existing mystery. One of the works discovered by the Madras Manuscripts Library, the *Avantisundarîkathâ*, which is attributed to the famous poet and rhetorician Daṇḍin in the eighth century, contains at the beginning a number of verses wherein famous authors who lived before his time are referred to in terms of praise. One of them refers to Subandhu, and it runs :—

" सुबन्धुः किल निष्क्रान्तो बिन्दुसारस्यबन्धनात् ।
तस्यैव हृदयंजह्रे वत्सराज कथा......॥

The verse is incomplete, and the break in the end can be easily filled up. Freely translated, it would mean, " Subandhu came out of his captivity (imprisonment) by order of Bindusâra, and captivated his heart by (composing) the story of Vatsarâja." From this we understand that Subandhu was a contemporary of Bindusâra, and the latter seems to have imprisoned him first and then released him. Subandhu appears also to have written a story of Vâsavadattâ. So far we know only of one Bindusâra in the whole range of Indian history. He was the son of Chandragupta Maurya, the first Mauryan Emperor and the uprooter of the Nanda sovereignty. According to the theory now accepted by Sanskritists, the age of the Mauryas, or that of Chandragupta and Bindusâra, was not the age when *Kâvyas* could have been written. This view, although generally accepted, was opposed by a few scholars, among whom the most famous and the earliest was Goldstücker. These maintained that there ought to have existed many works in what has been called Classical Sanskrit in the Mauryan age and even before. A grammar like that of Paṇini and the commentaries on it, like those of Vararuchi and Patañjali, could not have been written without the existence of *Kâvyas*. Patañjali makes a distinct mention of a *Kâvya* by Vararuchi (*Vâraruchaṁ Kâvyam*), and in another place derives a word like *Vâsavadattika*, meaning thereby one who studies a *Kâvya* dealing with the story of Vâsavadattâ. Paṇini, the great grammarian, himself is said to have been the author of a poem called *Pâtâḷavijaya*, from which several verses have been quoted in all standard anthologies. Orthodox tradition does not know of the existence of two Paṇinis. It is likely that Subandhu wrote a work on Vâsavadattâ, and the *Vâsavadattikâs* of the time of Patañjali might have been very familiar with the work.

But hitherto, the only work known to scholars as the work of Subandhu was the prose romance *Vâsavadattâ*. The introductory verses of this work mention the death of Vikramâditya, who has been thought to be the same as Chandragupta II. So *Vâsavadattâ* should have been written after the death of Chandragupta II, and the reference in the *Mahâbhâshya* of Patañjali could not have been to this work, if Patañjali really had been a contemporary of the Sunga sovereign, Pushpamitra, and if he mentions Menander's conquests as contemporary events. Arguing on this line, some scholars thought that Patañjali might have lived later than the Guptas. Even Dr. Peterson, who seems to have had an intuition in dealing with the dates of Sanskrit poets and argued against the view of the late origin of Patañjali, thought that there was sufficient reason to change his view, and one of his reasons was Patañjali's mention of *Vâsavadattâ*, *Subhâshitâvali of Vallabhadeva*, edited by Dr. Peterson, Introduction.

(To be continued.)

A SKETCH OF SOUTH INDIAN CULTURE.

(From the Lectures of Prof. Rao Sahib Krishnaswami Aiyangar.)

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

PROFESSOR KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR's lectures to the Calcutta University in 1920 have now been published in one volume. as *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture.* They are so full of valuable suggestions that it is worthwhile to consider here the results of the studies of a ripe scholar in matters South Indian. They are divided into a Preface and nineteen Chapters, carrying the studies from the most ancient days to the time of the Vijayanagar Empire in an historical sequence, and thence in a sense to the days of the British Empire. To myself the book is a fascinating one, and it cannot but be of the greatest value to the students for whom the lectures were intended.

In his Preface Prof. Krishnaswami draws special attention to the peculiar position that the Brâhmaṇ has occupied in South India, and his views are of extraordinary interest as those of one who is himself a South Indian. He gives the position as being identical with that when the Brâhmaṇ emigrated from the North. "That position," says the Professor, "involved the double responsibility of performing elaborate ritualistic sacrifices for the benefit of society, and the conservation and cultivation of the learning that is involved as a necessary corollary." And then he makes arresting remarks which are worth reproduction: "the Brâhmaṇ has striven to discharge these responsibilities to the best of his ability and opportunities, setting up such a high example in actual life as invariably to exert influence in the direction of uplift, which has been felt throughout . . : . It was a characteristic feature of the Brahmanical organisation that the least developed communities in the vast and varied population of India had a recognised place in Society moving upwards slowly . . . . His achievements in the sphere of the propagation of learning . . . . both in Sanskrit and the Sanskritic and other vernaculars of the country were magnificent. One has only to examine the names of eminent contributors to the literature of Tamil to confirm this statement."

The Professor then goes on to deal with Bhakti, devotion to a personal God by faith, and says of it: "the transformation of this ritualistic Brahmanism into the much more widely acceptable Hinduism of modern times is due to the increasing infusion of theistic belief into the religious system of the day. In this new development South India [Tamil-land] played an important part;" not however in its origin, be it remembered, but in its development. And then he says that along side of it "has run another stream which is best described as Tântrism, worship by means of mystic signs and formulæ of various character;" in which, too, South India played an important part, though by that term the Professor implies here the land of the Telugus rather than that of the Tamils.

He next points out how much South India had to do with "the spread of Hindu culture to the islands of the East and the Indo-Chinese Peninsula" as far as China, and with the commercial carriage to the West of Indian articles of trade. In matters of administration, especially of local administration, he claims that the indigenous system was developed and "carried to the fullest fruition under the Great Cholas A.D. 850—1350," and "continued undisturbed down to the end of the period of the Vijayanagar Empire," so that "the revenue and fiscal organisation of a considerable part of the Madras Presidency under the East India Company is derived from the system that obtained at the commencement of the ninteenth century, as a lineal descendant of the ancient Chola administration."

Such is the Professor's brief summary of his lucubrations, and he truly remarks that "the whole of the investigation rests upon the Chronology of Tamil literature and history." This is why his book is so valuable; it brings the ancient literature of the country into the argument and shows how history can be delved out of it, -a line of research, to which, to my mind, it is satisfactory to see a native Indian devoting sincere attention.

Next comes a most important statement that the main features of the result of research are "that that portion of Tamil literature which is generally called the Śangam, is of a pre-Pallava character, and as such is referable to the earlier centuries of the Christian Era: that the literature, of which the typical representatives are the *Têvâram* and the *Tiruvoymoḻi* of the Saints of the Śaivas and Vaishṇavas, belongs to the age of the Pallavas, and as a whole is assignable to the period A.D. 300 to 900: that the works of the later writers, who gave form and shape to the teachings of the Saints . . . . began from very near the end of the first millennium and went on to about the end of the seventeenth century." Then comes a long, and to me a convincing, argument for disagreeing with Diwan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai as to the date of the Śangam work *Paripâḍal*, which the latter, on astronomical grounds as to the date of an eclipse, would fix as June 17, A.D. 634. The other possible date is June 27, A.D. 17. It will be perceived that this difference is vital.

We can now tackle the question of South Indian Culture historically with Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar as our guide. The history of India south of the Kṛishṇa–Tungabhadra frontier commences with the advent of the Aryans, that is to say, the Brâhmaṇs; the term 'Aryan' here meaning 'Northerner,' with the Tamil term Vaḍavar as its synonym. 'Ârya' as a name, was not, however, confined to the Brâhmaṇ, but meant other natives of the North as well, the Mlêchchas in the sense of North Indian foreigners to the Southerners. The Northerners generally were called Vaḍavars, but those immediately across the frontier, from Pulikat to Kârwâṛ, were called Vaḍukar, which represents possibly the modern Kanarese term Baḍaga.

Turning to ancient Sanskrit literature, Pâṇini knew little or nothing of South India; Kâtyâyana, and contemporary Buddhist literature also, knew a little: and Bhâsa's knowledge was bounded by the Vindhyas and the Himâlayas. But Megasthenes knew of the Pâṇḍya country, and so did his contemporary Châṇakya. Patañjali knew more. The outcome of all this is that before the fourth century A.D. little was known of the South in Sanskrit literature.

There are no South Indian inscriptions before the Christian era except copies of Aśôka's edicts, but these give "some definite knowledge of the political condition even of the remote South, and provide the earliest reliable information on South India." In the century after Aśôka the Hâthigumpha inscription of the Kalinga King, Khâravêla, proves "a certain degree of communication" with the South, and "what is wanted in detail in these edicts is supplied to us in Tamil literature." The point here is that "definite knowledge does not reach beyond the Mauryan period," bearing in mind, however, that "absence of information available to us does not inevitably mean absence of history."

At this point we are driven for information to the pre Pallava Tamil literature, the Śangam works. Here Tamil Sangam is Sanskrit Śangha, an Assembly, and the designation assumes the existence at that time of "a body or academy of scholars and critics, whose imprimatur was necessary for the publication of any work of literature in Tamil." Traditionally there were three such Sangams, but the Śangam was, nevertheless, probably a permanently existing body with a continuous life of several centuries, and what are known as the First, Second and Third Sangams refer to specially brilliant periods. In the works they fathered, is a considerable amount of valuable information which is historical and otherwise of public interest.

Chronologically the Śangam works are pre-Pallava, and must be referred to the first and second centuries A.D. They throw new light on the Mauryas and their invasions of South India. The Śangam author Mâmûlanâr refers to them twice, and says that the Mauryas advanced into the Tamil territory as far as Môhûr, about seven miles north-east of Madura, after a foreign tribe called the Kôsars had failed. These invasions are mentioned also by another Śangam author, Paraṁ-Koṟṟanâr. In the second reference the Mauryas are said to have pushed the Vaḍukars in front of them. They both say that a distant hill,

on the frontier of Tamil-land was worn by the Mauryan chariots. A third author, Kallil-Attirayanâr, records the making of a roadway over the hill for the Mauryas. Mâmûlanâr also mentions the great accumulated wealth of the Northern Nandas at Pâṭali or Patna. Here then we have a clear knowledge of the Mauryas and their invasion in the Śangam days.

Who then were the Vaḍukars and the Kôśars above mentioned? The Vaḍukars are described as a people north of the Tamil frontier, who were hunters and cattle-raiders, with a foreign language long in sound, *i.e.*, old Northern Telugu. They were found beyond the hill of Tirupati all along the frontier from sea to sea. Mâmûlanâr's statement about them thus becomes intelligible. Mâmûlanâr also mentions a tribe across the frontier called Maḷavars, in terms almost identical with those in which he describes the Vaḍukars, so as "to lead to the inference that the Vaḍukars and the Maḷavars were the same tribe of people, or were at any rate of very similar habits and language."

The Kôśars are more doubtful as to origin, but no doubt came into Tamil-land from the North, all along the frontier from the Chola to the Chêra country, and seem to have settled in four areas. At any rate they appear to have been warriors with a great reputation for good faith—"of unfailing word."

These considerations lead to the question of the Southern limit of Aśôka's Empire. His inscriptions show that the furthest point reached was "the North-east corner of the Chitaldroog District of Mysore, where the Brahmagiri, Siddhâpura and Jaṭingarâmêśvara hill edicts were discovered. Rock Edict II speaks of 'his neighbours, such as the Chôḍas, the Pâṇḍyas, the Satiyaputra, the Keralaputra, and Tambapanni [Ceylon.]'" In edict V specific mention is made of the Viśas and Vajris, who are "apparently tributary tribes, of which Tamil literature refers to the latter." The Vajra territory seems to have been "the territory of Bengal between the Sone and the Ganges, reaching down to the sea," and Tamil literature shows that it was known to the Tamils in the first century A.D.

From Aśôka's records it is shown that his Empire extended Southwards to the great Daṇḍaka Forest, whence to about 14° North came the semi-civilised tribes, the Vaḍukars of the Tamil writers, in a kind of subordination to him, and then there were the Tamils themselves. From the Tamil poetess Kakkaipaḍiṇeyâr-Nachcheḷḷaiyâr it is clear that Daṇḍa or Daṇḍaka was "distinct from the land of the Tamils," the semi-civilised tribe or tribes being interposed between the two frontiers across the whole of the Peninsula.

From Rock XIII the inference is that the "political limit of Aśôka's Empire marks also the limit of active Buddhist propaganda." That is to say, they did not reach the Tamils. This statement is confirmed by the *Mahâvaṁśa* of Ceylon, which gives a list of localities to which missions for the propagation of the faith were sent. They do not include places in Tamil-land. The Southern limit of these places, is Vanavâse, *i.e.*, Banavâse in Dhârwâṛ. Mâhiśamaṇḍala is also mentioned in the list, but the Professor does not believe that Mysore is the country meant by this name, but Mândhâta on the Narbadâ. The *Mahâvaṁśa* has also a second and detailed list of the places in India invited by a Ceylon ruler, Duttagâmani Abhaya, to the laying of a foundation stone. In this list Vanavâse is again mentioned, "and lastly the great Kêlâsa-vihâra," probably Amarâvati, or possibly Ellora. At any rate, here again the Tamil country is altogether excluded. The fair inference, therefore, is that in the days of Aśôka to the middle of the century before Christ Buddhist propaganda stopped short of the Tamil country, though this does not mean that individual bodies of Buddhists did not penetrate there.

From all these considerations the Professor points out that the Northern boundary of the Tamils ran from Pulicat on the East coast to the Kalyânpuri River, the Northern limit of Kanara on the West Coast, and that this is "just exactly the limit indicated in the *Periplus.* Beyond that lay what the *Periplus* calls Dachinabades, in Sanskrit Dakshinapatha, "for Dachinos in the language of the natives means 'South.'" This land is the modern Dakhan, and corresponds to what the Tamils called Daṇḍâraṇyam, beyond which was the great forest running across India, "the far famed Daṇḍaka of the *Râmâyaṇa,* and the Mahâkântâra perhaps of a later time," which stopped somewhere near Goa on the West Coast.

Comparatively late Tamil Brahmanical tradition tells us that the reclamation of the forest was the work of Agastya, and among the tribes that came from the North with him were the Vêḷir and the Aruvâlar, "two well-known peoples of Tamil India." Traditionally, there was in fact an emigration from the North into the South, bringing with it the "Northern culture especially associated with the Brâhmaṇ," and in the earliest extant Tamil literature a very high position is given to the Brâhmaṇs (Andanar). The early Chêra kings followed their 'path of Dharma,' in which the Brâhmaṇs perform the six duties (roughly learning, teaching, sacrificing, receiving and making gifts). These kings, too, celebrated the ten Vedic sacrifices, while the earliest authors, Gautama and Kapilar, were themselves Brâhmaṇs. These same six duties are laid down for Brâhmaṇs in the classical Grammar *Tolkâppiyam,* in the *Śilappadhikâram* of the Chêra prince-ascetic Iḷaṅgô, and in the *Maṇimêkkalai.* These works are of the first century of the Christian Era, and they show that the Brâhmaṇ immigration was long before their date and pre-Buddhistic.

The Buddhist tradition of the migration of Agastya is quite different, but it, too, gives the movement a pre-Buddhistic character. In the *Akitta Jâtaka,* Akitta took up his abode in Kâvêripaṭṭana, the capital of the Cholas at the mouth of the Kâvêri. Akitta is generally identified with Agastya, though there is nothing in the *Jâtaka* to warrant the identification except the likeness of the names, were it not that the *Maṇimêkkalai* refers to Agastya at Kâvêripaṭṭana. This time Agastya is in the Chola country, but here the *Maṇimêkkalai* again helps us by stating that Agastya was "'an ascetic of rare authority in the Malaya,' making it clear that it is referring to the Agastya of the Brahmanical tradition associated with the Malaya or Podiyil hill in the Southern part of the Western Ghâṭs." All this shows that the tradition of Agastya's immigration is pre-Buddhistic, which is evidenced also by the position which is then attached to the Brâhmaṇ "as the conductor of the sacrifice intended for the good of the community as a whole." This is the character given to Brahmanism in a poem by Mûlam-kiḷâr of Âvûr in the *Puṛanânûṛu* collection. The author was not a Brâhmaṇ himself, but he is fully supported by the *Tolkâppiyam.* As faithful followers of the Brâhmaṇs, the early kings,—Paṇḍya, Chola and Chêra—were great orthodox sacrificers; witness the works of Neṭṭimaiyâr and Avvaiyâr.

An even more important point is to be found in these early Tamil classics. "There are clear indications of the kind of theism, which would be generally described as Bhakti [Devotional Faith], where people could devote themselves to the service of the god of their heart with the assurance of salvation." Four such gods are mentioned by Narkirâr, the early Śangam poet: Śiva, Baladêva, Krishṇa (Vishṇu), and Subrahmaṇya. In the *Tolkâppiyam,* Indra and Varuṇa are substituted for Śiva and Baladêva, which makes the Professor postulate the implication of "the recognition of the six as distinct entities." In the *Śilappadhikâram* again the first four are mentioned, with Indra as a fifth god.

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK-NOTICES.

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF THE MARATHAS (from original sources). By SURENDRANATH SEN, M.A., PH.D. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1923.

Much original research in Maratha history has been conducted of late years by Indian scholars, who have thrown a flood of light upon the circumstances and character of the administration founded by Shivaji and subsequently usurped by the Peshwas. In this respect the work of men like the late Professor H. G. Limaye and Messrs. Rajwade, Sardesai, Parasnis and others has been invaluable. Dr. Surendranath Sen has already established his authority in the same field by his excellent translation of the *bakhar* of Kistnaji Anant Sabhasad, which is unquestionably the most credible and trustworthy of the various old chronicles of Shivaji's life and reign. He has now placed students of Maratha affairs under a further obligation by this careful exposition of the administrative system in vogue in the Deccan in the pre-British period.

The value of his latest work seems to us to lie in its impartiality and in its careful avoidance of extreme diction in cases where the author's views differ from those already expressed by both English and Indian writers. He treats Grant-Duff and Ranade with equal impartiality, and does not hesitate to point out their errors of deduction: he appreciates fully the good features of Shivaji's institutions, but is equally explicit as to their short-comings: and he devotes a distinct section of his work to explaining by carefully chosen quotations and examples that much of Shivaji's administrative machinery was not a new product of his unquestionably resourceful mind, but had its roots deep down in ancient Hindu lore. The *Arthasastra* of Kautilya and later works had much more to do with the administrative arrangements of the Deccan under Shivaji and the Peshwas than some writers would admit; and the general summary of the results of the great Maratha's system, given by Dr. Sen, seems to me the fairest that has yet been published. A similar lack of bias marks his attitude towards Mughal and Musulman institutions in general, which he considers, and rightly no doubt, to have exercised a distinct effect upon the Maratha system of administration. He cherishes no illusions as to the character of the Maratha *chauth*, and shows that Ranade's comparison of that exaction with Lord Wellesley's system of subsidiary alliances is based on a fallacy. Equally untenable in his opinion is Ranade's comparison of the *Ashta Pradhan* with the Viceroy's Council at the close of the nineteenth century.

As to the actual facts disclosed in Dr. Sen's work, their number is so many and they are so interesting that it is hardly possible to deal with them in the brief compass of a review. There is an excellent chapter on Maratha revenue and finance, with full details of the elaborate arrangements for the administration of the hill forts, which constituted Shivaji's chief strength: the annals of the old Deshmukh families have been searched in order to portray the character of the landed gentry with whom Shivaji had to deal: the valuable materials collected and edited by Mr. V. K. Rajwade serve to illuminate a sound review of Shivaji's military arrangements: and a great many important side-lights are vouchsafed on the character and working of the ancient village communities. It is not quite clear, in reference to the last-named subject, why Dr. Sen regards as unimportant the fact that the Patel was hardly ever a Brahman. One would have thought that the presence in the village of a non-Brahman Patel was the only really sound check upon the Kulkarni, who almost invariably belonged to the caste of the twice-born. A little more, too, might have been said about the *Aluta*, in contradistinction to the *Baḷuta*. Dr. Sen gives a full list of the rights and perquisites enjoyed by the Patel of old days, and gives the curious information that the post of *Chaugula* of the village was always regarded by Marathas as a close appointment for the illegitimate son of the Patel or the descendant of a natural son of one of the Patel's ancestors. Another interesting point is that the Kamavisdar and the Karkuns were only given eleven and ten months' pay respectively for twelve months' service, presumably on the principle that these officials would either waste a full month out of the year in idling, or perhaps that they would extort at least an extra month's salary by petty exactions, which it would in most cases be impossible to prove.

The administrative system of the Peshwas is fully discussed, and a tribute is paid to the completeness of the *Huzur Daftar* up to the evil days of Baji Rao II. Their policy in regard to land revenue and remissions of taxation, excise and the administration of justice, is clearly explained, and there are many details of their police and punitive arrangements. A European might find it difficult to understand why prisoners, sentenced to long terms of durance vile, were temporarily released at intervals to enable them to perform *shraddh* and marriage ceremonies in their families: but the point is explained, if one remembers that the Peshwa was the head of the Church, so to speak, as well as of the State, and that the injunctions of the *Shastras* were regarded as paramount. Dr. Sen considers that the Poona City Police under Baji Rao were more efficient than the London Police of the same epoch, and that crime committed by night was far less frequent in Poona than in London at that date. This may be so. But it

stands to reason that the chance of nightly depredations in Poona must have been effectively minimised by the very strict curfew-order of the Peshwa, which the average Londoner in 1810 would not have tolerated for a moment. It is satisfactory to note that Dr. Sen refers more than once to the evidence of Colonel Tone, the Irish soldier of fortune, who commanded one of Baji Rao's regiments. Grant-Duff refers only once, or at the most twice, to Tone's testimony, which is unquestionably valuable in reference to Maratha affairs and deserves to be better known.

In conclusion, let it suffice to remark that Dr. Sen has produced an admirable work of reference for students of the history of the Deccan in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

S. M. EDWARDES.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF INDIA FROM THE ACCESSION OF PARIKSHIT TO THE CORONATION OF BIMBISARA. By HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI, M.A. Reprinted from the Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. IX. Calcutta University Press, 1923.

This little book is an attempt to trace the history of India from the time of the famous struggle between the Pândavas and Kauravas down to the sixth century B.C. The author admits that not a single tangible relic of this dim period exists, and that dependence has therefore to be placed upon ancient Brahmanical and other literature, ranging from the last book of the Atharva Veda, the Brâhmanas and Upanishads, the Purânas and the two great Epics, down to the Buddhist Suttas and Jâtakas and the works of the Jaina canon. In brief, his task is to attempt a review of the misty period preceding the reign of the fifth (?) King of the Saisunâga dynasty of Râjagriha, based upon tradition enshrined in ancient Indian literature.

The author commences by discussing the identity of King Parikshit and tentatively places him in the ninth century B.C. He is said to have been succeeded by Janamejaya, whose capital, Âsandivant, is identified with the famous city of Hâstinapura, mentioned in both the great Epics and by Pânini. During the rule of Janamejaya's successors great misfortunes befell the Kurus, and the seat of the dynasty had to be transferred to Kausambi, the old capital having been destroyed by the Ganges. In consequence the Kurus lost their dominant political position, and the most notable figure of the seventh century B.C. was Janaka of Videha. In his day, according to the Brâhmanas and Upanishads there were nine important states in northern India besides Videha, *viz.*, Gandhâra, Kekaya, Madra, Usînara, Matsya, Kuru, Pañchâla, Kâsi and Kosala. The author identifies all these states and, by means of quotations, gives much interesting traditional information about them. The Kurus, we are told, had to leave their country, probably in the reign of Nichakshu, owing to a visitation of *Maṭachî*, which Dr. Bhandarkar declares to be a Sanskritised form of the Kanarese word for "a locust."

After discussing the matter of Janaka's successors, Professor Raychaudhuri deals in turn with the Deccan kingdoms in the time of the later Vaidehas, suggesting incidentally that the Mutibas of the Aitareya Brâhmana are identical with the Mushikas of the Mârkandeya Purâṇa, with the sixteen states (*solasa mahâjanapada*) which existed between the fall of the Videhan monarchy and the rise of Koṣala under Mahâkosala, the father-in-law of Bimbasâra, and finally with the fall of Kasi and the ascendancy of Koṣala in the sixth century B.C. The last chapter of the book is devoted to an enquiry into the character of the monarchy, which was the prevailing form of government during this prehistoric age. Though the cautious scholar will naturally hesitate to accept the author's outline as strict history, one cannot wholly reject as imaginary the traditional figures mentioned in ancient literature, particularly when their existence circumstances and achievements are so carefully co-ordinated and illustrated by quotation as they are in this modest, but withal interesting, volume.

S. M. EDWARDES.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SIVAJI'S SWORD, "BHAVÂNI."

Can any reader of the *Indian Antiquary* throw any light upon the present whereabouts of Bhavâni, the famous sword of the Maratha hero, Sivaji ? So far as my enquiries go, our present knowledge of the history of the sword is briefly as follows :—

The *Shivdigvijaya Bakhar*, quoted at page 181 of Professor Surendranath Sen's recently published English translation of the *Sabhasad Bakhar*, states that this sword, which was "an excellent *dhop tarwar* worth two hundred *Hons*," originally belonged to the Savants of Wadi and was presented by one of that family to Maharaja Sivaji with a view to securing his friendship.

Grant Duff, in his *History of the Mahrattas*, mentions the sword three times :—

(*a*) On page 230 (Vol. I, revised ed., Oxford Univ. Press, 1921), he writes :—" The sword, which he constantly used and which he named after the goddess Bhowanee, is still preserved by the Raja of Satara with the utmost veneration, and has all the honours of an idol paid to it."

(*b*) On page 244, Vol. I (*ibid.*), he mentions that Sambhâji carried the sword during the Maratha attack upon Goa in 1683, and that he did great execution with it.

(*c*) On page 313, Vol. I (*ibid.*), he records the fact that when Aurangzebe celebrated Shahu's nuptials with the daughters of Jadhav of Sindkheda and Sindia of Kannerkhera, he restored to Shahu, as presents, two swords which Shahu's attendants had always urged him, if possible, to recover, namely, the famous Bhavâni, the sword of Sivaji, and the sword of Afzal Khan of Bijapur, both of which had been taken by the Mughals at Raigarh. Grant Duff adds in a footnote that both these swords, as well as a third sword personally presented to Shahu by Aurangzeb, were in the possession of the Raja of Satara at the time (1826) he published his history.

Grant Duff remarked in a footnote to his first mention of the sword in (*a*) that it was an excellent Genoa blade of the first water and that its history had been recorded by the hereditary historian of the family.

For some years past there has been an impression abroad in Western India that the sword which is now shown to visitors at Satara and is still worshipped as Sivaji's Bhavâni is not really that weapon but another. Desiring, if possible, to clear up the matter, when I was preparing the new edition of Grant Duff's history, I wrote to Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis of Satara and enquired about the identity of the sword now exhibited to the public. Mr. Parasnis very kindly replied that the sword now preserved and exhibited at Satara is 3′ 9″ in length in the blade, and 8 inches long in the handle, and bears a Marathi inscription '*Shrimant Sarkar Rajmandal Raja Shahu Kadim Avval*,' which shows that it is the weapon of Shahu, not that of Sivaji. He added that "it is generally believed in Satara that the original Bhavâni was taken to Kolhapur by Târabai, wife of Rajaram, Sivaji's younger son, and was there preserved for many years. In 1875 this sword was presented by Rao Bahadur Madhav Rao Barve, Diwan of Kolhapur, to H. M. the late King Edward during his visit to India as Prince of Wales. It was conveyed to England and was exhibited in 1878 in the British Indian section of the Universal Exhibition at Paris, a description of it being given by Sir George Birdwood at page 68 of the handbook to that section."

On the strength of this suggestion of Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, I placed myself in communication with the authorities of the British and South Kensington Museums and with the officials in charge of the fine collections of arms preserved at Windsor Castle, Buckingham Palace and Sandringham. They very courteously made a thorough search for the sword and informed me it was nowhere to be found in any of the collections above mentioned. Moreover, General Sir Dighton Probyn wrote to me personally as follows:— "I was in attendance on King Edward during His Majesty's Indian tour in 1875–6, and would certainly have remembered, had the celebrated sword in question been given to His Majesty. I think you may take it that the sword is still in India."

On referring to the Handbook to the British Indian Section of the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1878, compiled by the late Sir George Birdwood, I find that on page 67 is mentioned as Exhibit No. 74 "the sword of Sivaji, the founder of the Mahratta dominion in India." This is followed by a further statement on page 68 to the following effect :—

> "Mr. Grant Duff in his *Notes of an Indian Journey*, has described the worship of his (Sivaji's) famous sword Bhowani at Sattara. The sword in the Prince's collection (*i.e.*, Ex. No. 74) is *not* this deified weapon, but the one that has always been kept, since Sivaji's death in 1680, at Kolhapur."

This statement, coupled with the result of the search carried out in 1920 among the great collections of arms, renders it practically certain that the famous Bhavâni was never brought to England, and that the sword presented to the Prince of Wales and exhibited at Paris in 1878 was another weapon, which probably had also once belonged to Sivaji and had, as Mr. Parasnis says, been carried off to Kolhapur soon after Sivaji's death. The problem of the history of the real Bhâvani, subsequent to 1826, when Grant Duff published his history, is therefore still unsolved.

I wrote again to Rao Bahadur Parasnis in 1920, informing him of the result of the search in England and enquiring if he could make any further suggestion as to the fate of the sword Bhavâni. In reply he sent me a copy of a letter dated June. 1820, (Camp Seroor), from Brigadier-General Lionel Smith to Captain James Grant (*i.e.* Grant Duff), Political Agent, Satara, which he had found among the miscellaneous documents and papers purchased some few years ago with other effects from the descendants of the former Rajas of Satara. It will be remembered that General Lionel Smith won the battle of Ashti in 1818, and that as a result of his victory the Raja of Satara was released from the custody of the Peshwa Baji Rao and was shortly afterwards restored to the throne of Satara by Mounstuart Elphinstone. From General Smith's letter it is clear that Pratap Singh. the Raja of Satara. in

gratitude for his deliverance from the Peshwa, had expressed through Captain Grant a desire to present General Smith with a sword which, in General Smith's words, "had been possessed so many years by his illustrious family." The Governor of Bombay, to whom the proposal was reported, sanctioned the acceptance of the gift by General Smith, who thereupon wrote to Grant, requesting him to inform His Highness that he would gladly receive the sword and would "ever preserve and value it."

In forwarding a copy of this letter to me, Rao Bahadur Parasnis threw out the suggestion that possibly this sword, presented to General Smith, may have been the famous Bhavâni. I consider this highly improbable. The Raja's gift was doubtless a fine weapon, which was included among the heirlooms of his family, and may well have been both historically and intrinsically valuable. But it seems to me in the last degree unlikely that the Raja, no matter how grateful and how generous he may have been, would have given away to a European military officer the real Bhavâni of Sivaji, even assuming that he had sole and complete control of the weapon. Sentiment, superstition and popular opinion would together have prevented his relinquishing in this manner the custody of a weapon which was the symbol of so illustrious an epoch in the history of his family and his country, the story of which had been specially compiled by the chronicler of his Court, and which was actually regarded by many as imbued with the spirit and power of the tutelary goddess of the Marathas.

The question still remains "Where is now the original sword Bhavâni?" In view of what is written above and of the fact that the sword now worshipped at Satara is the sword of Shahu, can any reader suggest a solution of the problem? Could the sword have been taken to Benares, when the Raja retired thither after his deposition? Has it been hidden, to reappear at some future date as the symbol of a united Maratha people? Perhaps some one of the leading students of Maratha history may be able to answer the question.

S. M. EDWARDES.

ORRAMBARROW.

At p. 42 of *The English Factories in India*, 1655-60, will be found a quotation from a letter written at Masulipatam on 18 November 1655, which said that the sailors on board the East India Company's ship *Expedition* (a vessel bought at Surat for the 'country' trade in 1646) "repine at theire owne small wages in respect of thes orrambarrowes" —a term by which was obviously meant the crews of the private trading vessels recently come out to India. The word was new to me, and I rashly inferred that it was a name for sailors in general, possibly derived from 'rumbelows,' *i.e.*, refrains chanted by seamen when hauling, etc. Some time after the publication of the volume, however, I came across a passage in Charles Lockyer's *Account of the Trade in India* (1711), mentioning (p. 28) that at Fort St. George the country boats that go out to newly arrived vessels "make a good peny at the first coming of orombarros, as they call those who have not been there before." This showed that the word was not English in derivation; but, not being able to discover it in Portuguese, or in Tamil or Telugu, I was still at a loss, until it occurred to me to look for it in a Malay dictionary. There I at once found *orang baharu* (pronounced *baru*), with the meaning of 'a new-comer'; and there seems to be no doubt that this is the correct derivation. As an interesting example of the survival of Malay terms at Indian seaports, it is perhaps worthy of record in the *Indian Antiquary*.

WILLIAM FOSTER.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

46. The Career of a Ne'er-do-well in 1706.

22nd October 1706.—Consultation at Bombay Castle. Robert Kent, Cook, turned out by Captain Abraham Jackson, late Commander of the *Arabia Merchant*, and sent Prisoner on board the *Abingdon* at Mocha for a mutinous Ill man, brought to Bombay, afterward Entertained in the Fort, and for his Misbehaviour Expelled, then marryed a Widdow woman, Native Inhabitant of this Island with four Children, kept a Punchhouse without Lycence and Express against a Proclamation prohibiting selling drink in any Place upon or near the green, preventing all that Possible debauching the Seamen from on board the Company's Europe Ships, for which and for the great disorders said Kent has bin fined, and since, threatning to leave the Island and his wife and Children upon the Company, shall not have liberty to go off without first obtaines his wifes Consent and truly return what Estate, whether House, money, Jewells or Goods, &ca., the Estate belonging to the Children of said Kents wifes three former Husbands, or sufficient Security into the Treasury for Payment thereof unto Mr. Aislabie Esqr. Deputy Governor Hereby directed to receive said Security, secureing said woman and Children from Poverty.—*Bombay Public Consultations*, vol. 2.

R. C. TEMPLE

191. The next English commander to visit the Malay Archipelago was Thomas Cavendish, whom Zuniga (I, 179) calls an English pirate. In 1588, after taking the Spanish galleon *Santa Anna* on the coast of California, he came to Manila (de Morga, p. 29) and touched at Balambangan and Java (Crawford, II, 507). Cavendish's ship is said to have been brought into Plymouth "under a suit of silken sails" (Kerr, IX, 66; *see para.* 381 *below*). It is possible that these were made from the plunder of the Chinese junk, which Linschoten says (I, 93, p. 172) was taken by Cavendish in the Straits of Sunda. Linschoten adds that Cavendish sent a small present to the Bishop of Malacca "of friendship, meaning to come herself [*i.e.*, the ship] and visit him." From this junk he also took a Portuguese pilot for his voyage to the Cape. It may be noted that, at this time, ships going to little known seas carried with them men who had had great experience of navigation and, if possible, had been there before and whom they called pilots. Naturally these pilots were personages of some importance. Linschoten (I, 93, p. 164), in describing the duties of the navigating officers of a Portuguese ship, mentions the pilot first of all:—"The pilot hath his cabin above in the hinder part of the ship, on the right side, where he hath two or three rooms, and never cometh under the hatches nor down into the foreship, but standeth only and commandeth the Master of the ship to hoist or let fall the sails, and to look unto his course, how they shall steer, to take the height of the sun, and every day to write and mark what passeth, and how they sail and with what tokens, wind and weather."[48]

192. Whilst the English were thus preparing to dispute the trade of the Eastern seas with the Portuguese, they were also on the watch to plunder their vessels as they returned richly laden, like honey bees to their hive. According to Linschoten (I, 93, p. 163) the Spanish and Portuguese ships from India sailed as was convenient to each as far as St. Helena, but having arrived there, they all waited until the 25th of May so as to have each other's company and support for the rest of the voyage:—"For from India unto the Island of St. Helena they need not keep company, because all that way they fear no rovers: and to that island they have all their cannon shot pulled in, the better to pass the foul weather at the Cape of Good Hope." From St. Helena they began to run into danger, for first, there were pirates cruising between the West Indies and the coast of Guinea, then the Barbary pirates and last, and most to be feared, English, French and Dutch corsairs off the Azores.[49] Linschoten himself was on board the *Santa Cruz* when she was attacked off Terceira on the 22nd July 1589 by three English corsairs (Linschoten, I, 96, p. 178).

193. James Lancaster entered the Indian Seas from the West. In command of the *Edward Bonaventure*, which with the *Royal Merchant* (Captain Abraham Kendal) and the *Penelope* formed the small fleet under the orders of Captain Raymond, he left England in April 1591. The *Royal Merchant* returned to England from the Cape and the *Penelope* was lost, but Lancaster, after having had thirty men treacherously killed by the natives of the Comoro Islands, reached Zanzibar in November 1591 and doubled Cape Comorin in May 1592. Thence he sailed to the Nicobars, Sumatra and Malacca. Off Malacca he took a ship from Pegu with a Portuguese-owned cargo, but allowed to pass free another, the cargo of which was owned by Pegu merchants. At the Island of Pulo Sambilan he took a Portuguese ship from Negapatam and in October another belonging to the Captain of Malacca. After many vicissitudes of fortune he lost his ship in the West Indies on his homeward voyage and returned to England with his crew in a French ship *via* Dieppe, in 1594 (Hakluyt, VI, 387).

48 In the French Maritime Regulations of 1681 the pilot holds similar high rank and keeps the Journal or Log (*Justice*, p. 334).

49 Faria (III, 37–38) mentions an unsuccessful attack on a Portuguese ship near the Equator and the capture of another by Drake at the Azores in 1586.

194. In 1592 the Portuguese vessel *Madre de Dios* was, on her return from India, taken off Terceira, and the *Santa Cruz* forced to run ashore by an English cruising fleet under Sir John Burroughs (Danvers, *Port. Records*, p. 16).

195. On the 28th July 1594 Francisco Vendramin, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, reported (*Cal. State Papers, Venetian*) that English corsairs had attacked off the Azores the richest Portuguese ship that had ever sailed from an East Indian port, and having failed in an attempt to board her, had burnt and sunk her with her cargo and all on board. The total amount lost, says Vendramin, was three million ducats, of which three hundred thousand belonged to the King of Spain. This ship was *Las Cinque Plagas* or the *Five Wounds*, and the English corsairs were the *Royal Exchange* (Captain George Cave), the *May Flower* (Captain William Anthonie), the *Sampson* (Captain Nicholas Downton) and a pinnace, the *Violet* or *Why not I*, all equipped by George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, and his friends. The fight took place on the 13th June, six leagues to the southward of the Sound, between Fayal and Pico. The Portuguese made an obstinate defence, but their ship taking fire, the cargo, largely composed of combustible matter, caught also and made an inextinguishable conflagration. Thereupon the Portuguese leaped into the sea and a small number of them were saved by boats from the English ships. Two of those rescued, Nuno Vello Pereira, Governor in 1582 of Mozambique and Sofala, and Bras Carrero, Captain of a carrack which had been wrecked near Mozambique, were brought to England and ransomed; the rest were set ashore on the Island of Flores (Faria, III, 72; Kerr, VII, 456; Hakluyt, III, 14).

Chinese.

196. In the Malay Archipelago the Spaniards, from an early date, employed Asiatics as sailors. In 1593 the galley of Governor Gomez Perez, whilst on a voyage to the Moluccas, was seized by the Chinese rowers, who killed the Governor and all the Spaniards on board and carried the treasure chest to Cochin China, where it was seized by the local authorities (de Morga, p. 35). In the *Chinese Repository* (VII, 298) this accident is related of Governor Marinas of Manila and is said to have occurred on the 25th October 1593.

197. In 1603 a Chinaman named Engean, who had remained in Manila from the time of Limahon (*see para.* 152 *above*) and was very rich, organised a conspiracy to drive out the Spaniards. After a serious outbreak, he was captured and hanged (Zuniga, I, 221).

Dutch.

198. In 1596 the Dutch made their first appearance in the East (Crawford, II, 508) and met with a very hostile reception in Sumatra. This they ascribed to the Portuguese, who informed the natives that they were "the English pirates who were feared and hated in all that part of the world for the excesses they had committed three years earlier" (*Recueil des Voyages*, p. 385). This is probably a reference to Lancaster, but of any excesses committed by him, which could possibly be compared with those of the Portuguese themselves, we have no record. Will Adams (pilot in a Dutch ship), who landed in Japan in February 1600, says that the Spanish and Portuguese represented to the Emperor of Japan that the English and Dutch were "pirates and robbers of all nations," and that if they were spared no nation should come there [*i.e.*, to Japan], without robbing (*Memorials of Japan*, Hak. Soc., p. 25). This evil reputation of the English persisted, according to Sir Ernest Satow, up to 1851 (*A Diplomat in Japan*, p. 384).

199. In October 1600 two Dutch ships, the *Maurice* (Captain Oliver de Noort) and the *Concordia* or *Eendracht* (Captain Lambert Viesman, or Biesman, of Rotterdam) arrived at Manila. On the 14th December they were attacked by the Spaniards and the *Concordia* captured after a desperate fight. Viesman and eighteen others were taken prisoners. Six of these, being mere boys, were spared and distributed amongst the convents. All the rest were put to death by the garotte as pirates, but twelve of them having been converted they

died as good Catholics after receiving the Eucharist from the monks and were buried by the Brotherhood of Holy Mercy. "The only one that would not be converted was the Admiral [*i.e.*, Viesman], the most dogged and pertinacious heretic that ever I saw in my life" (de Morga, pp. 149, 169, 397). As the Spaniards showed no mercy to the Dutch, they met with little in return. During the fight the Spanish ship *Blessed Trinity* caught fire and sank, leaving some 200 poor wretches in the water, crying out for mercy, to which the Dutch replied "with pikes, shot, yea (especially a priest in his habit) with derision" (Purchas, II, 201). So also in a fight between the Dutch and Spaniards on the 17th July 1615, some thirty of the latter were mercilessly slain as they floated helpless in the water crying for aid (*Voyage of George Spilbergen*, Purchas, II, 216).

200. It may be noted here that de Noort, under date 18th June 1599, mentions the curious but time-honoured (*see* Olaus Magnus, IX, Cap. vi, *De Punitione rebellium nautarum*) punishment for mutiny at sea. This consisted in driving a knife into the mast through the hand of the mutineer, and leaving him standing there until he could muster resolution to tear his hand free.

201. In 1600 the French ships *Croissant* and *Corbin* (*see para.* 189 *above*) left St. Malo for the Indies. The *Corbin* was wrecked on the Maldives, but the *Croissant* reached Achin on the 26th July 1601. On the 20th November 1602 she was forced to leave suddenly as Captain La Bardelière was dying and his death in harbour, according to the custom of the country, would have caused his ship to be forfeited to the King. The ship reached Cape Finisterre on the 30th May 1603 in a sinking condition, when the remains of the crew, only fourteen in number, were rescued by some Dutch ships. The cargo was valued by the St. Malo Company at two million (? livres) and half was due as salvage to the rescuers. They seized it all (La Roncière, IV, 266).

Dutch and Malays.

202. It has been mentioned that the Dutch had not been well received in Sumatra. In September 1599 the Dutch ships *Lion* and *Lioness*, on which John Davis was pilot, were treacherously attacked at Achin and, before the assailants could be driven off, the Dutch commander and most of his officers (68 men in all) were killed. The Dutch could however hardly complain, because they had previously been guilty of various acts of petty piracy, and on the return voyage they took and plundered a ship sailing from Negapatam to Achin laden with rice (Kerr, VIII, 53, 61).

203. In September 1603 a junk from the Island of Lampong in the Straits of Sunda came to Bantam. The crew hid it in a creek near by, and disguised as Javanese entered the town head-hunting. Their Raja was accustomed to give a female slave for every head brought him, a payment so prized that the head-hunters sometimes dug up and cut off the heads of bodies that had been newly buried (Scot, in Kerr, VIII, 152). These men must have been Dyaks.

English.

204. The first voyage of the East India Company, which was made by four ships under James Lancaster in 1601, appears to have been rather a privateering attack upon Spanish and Portuguese trade than a *bona fide* trading voyage (Low, I, 5, 6). In October 1605 the fleet under Sir Edward Mitchelbourne, whilst sailing to Patani, on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, overhauled a junk which had been taken by Japanese pirates. Whilst the English rummaged the junk for spoil, they foolishly allowed a number of the Japanese on board their own ships. These men suddenly seized their own arms and any other weapons within reach and made a desperate attempt to capture the *Tyger*. They were overcome with the greatest difficulty, fighting to the last man, and amongst those of the English who were killed was John Davis the Navigator. Mitchelbourne's right to attack this junk was quite problematical, for he had had no previous knowledge that it was in the hands of

pirates. Moreover, he did not hesitate himself to attack and plunder Chinese vessels (*Voyages of John Davis,* Hak. Soc., LXXX, 178). In 1608 William Hawkins met at Surat one Mahdi Kuli, captain of a ship plundered by Mitchelbourne in 1605 (Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 126).

205. In reference to the pirates who lay in wait for the Spanish and Portuguese ships off the Cape Verde Islands, it is evident that one of these islands,—I do not know which—was a kind of rendezvous, for William Hawkins, in the *Journal of his Voyage to the East Indies,* says that, in July 1607, he made for one called the Isle of Safety, as all English and French vessels went there. Later on, Hawkins touched at St. Augustine's in Madagascar, but, as he does not mention meeting any Europeans there, it is probable that this place had not yet become a pirate resort (Brit. Mus., *Egerton MSS.*, 2100).

206. In the fourth General Voyage of the English East India Company the *Ascension* (Captain Alexander Sharpey) took, in 1607, two barques belonging to the Moors of Melinda in Africa. The Moors made little resistance to the capture, but, watching a favourable opportunity, the prisoners attempted to seize the *Ascension* and were not suppressed until forty out of fifty had been killed. These Moors belonged to the best families in Melinda, and Captain Sharpey was compelled to leave the coast to escape from reprisals (Lediard, I, 417).

Dutch.

207. In 1604 the Dutch, after failing to take Macao from the Portuguese, seized Pehou, one of the Pescadores or Ponghu Islands, and to fortify it employed one half of the crews of some sixty Chinese ships which they had taken, plundered and burnt on the coast of Fokien. Most of these men died. The other half of the crews were sent to Batavia and sold as slaves (Ljungstedt, p. 33).

208. The Dutch at this time generally tried to identify themselves with the English so as to convince the Japanese that they had no connection with the Spaniards or Portuguese, the reputation of the latter being so bad that their assertions (*see para.* 198 *above*) that the English and Dutch were all pirates carried no conviction to the minds of their hearers. In 1610 a Dutch Factory was established at Hirado (Firando) in Japan (Murdoch, II, 470). According to Boulger (II, 119), Dutch ships visited Japan in 1586 and 1588, but their first establishment in that country was in 1609.

Portuguese.

209. In 1605 a ship belonging to Arima of Shimabara was plundered by certain Portuguese at Macao. Later on, hearing that some of the culprits were on board another ship, he pursued her to the east of Yuwojima and there took and burned her on the 18th December 1609 (*As. Soc. Japan. Trans.*, IX, 144). In 1608 some Portuguese frigates attacked and took in Surat River two barques belonging to Captain William Hawkins. When restitution was demanded, it was contemptuously refused on the ground that the Indian Seas belonged solely to the King of Portugal, and the English prisoners were sent to Lisbon. In the same year the Portuguese at Surat threatened to carry away to Diu a ship belonging to the Queen Mother of the Mughal, then lading for Mocha, unless a pass was purchased for 100,000 *mahmudis,* but ultimately they accepted 1,000 rials and some presents (Foster, *Early Travels*, pp. 126, 129).

210. On the 28th October 1613 William Biddulph wrote to the East India Company that the Portuguese had seized a Gujarat (Surat) ship (in spite of her having a Portuguese pass) valued at 70 to 80 thousand pounds, and had carried away 700 persons, the men for slaves, the women and children for converts (*Cal. State Papers, East Indies*). Biddulph probably referred to the *Remewe* (*see para,* 173 *above*).

Japanese.

211. The incursions of Japanese pirates into the waters of the Malay Archipelago have already been alluded to in the story of the death of John Davis in 1605 (*see para.* 204 *above*). The narrator of Mitchelbourne's voyage tells us that Mitchelbourne met other

Japanese pirates cruising on the coasts of China and Cambaia (*i.e.*, Cambodia), and of them he says :—" The Japons are not allowed to land in any port in India with weapons, being accounted a people so desperate and daring that they are feared in all places where they come " (*Voyages of John Davis*, Hak. Soc., LXXX, 178).

212. In 1606 the Japanese in the Philippines twice rebelled against the Spaniards (Crawford, II, 466-7).

213. In 1620 the Japanese settled in Formosa (Du Halde, I, 90) on the suggestion of the Chinese pirate Yen-Ssu-chi, one of whose followers (*see para.* 252 *below*) was the celebrated Chinchilung (Li Ung Bing, p. 343 n.).

English and Dutch.

214. The impression produced upon the Asiatics by the mutual hostility of the Europeans may be judged from the following :—" In 1020 A.H. (*i.e.*, 1611 A.D.) the Emperor Nuruddin Jahangir made over the fort of Surat in the Province of Gujarat to the English, against whom the Farangis of Portugal bear a most deadly enmity and both are thirsty of each other's blood. This was the place where the English made their first settlement in India. Their religious belief is contrary to that of the Portuguese. For instance they consider Jesus Christ (may the peace of God rest on him) a servant of God and his prophet, but do not admit that he was the son of God.[50] They are in no wise obedient to the King of Portugal " (Ghulam Basit, Elliott, VIII, 202). Again, Captain Saris tells us that a Dutch ship coming into Nagasaki, " on their arrival they were said to be English, our nation being long known by report in Japan, but much scandalised by the Portuguese Jesuits, who represent us as pirates and rovers on the sea. In consequence of this report the Japanese have a song, in which they call the English Crofonio, showing how the English take the Spanish and Portuguese ships, which, while singing, they act likewise with *catans* [*i.e.*, daggers] so as to scare their children as the French used to do theirs with the name of Lord Talbot " (Kerr, IX, 15).

English.

215. In February 1611-12, Sir Henry Middleton took and plundered two Portuguese ships at Dabhol and then proceeded to the Red Sea " to revenge us of the wrongs offered us both by Turkes and Mogols " (Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 96). In May 1612 he met with Captain John Saris, and together they proceeded to hold up the native trade. Between the 15th and 23rd of the month, they stopped and detained 15 vessels from Surat, Diu, Calicut, Cannanore and Achin. Amongst these was the *Rehmy* of Surat, of 1,500 tons, and carrying 1,500 persons. She belonged to the Mughal's mother " whose devotion had built and maintained her for the accommodation of pilgrims to Mecca." It was the intention of the English commanders to detain these ships until the Turks came to reason, but as the Captain of the *Rehmy* and his fellow sufferers had no means of influencing the Turks, they thought it wiser to pay the compensation the English demanded themselves. The *Rehmy* contributed 15,000 dollars and the other ships about the same amount between them. The unlucky *Rehmy* was in 1614 burnt by the Portuguese at Gogo with several other vessels and 120 trading boats (Kerr, VIII, 380, 405, 428, 430; Orme, *Hist. Frag.*, 325, 346; *see para.* 173 *above*).

216. Captain Saris left England on the 18th April 1611. In 1613 he visited Japan and received permission to trade for the East India Company, but though the Japanese made some distinction between the English and Dutch on the one side and the Spanish

50 Probably a Portuguese perversion of the refusal of Protestants to worship the Crucifix.

and Portuguese on the other, restrictions were speedily imposed. In 1623 the English Factory at Nagasaki was closed, and trade between England and Japan was not really renewed until the nineteenth century (Logan's *Journal*, V, 659-664 ; *see para.* 268 *below*). Saris tells us (Kerr, XI, 41) of various duels fought ashore by members of his crew, which shows that the crews of these nominally trading vessels claimed and exercised the right of private combat enjoyed by the seamen of Buccaneer ships and (?) privateers. Low (I, 12) says that it was the opposition of the Portuguese and Spaniards which justified the armed character of such fleets as that sent out under Captain Best in 1612, and it is certain that this opposition accounts for a good deal, but what Captain Saris tells us shows that the crews were much more independent than those of the King's ships, and even than those of ordinary merchantmen. I am inclined to think that this fact may supply some explanation of the striped red and white flag of the English East India Company, its ships being equally ready to trade under the *white* flag or fight under the *red*.

217. On the 26th April 1613 the Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople wrote to the Doge :—" A Cha'ush has arrived from Cairo sent express from the Pasha to report the great damage inflicted by English and Dutch Bertons [*i.e.*, British or large ships as distinguished from the galleys used by the Moors in the Mediterranean] in the Red Sea. Their constant plundering of rich Turkish ships is threatening the great city of Cairo with ruin to its trade " (*Cal. State Papers, Venetian*). This is evidently the Turkish version of what Sir Henry Middleton and his like considered were well-warranted reprisals.

218. In 1612 a certain Edward Christian was at Swally. In 1613 he was appointed Captain of the *Hoseander* by Captain Best and in 1615 of the *Globe* (Kerr, IX, 106-112, VIII, 463). This is probably the Captain Christian, Governor of the Isle of Man, whose summary punishment for favouring piracy was demanded by the Lord Deputy of Ireland on the 31st November 1633 (*Cal. State Papers, Irish*). The Earl of Derby having been asked why he had appointed such a man as Governor, replied :—" Captain Christian . . . was a Manx man born and had made himself a good fortune in the East Indies. . . He was an excellent companion and as rude as a sea-captain should be, but something more refined and civilized by serving the Duke of Buckingham about a year at Court. Most men have one failing or other to sully their best actions, and his was that condition which is ever found with drunkenness, *viz.*, avarice, which is observed to grow in men with their years (Seacome, pp. 220-1).

219. When Captain Walter Peyton sailed for India (1615, Purchas, I, 528), he took out with him nineteen " condemned persons from Newgate to be left for the discovery of unknown places, the Company having obtained their pardons from the King for this purpose (Kerr, IX, 220 ; *see para.* 62 *above*).

220. In 1615 the St. Malo Company gave the command of a fleet for the East Indies to an Englishman, John Fearne, who unknown (?) to them was a pirate. He brought in some other Englishmen, Arthur Ingham, Lionel Cranfield and Eustace Mawe, but was acting in collusion with Ambassador Edmonds. When the fleet put to sea on the 26th March, he insisted, under pretence of necessary repairs, on taking his ship, the *Cerf Volant*, to England. On the way he captured a French ship-of-war (? Privateer or Pirate) and carried her to Milford. The *Cerf Volant* he took to London, where he sold her guns, and himself enlisted in Raleigh's expedition to Guiana (La Roncière, IV, 290). Faria says (III, 253) that in 1616 Don Hierome Manuel, who commanded the homeward bound vessels,

beat off an attack by four pirate ships near the Island of Flores, but does not state their nationality. In 1617 (? 1613) the Portuguese, making a voyage of discovery around Madagascar, found many traces of Europeans, especially Hollanders. Amongst others at Port Santa Clara, they found two inscriptions showing that the English had been there, *viz.*, *Christophorus Neoportus Anglus Cap. and Dominus Robertus Schurlius Comes, Legatus Regis Persarum.* In the same voyage they discovered and named St. Augustine (Faria, III, 269).

Sanganians and Malabarese.

221. In 1609 Abdul Karim, the Muhammadan Governor of Chaul, sent out a fleet of 30 padaos to cruise against the Portuguese, and in 1611 the natives of Chaul introduced into the city a number of Muhammadan outlaws from Karanja, who murdered the Portuguese captain of the fortress (Faria, III, 168-185; da Cunha, *Chaul*, p. 63).

222. In 1613 the English at Surat formed a small local force of grabs and gallevats for protection against the Portuguese and the pirates in the rivers Tapti and Narbada and in the Gulf of Cambay. It was manned by volunteers from the Company's ships and known as the Grab Service (Low, I, 16). This was the origin of the famous Bombay Marine.

223. In 1614 James de Vasconcelos with 9 ships sailed from Diu to Agacaim, where he captured the whole of a fleet of 16 Malabarese with their commander Porcasse (Faria, III, 199).

224. In 1615 Captain Walter Peyton, having taken two Portuguese ships off Coulam without any hindrance from the guns of the castle, offered to put the crews ashore, but they declined "as fearing to be ill-used by the Malabars, having lately escaped with difficulty from a fleet of theirs of 14 sail" (Peyton, in Kerr, IX, 233). In the same year a treaty was concluded between Jahangir and the Portuguese, both parties expressing hostility towards the English and Dutch and the necessity for destroying the Malabar pirates (Faria, III, 221; Orme, *Hist. Frag.*, p. 361; *Bom. Gaz*, I, ii, p. 62).

225. On the 20th December 1615 a Malabar brought into Cranganore a prize which he had taken from the Portuguese and would have traded with us, but we could not get in any of our money due long before" (*Journal of Roger Hawes*, Kerr, IX, 245). From this it would appear that some English ships, even if they did not assist in acts of piracy, were not above purchasing the pirates' booty.

226. On the 20th January 1616 a Portuguese fleet entered the same harbour and was defeated by the Malabarese. "Nine or ten Portuguese vessels were driven ashore and two or three of the chiefs of these were immediately hanged up by the heels, and being taken down after two days were thrown to be devoured by wild beasts" (*Ibid.*)

227. In 1617 or 1618 Dom Pedro, a cousin of Kunhale, who had become a Christian, fled from Goa, renounced his new faith and, turning pirate, captured a number of Portuguese ships. On one occasion he took 12 out of a Portuguese fleet of 18 ships together with their commander Vitorio de Abreu. Another Portuguese ship which he had captured was retaken by a passing Spaniard (Faria, III, 288-9).

228. In February 1623 John Hall with the *Blessing, Whale, Dolphin* and *Reformation*, drove off two Malabar pirates to the great relief of the inhabitants of the Gujarat Coast. He then proceeded to bombard Dabol in reprisal for injuries done to the English (*Hall to the East India Company, 16th December 1623, Cal. State Papers, East Indies*).

Malays.

229. In 1616 the men of Mindanao burned the dockyard in Pantao, a port of Luzon, and for many years they continued to infest the coasts of Macalilum, Camarines, Albay, etc., the Spaniards being quite unable to hold them in check (de Morga, p. 360).

Portuguese.

230. While the Portuguese called the English pirates, on occasion their own ships adopted piratical customs. "The 6th July 1616 our men . . . espied a sail . . . About noon the *Globe* came up with her . . . and according to the custom of the sea hailed her, asking her whence she was. She answered indirectly 'From the Sea', calling our men Rogues, Thieves, Heretics and Devils and the conclusion of her rude compliment was in loud cannon language, discharging seven great pieces of artillery at our *Globe*" (Terry in Purchas, IX, 5). The Portuguese reply was that generally made by pirates[51] when asked from what port they came, and yet they had the impudence to call the English 'Rogues,' which for at least another hundred years was the sailor synonym for 'pirates' (*see para.* 507 *below*). Nor was their conduct very different from their language. Faria tells us: "Andrew Botello de Costa coming to Jafnapatam with 6 sail, understood there was a great Danish ship at Gale that had taken some prizes. He found out, and after three hours' fight, took her. Of the enemy, 8 were killed, some burned, others got ashore with the captain and 49 were taken. On our side 8 were slain, whereof one was the commander." According to this account the Dane was also acting piratically (Faria. III, 290). This was in 1617 or 1618.

Dutch.

231. In January 1617 the Dutch under Lawrence Ryall seized the English ship *Swan* (Captain Nicholas Courthop) after a stiff fight in the road of Pularoon, one of the Banda Islands, and a little later the ship *Defence*, under the pretence that they had King James' order prohibiting the English from trading east of the Celebes (Kerr's Voyages, IX, 445-6), a particularly insulting pretext when they were at the very time committing piracy under the guise of Englishmen. On the 15th February 1617 Richard Cocks wrote to Captain John Saris from Firando (*i.e.*, Hirado)—"Last year the Hollanders sent a fleet of ships from the Moluccas to Manila to fight the Spanish fleet, but the Spaniards kept safe in port for five or six months, so that the Hollanders concluded they durst not come out at all, and therefore separated to look out for Chinese junks, of which some say they took and plundered 25, while others say 35. It is certain that they took great riches and all under the assumed name of Englishmen." They took some of their prizes to Japan. "The Emperor allows them to make prize of all they take. . . As I said before, the Dutch have always robbed the Chinese under the name of Englishmen, which has greatly injured our endeavours to procure trade in that country" (Kerr, IX, 82). In July 1617 President George Ball of Bantam wrote:—"The Hollanders have covered the ocean with their ships from the Arabian Gulf to the coast of China, spoiling and robbing all nations in the name and under the colours of the English" (*Ind. Off. O. C.*, 51). *See also* Richard Cocks to the East India Company. 15th February 1618, *Cal. State Papers, East Indies*).

51 When Sir Kenelm Digby, on the 17th February 1627-8, met two piratical vessels in the Bay of Cagliari and was asked whence he came, he replied 'From London and the Sea,' whilst their reply was simply 'Of the Sea' (*Cal. State Papers*). On the 20th May 1718 Captain Martin Preston deposed at Kingston. Jamaica, that he had been chased by a sloop commanded by Edward Thatch (*i.e.*, Teach *alias* Blackbeard) which, when asked whence she came, replied only 'From Sea' (*Col. Office Records*, 137/15).

DR. WILLIAM CROOKE, C.I.E., D.S.C., LITT.D., F.B.A.

BY SIR R. C TEMPLE, BT.

ON the 25th October 1923 death somewhat suddenly took another searcher of longstanding and great distinction into Things Indian, as he would have put it himself, for to my knowledge it is quite forty years since Dr. Crooke began to publish his very long series of books and papers on his researches into many kinds of matters connected with the people of India. During all that period he has been more or less continuously connected with myself, and I feel his death therefore as a grievous personal loss.

He was the eldest son of Warren Crooke, M.D., of Macroom Co., Cork, and was born in 1848, being 75 at his death. He belonged to an old Irish family, his younger brother being Col. Sir Warren Crooke—Lawless, C.B., C.B.E., R.A.M.C., of the Coldstream Guards, and Surgeon to Lord Minto, while Viceroy of India, and House-Governor of the Convalescent Home for Officers at Osborne, Isle of Wight. William Crooke was educated at Tipperary Grammar School and Trinity College, Dublin, of which last he was a scholar. He entered the Indian Civil Service in 1871, and became Collector and Magistrate at various times of the districts of Saharanpur, Gorakhpur and Mirzapur in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. He retired after an uneventful though strenuous official life in 1895. He was, however, not altogether a literary man, for he was a good sportsman and had shot many tigers during his career.

During his service in India and after it, Crooke was a valuable and prolific writer on oriental matters and took a great interest in all subjects connected with the people of India, their habits and customs, their religion and ethics and their ways, and was indeed a master-teacher in such things. He was always willing to help research in these directions in any way open to him and he loved it for its own sake. But he was in no way pushing and reaped but little renown or recognition—and what of them came his way came late in life. He became an Hon. D.Sc. of Oxford (1919) and an Hon. Litt. D. of Dublin (1920). In 1919 also he was awarded the C.I.E. by the Indian Government, and in 1923 he became a Fellow of the British Academy. In 1910 he was President of the Anthropological Section (H) of the British Association and in 1911-12 of the Folklore Society, and for years was an active and valued member of the Anthropological Institute.

The earliest publications of his that I can trace are two notes in this Journal in Vol. XVII (1882) which show the trend of his mind, for they were about the exorcism of village ghosts and the Brahmani duck, and thereafter he constantly helped me up to Vol. XLI (1912). Indeed at one time it was proposed that he should be a Joint Editor with me. He was also a valued contributor from 1883 to the Journal I started, in the *Punjab Notes and Queries*, and succeeded me as Editor for a few years, when it was converted into *North Indian Notes and Queries*. Crooke was always ready to help periodical and similar publications from his almost unrivalled knowledge of Indian Ethnology, Anthropology and Folklore, and was a constant contributor for many years to the publications of the Anthropological Institute and of the Folklore Society. He had in fact for some years been Editor of *Folklore* at the time of his death. He wrote in addition many articles in *Nature* and in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* for Dr. Hastings.

Crooke was also an indefatigable editor of books, producing with great learning and wide reading valuable editions of Yule's *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, usually known as *Hobson-Jobson* (1903), Fryer's *New Account of East India and Persia* in three volumes for the Hakluyt Society (1909 and onwards), Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali's *Observations on the Mussulmans of India* (1916), Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan* (1920), Herklot's *Quanûn-i-Islam* (*Islam in India*, 1922). In

addition he had finished editing Ball's edition of Tavernier's *Travels*, which I understand is in the hands of the Oxford Press, and must now be issued as a posthumous work. Quite lately also he added a valuable note on the Folklore in Sir George Grierson's edition of Sir Aurel Stein's *Hatim's Tales* (of Kashmir).

Crooke did not by any means confine himself to editing, but produced his invaluable *Rural and Agricultural Glossary, North-West Provinces and Oudh*, and a whole series of works since his retirement from Government service. In 1896 he published his well known *Tribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces*, and his *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, following these up with a very well-known book, *Things Indian*, in 1906 and *Natives of Northern India*. He also wrote with Mr. H. D. Rouse *The Talking Thrush*, a collection of Folktales for the Folklore Society. It will be seen that though he was never in the public eye he lived a very busy life all his days, bent on forwarding a real knowledge of the people among whom he worked as an official to their benefit and to that of the Government which he had served. He was a sound scholar and in every way a learned man, and on many an occasion I have found him willing to let others share the knowledge he had laboriously acquired and ever ready to cooperate in the solution of the conundrums constantly arising about the people of India and their ideas : a very useful life that was a credit to himself and of great advantage to the nation. And it may be added that his work cannot but be a solace to his widow and the sons he has left behind him.

Crooke married in 1884 Alice younger daughter of Lieut.-Col. George Carr of the 2nd Madras Native Infantry and had five sons. The eldest died as a child. The third son, Capt. E. H. Crooke, a scholar of Brasenose, Oxford, was killed in France in 1916 and his fourth son, Lt. W. H. Crooke, R.E., was also killed in France in the same year. His second and fifth sons survive him. The former, Mr. R. H. Crooke, a scholar of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, has been in the Home Civil Service since 1912 (Ministry of Health) and his fifth son, Mr. R. L. Crooke, is still at Cheltenham College where his three other brothers were brought up, Dr. Crooke having spent all his retirement at Charlton Kings near Cheltenham. Crooke's articles for this *Journal* were Notes on the Gipsy Tribes of the North-West Provinces and Oudh in Vol. XVII : (2) A Version of the Guga Legend in Vol. XXIV : (3) Folk-Tales from the Indus Valley in Vol. XXIX : (4) Folk-Tales from Northern India in Vol. XXV : (5) Religious Songs from Northern India in Vol. XXXIX : (6) Mendicants' cries from Northern India in Vol. XXIX : (7, 8, & 9) Songs about the King of Oudh, from Northern India, and of the Mutiny in Vol. XL : and (10) a long series of Folk Tales of Hindustan in Vols. XXI, XXII, XXIII, & XXIV. He also wrote interesting miscellanea in other volumes and a valuable review of Campbell's *Santal Folk Tales* in Vol. XXI.

A SKETCH OF SOUTH INDIAN CULTURE.

(From the Lectures of Prof. Rao Sahib Krishnaswami Aiyangar.)

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(Continued from p. 16.)

There is an inference here that by the Śangam period South Indian Brahmanism had become anti-Buddhistic. Indeed, that the Tamil-land in the early days was pro-Brahmanist and anti-Buddhist is shown throughout the literature. Aśōka's propaganda did not reach it and was kept out by force: witness the numerous statements as to the credit taken by all the rulers,—Pāṇḍya, Chola or Chêra—for achievements against the Âryas. The opposition was "set up" not in mere hostility to the peaceful pursuit of Buddhism or Jainism, but seemed to be essentially intended for securing freedom for the unfettered pursuit of Brahmanism in the Tamil country. "The result was that the continuity of Hindu Culture has been a special feature in the History of Southern India." "Brahmanism, having found a welcome home in this region, when Buddhism was in the ascendancy in North India, pursued its path unmolested . . . . This freedom made the Tamil country at this period, as it proved to be in other later periods, a special refuge to Aryan culture, whenever it was hard pressed in the North."

The literature of the early times exhibits "a certain amount of development in the *dyamic* worship of the Vaishṇava Pâncharâtrins, though this does not exclude the advent of the Śaiva *âgamas* (doctrines) at the same period;" while the rise of the School of Bhakti in the North, as a development of the Upanishadic culture, "received welcome support from the position of this particular school of Brahmanism in the South."

"This special development could not have been on this side of the Christian era," and there was obviously an intimate connection then between the North and the South. Thus, in the days of the Suṅgas of the North, Pushyamitra organised "a revivification of Brahmanism in face of a foreign enemy, like the Greeks of Bactria . . . . who were in the political sense 'a foreign enemy' and in the sacerdotal conception heretics in religion." The Tamil literature, as confirmed by the Hâthigumpha Inscription of Khâravêla of Kaliṅga, shows that this created a religious ferment "referable to the period of revival under the Suṅgas and the Kanvas."

The Professor here turns aside for a while to consider the connection of South India with Ceylon in the ancient days, which, as he says, was generally one of hostility. Here it is interesting to note that Tamil literature has several references earlier than the Buddhist tradition to the story of the *Râmâyaṇa*, so far as it relates to Ceylon. These references are of such a nature as to show that it was familiar in South India at that very early time "in minute detail."

Turning to the *Mahâvaṁśa*, the Professor discusses the story of the occupation of the Island by the Vaṅga (Bengal) Buddhist prince Vijaya and his followers *viâ* Lâṭa, landing *en route* at Suppâraka, and he sets to work to show that Lâṭa is not Gujarât, and that Suppâraka is not "Sopara on the West Coast of India . . . . In the course of this narrative Ceylon receives both the names of Laṅka and Tambapanni," and it may be added, also that of Sîhala.

Despite its coating of myth, the story contains the germs of the history of the establishment of civilisation in Ceylon from Bengal, or "to be more precise, from Gangetic Kaliṅga." It is with this in view that the Professor argues that Lâṭa is not Gujarât, but Râḍha (Lâḍha, Lâḷa), *i.e.*, Bardwân and Kaliṅga, being confirmed in this opinion by ancient Tamil literary accounts of the legend. Assuming then the journey to have been *viâ* the Bay of Bengal,

Suppâra, the Good Shore, must be looked for there and not on the West Coast of India: say, "at Tamluk at the mouth of the Rûpnârâyaṇ. The story further adds that Vijaya got womenfolk for his men from the Pâṇḍya country of Madura. All this means that the Northern part of Ceylon 'was colonised partly from Bengal and partly from the Tamil country,' which is likely enough."

The date of this civilisation is not clear, and the Professor with some hesitation places it at the commencement of the Maurya Dynasty; say, at the end of the fourth century B.C. It is interesting to note that it is in this folktale, based on historical events, that the Pâṇḍya country first comes in contact with the history of Ceylon.

The next mention of South India in the *Mahâvaṁśa* occurs in 177 B.C., when "two horse-traders from the Tamil country" usurped the Bengali kingdom in Ceylon for 22 years. Soon after this "a Tamil of noble descent came from the Chola country, seized the kingdom, and ruled for a period of 44 years 'with even justice towards friend and foe on occasions of disputes at law.'" The *Mahâvaṁśa* calls him Elara and Tamil tradition Elêlasiṅgham, He never adopted Buddhism, and from this time onwards the feeling between Siñhalese and Tamil was one of hostility.

Again following the *Mahâvaṁśa*, about 44 B.C., Tamils again ousted the native king Vattâ Gâmaṇi for 14 years, and during the second century A.D. one "Vasabha of the Lambakaṇṇa [pendant-eared] race" overthrew the reigning king and ruled for 42 years. The Lambakaṇṇas are an important Tamil people in the Pâṇḍya country. Among these Lambakaṇṇa kings was Gajabâhuka Gâmaṇi (Gajabâhu), the contemporary of the Red Chêra, whose reign "is of great importance in South Indian History, as he was the ruler of Ceylon who was present at the completion of the ceremony of the institution of the temple to Pattinî-Dêvî in the Chêra capital of Vañji." It is also important, because for the first time we have dates, which can be verified as lying in the middle of the second century A.D.

Next, there is mention of the *eka-nâlikâ* Famine of Siñhalese History, when rice went to one *nâḻikâ* for the main unit of currency, *i.e.*, to eight times its ordinary value. The Siñhalese dates for this is A.D. 183–184, which is near the date of a great famine in the Pâṇḍya country. In the next reign the Buddhist Vêtulya heresy became important and was suppressed, to rise again into importance in the great Abhayagiri Vihâra. This heresy held that the Buddha was a supernatural being and that the Law (Dharma) was not preached by him but by his disciple Ânanda. The date given for its rise is A.D. 209. Here the Professor remarks: "this seems to give a clear indication of the connection between this School of Buddhism and the School of Bhakti in Hinduism, thus apparently harmonising somewhat with this rising-school of Hindu thought, such harmonising being one of the special features of Mahâyâna Buddhism." He then makes the important observation that "if the date A.D. 209 can be regarded as the correct equivalent, it would lead us a long way towards settling the date of Nâgârjuna."

Taking us up thus to the commencement of the fourth century A.D., the Professor remarks that the Tamil connection with Ceylon did not bring that people to sympathise with the Buddhists. "The religious condition of South India was one of complete freedom, and while Buddhists and Jains had license to follow their respective faiths, Hinduism was the dominant religion. In time the Tamil country became the seat of orthodox Hinduism. At first, sacrifices were a most important feature of it, and the Brâhmaṇs came to have great honour as the celebrants, "the rest of the community looking forward, in the security that the Brâhmaṇ was discharging his duties to the community as a whole, to the attainment of earthly prosperity in this world and salvation in the next, by a comparatively easier method of devotion, each to the god of his heart. The notions of God and of a ministering priest

to stand between God and individual man came into relief." This feature of devotion is characteristic both of Hindu Bhakti (devotional faith) and philosophic Mahâyâna Buddhism. "It would seem, therefore, as though the School of Bhakti and the Vêtulya Heresy of Buddhism alike were the developments of Brahmanism and Buddhism respectively as a result of the same or similar influence."

This brings the Professor to a survey of the Brâhmaṇ's position before the rise of the Pallavas. Going back to Vedic times, the Brâhmaṇ achieved his two first duties: "the performance of sacrifices and getting others to perform them." Learning was associated with him from the beginning, and he became its custodian and dispenser. He was thus the teacher giving education as a free gift, but accepting rewards therefor, not as a right but as a recompense,—an obligation towards him gradually extended to the whole of society. It had to maintain the Brâhmaṇ. The obligation became a sacred one, and a Tamil poet praises a royal family "as the one which had never been known to do anything that would cause pain to a Brâhmaṇ." It was while such a Brahmanism was evolving itself that the notions were infused into it of "a personal God who intervenes in the affairs of man for the benefit of humanity," and of personal devotion to Him. Thus did Bhakti arise as the answer to the agnostic cults of Buddhism and Jainism.

The "theistic system of Bhakti consists in the worship of a personal God, who is the Creator and Lord of the Universe. Devotion to him by unremitting service is the best way to the attainment of salvation, or release from the ever recurring cycle of births and deaths." This system the Professor would trace "back to the Vedic beginnings, reaching to the *Upanishads* certainly." Bhakti, as the Professor says, is love of God and complete devotion to Him, and as a system it "regards Vâsudêva as the Supreme Soul, the internal soul of all souls." His worship goes as far back as the Upanishadic times and clearly to the 4th century B.C.

The special home of Bhakti, though not its place of origin, was South India, and the idea of devotion to a personal God is traceable in the earliest extant portions of Tamil literature. "The worship of Kṛishṇa and Baladêva seems to have been quite an ordinary feature of Tamil civilisation in the earliest period of which we have knowledge." Taken as a whole, the literature of the civilisation was essentially Aryan in character, with "indubitable traces of the Aryan features in it, which are very primitive in consequence."

These discussions lead the Professor to his sixth lecture, which is on the Kuṛal of Tiruvaḷḷuvar, "a characteristically Tamil classic." The term *kuṛal* means 'short,' and the work is so called because it consists of aphoristic couplets of four and three feet each. As an ethico-religious work the Kuṛal is intended as a guide for conduct in life. It deals with three only of the "four objects of life" for a curious reason. The 'four objects' are righteousness, wealth, love and salvation: in Tamil *aṛam, poruḷ, inbam* and *vîḍu*, and in Sanskrit, *dharma, artha, kâma* and *môksha*. "If the first three objects of life are attained by adopting a moral life, the other follows inevitably in consequence. Hence the omission of the fourth in this work."

The author was clearly acquainted with Châṇakya's *Arthaśâstra*, and is in fact deeply indebted to it. It was also known clearly to the writers of the Śangam literature. The Professor here does good service in showing how much this very important Tamil work is strongly infused with Sanskrit culture, ethical and political, and winds up his remarks by a statement that "on a dispassionate examination of the work there seems justification for the assumption that the author of the *Kuṛal*, though undoubtedly belonging to another caste, was Brahmanical in religion."

After this Professor Kṛishṇaswâmi Aiyangar attacks the difficult historical problem of the Pallavas, warily remarking that "it can hardly be described as being out of the stage of discussion yet." Nearly every one who has considered the subject has come to the conclusion

that the Pallavas were Parthian Pahlavas, who entered India from Persia by way of Balûchistân, and that by the time they reached the Tamil country they had become Hinduised. This view, of course, always had difficulties, and we may now safely say that it must be given up. But who were they ?

The Professor tells us that the Tamils always looked on Pulicat, as their Northern boundary beyond which dwelt the Vaḍukars, meaning thereby the Telugus and the Kannadas. It is in "the region on the Eastern side of this portion of the Peninsula occupied by this people" that "we find the earliest memorials of Pallava rule." When the Pallavas appear in general history they are in possession of Kâñchî (Conjeeveram), and "whether they were Tamils or Telugus, they are the people we find along the region between the lower courses of the Kṛishṇa and the Pâlâr," *i.e.*, Toṇḍamaṇḍalam (Toṇḍanâḍu), including both Kâñchî and Tirupati, inhabited by the 'Toṇḍaiyars', which name was considered synonymous with that of the 'Pallavas.' Kâñchî" figures in the body of early literature as a viceroyalty of the Cholas, and the only Toṇḍamân that figures in the whole body of this literature as the ruler of this part of the country is the Toṇḍamân Ilam-Tirâyan of Kâñchî, who ruled not so much in his own right, as by the right of his Chola ancestry."

As regards equating the Pallavas with the Toṇḍaiyars, the Professor goes into the question at some length. They first appear as tribal rulers along the course of the Kṛishṇa, "almost to the Pâlâr, along the old Vaḍuka frontier of the Tamils", and his conclusion is that "they were natives of South India and were not a dynasty of foreigners." By origin they "were in all probability a family of Nâga feudatories of the Śâtavâhanas of the Dakhan."

Though their long rule greatly affected South Indian culture, the Pallavas were patrons of Northern ideas and votaries of Vishṇu and Śiva. They carried their cult into the Tamil country, and for nearly 700 years there was hostility between them and the Tamils, so that they were never "in any special sense patrons of Tamil literature, as their predecessors had been."

I may say here that in a paper recently published in Vol. LII of this *Journal* (pp. 77–80), Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam would give a Siñhalese-Tamil origin for the name Pallava, a Sprout, and a Siñhalese-Nâga origin for the Dynasty. The general facts appear to be that there were Nâgas in influential positions throughout the territory extending from Mathurâ in the North, through the whole length of the middle of the Peninsular region, to the distant South. One of the centres was in Mathurâ itself, and another was Padmâvatî not far from Jhânsî; a third is traceable in Bastar, and a fourth in the Southern Marâthâ country. The question, in this view therefore, to settle is: which is the likeliest locality for the kind of marriage alliance stated to be the immediate cause of the Pallava rise to great power in their records? Consequently if the Professor's conclusions are to be accepted, Mr. Rasanayagam's argument is ruled out. However, in its favour it may be said that the acceptance of purely Indian soil as the original home of the Pallavas does not account for their name, the Sprout, which is what Mr. Rasanayagam aims at explaining. The question then is not even yet finally settled, though the foreign Pahlava origin of the Pallavas may now be definitely regarded as inadmissible.

As already noted there were many powerful Nâga families in the Dakhan from coast to coast, some of which made themselves independent, and by the time the Pallavas came into power at Kâñchî, the Śâtavâhanas had already ousted the Chôlas from that region. The early Pallavas were "divided into four separate families or dynasties." So far epigraphy teaches us, and the Professor goes cleverly into the inscriptions to show that the promulgators of the Prakrit charters, beginning with Bappa-dêva, were the historical founders of the Pallava dominion in South India, setting up a rule of a "distinct Aśôkan character,"

introducing a Northern organisation of government distinct from that of the Tamils, and clearing the great forest of the Daṇḍakâraṇya (Daṇḍâraṇyam). Their early inscriptions are in a Prâkṛit, followed by a Sanskrit, series, which the Professor carefully considers.

This makes him go into two statements of the historians : (1) that Vishṇugopa Pallava of Kañchî was a contemporary of the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta, and (2) that there was a Pallava interregnum in Kañchî, and that this can be referred "to the time of the ancient Cholas, Karikâla and others." As to the former statement the Professor is sceptical and as to the latter he regards it as an idea without foundation and altogether baseless. He here comes into conflict with the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya in some very valuable pages of controversy, in the course of which he adheres to his already expressed opinion that "the terms Pallava and Toṇḍaiyar were synonymous, in the estimation of the early Tamils. If, therefore, we have to look for the origin of the Pallavas here are the people from among whom they must have sprung."

Going into the history of the inscriptions and other searchable sources, the Professor points out that Vîrakûrcha Pallava is the first historical character of the race. He "married a Nâga princess and thereby acquired his title to sovereignty of the region over which he ruled," which is to say, the territory that came to be associated with the Pallavas about Kañchî. This is the marriage above referred to. The secret, of the rise of the Pallavas to royal position is thus solved by a marriage at a time when the Śâtavâhanas were passing away as a ruling dynasty, and the Nâgas, and with them the Pallavas, were ready to throw off Śâtavâhana yoke. Having become thus free, Vîrakûrcha's son, Skandaśishya, seems to have co-operated with that Dynasty in a war in the Dakhan with the Kshatrapas of Mâlvâ at the end of the fourth century A.D.

At this time, the Andhras, as the great rulers of the Dakhan, were declining, and their power had passed largely into the hands of the feudatory family of the Śûṭus of Banavâse (Vaijayanti), known also as Śatakarṇis and Nâgas. The Professor suggests that it was this Nâga family that contracted a family alliance with Vîrakûrcha Pallava, who was thus "able to make good his position as ruler of the South-Eastern Viceroyalty of the Andhras."

Some light on the extension of Pallava power comes from the Kadamba inscriptions. When Mayura-Śarman, the redoubtable Brâhmaṇ founder of the Kadambas, made himself a considerable obstacle to the Pallava pretensions, the latter monarch recognised him "as a military officer of his own, with the government of a considerable province extending from the sea in the West to the Eastern limit of Prehâra (? Perûr)." The capital of this province was Banavâse. The Pallavas then must have got possession of it, and the marriage of the Śûṭu princess to the Pallava King must have been nothing more than an alliance between the two families, the Kadambas eventually obtaining power in the Śûṭu part of the whole territory. The Professor then throws out an important hint : "it was perhaps a subsidiary branch of the family of the Śûṭus that ultimately overthrew the Kadambas in this region and founded the Dynasty of the Châḷukyas."

Just as the Pallavas succeeded to the whole Southern portion of the Andhra Territory by marriage with a Nâga (Śatakarṇi) princess, so did they gain an overlordship over the territory of the Gaṅgas of Kolar about 475 A.D.

After an examination of a Digambara Jaina work, the *Lokavabhâga,* the Professor winds up his general survey of the early Pallava history by an enquiry into its chronology, and finds that Siṁhavarman II must have begun to rule in A.D. 436, and that the date of Mahêndravarman, when the story is more firmly historical, is somewhere near A.D. 600.

During the whole history of the Pallavas from about A.D., 200 to nearly A.D. 900, their power centred round Kâñchî (Conjeeveram). The culture they introduced, as already said, was Northern, and Sanskrit literature was encouraged. They were also great patrons of

religion and art, and their period "must also have been one of great religious activity" generally. Indeed, the Professor remarks that "the town of Kâñchî itself is so full of Pallava monuments that it would be possible to make a complete study of Pallava art and architecture without going out of it." It was then that Śaivism and Vaishṇavism, "the two offshoots of the School of Bhakti," took form and shape. The Âḻwârs of the Vaishṇavas and the Aḍiyârs of the Śaivas flourished in their time. The Schools of Bhakti "began their great development under the Pallavas and took the form that they have at present in this period."

It was a time of the first importance in the development of Hinduism, and its organisation as a "theistic religion,—a religion whose centre and heart-core is a personal God watchfully beneficent for the salvation of devotees." But the recognition of a personal God and of popular religion necessitates the form of worship associated with temples. The Pallava period was accordingly the age when the great majority of temples in the South came into existence, and there is clear evidence that it was also the age of the expansion of Hinduism into the East, to Borneo and Sumatra.

Having thus in an illuminating manner dwelt on Pallava history, Professor Kṛishṇaswâmi Aiyangar goes back to religion,—to Śaivism, Vîra-Śaivism (Liṅgayats), and Vaishṇavism in the South.

He now gives a clear description of Śaivism as one of the two principal Schools of Bhakti. It is "the recognition of Śiva as the supreme beneficent Deity. Śiva is believed to exercise the functions of creation, protection, prevention of lapses in the enjoyment of the results of one's own action, and beneficence. These functions He is said to discharge with a view to the release of struggling souls from the bondage resulting from their previous action, and to present to them the knowledge of the nature of Śiva, so that they may ultimately attain the much desired release. In order to discharge these self-imposed functions, Śiva assumes the position of Lord, with the following six attributes:—Omniscience, limitless contentment, knowledge that does spring out of experience, self-possession, undiminished power, and limitless power. It is the possession of these qualities, exhibiting themselves in extreme purity, in the capacity to destroy the bondage of action and to improve the power for good, that gives appropriateness to the name of Śiva."

It is under the command of this Supreme Deity that souls assume forms, struggle in the world, and gradually work through the outer forms of religion, developing in their next stage the inner religion, as a result of their good action in their pursuit of life in the outer religion. Here they follow the path of the *Vêda*, "those among them who wean themselves of the notion of enjoyment cease to be born on earth, and get rid of the cycle of existence as the result of the grace of Śiva. It will thus be clear that . . . . . the only way to attain salvation is by knowledge of the nature of Śiva." The performance of rites and ceremonies produce good fruit and enjoyment of good, but they bring on rebirth inevitably. "In the ultimate analysis Śaivism comes to this. It recognises the supremacy of Śiva as the beneficent Deity, that makes it His function to save souls (*paśu*) from their bondage in the fetters of action (*pâśam*), the result of *karmam* or action. He does this as the result of His own grace." The rudiments of this faith are present in the earliest period of Tamil literature with a subsequent vast development.

The Śiva-bhâkta is one who carries out the doctrine with unswerving duty. Among the pre-eminent devotees are the 63 Nâyanmârs that pertain to the age of the Pallavas, to whom are to be added nine more, forming the 72 Śaiva Aḍiyârs. These holy personages produced between them a literature of great worth and enormous power over the people.

To illustrate what is meant by 'unswerving duty,' the Professor relates the universal story in South India of an ignorant hunter known as Kaṇṇappa Nâyanâr, who plucked out his eye to replace an eye of an image of Śiva, which he thought was ailing. "In the cult of Bhakti the first feature to be taken notice of is unalloyed affection for God, and this affection springs from the notion that God looks after a man with an affectionate interest superior even to that of himself, and therefore deserves the return of unqualified devotion." It is devotion and not works that is efficacious to evoke God's grace, and "this extraordinary affection for God springs in a human being as a result of deeds in a previous existence without regard to the fruit thereof and as the result of Śiva's grace and that grace alone." Wherever such affection exists there Śiva is bound down to the offer of this devotion. It matters nothing how it is shown, or whether by the ignorant or the learned. Singleness of purpose makes even an objectionable form of worship acceptable.

An addition to this early form of faith was developed gradually. It became necessary for a teacher "to make Bhakti exclusively the method of the attainment of God's favour." To secure the required ebullition of emotion visits to places of holy reputation, acts of menial service in temples, pouring out the heart in verse, and dancing were introduced and fostered. And later on there appeared the saving priest or preceptor as an essential factor in the attainment of salvation, till without his aid the proper kind of Śiva's grace became impossible of reception.

All this was taught in a great body of religious verse and in fourteen philosophic treatises, the *Śaiva-śâstras.* The former founded the systems of the religion and the latter provided the philosophy "to maintain it against controversialists of other creeds."

Unorthodox Śaivism has always prevailed in Southern India, differing from the orthodox "mainly in the vigour with which it carries out single-minded devotion to the form or aspect of Śiva, to which their sectarians devote themselves. Some of the Northern sects have flourished since the days of the Pallavas, and they are grouped together generally as Vîraśaivas, but those who are now specifically termed Vîra Śaivas (Liṅgayats) rose in the 12th century A.D. in the Kâkatîya country of Teliṅgâna. It was a reform movement for the abolition of caste and the removal of certain social restrictions. The more orthodox Vîra-Śaivism was a Brâhmaṇ movement which subordinated Vedic rites to personal devotion (*bhakti*). This sect was the Ârâdhya of the Telugu country. The better known and commoner sect was the Liṅgayat, who followed Basava, the Brâhmaṇ Minister of the Kâlachûrya usurper Bijjala, who stole the throne in 1156 A.D. Basava came from the Bijâpur District in the Southern Marâṭha country, and was followed in the leadership of his sect by his nephew Channa Basava. Such is the accepted tradition, but the Professor draws attention to early epigraphic records, which go to show that a Brâhmaṇ named Ekântada (Single-minded) Râmayya of the Dhârwâṛ District and of about Basava's time, was the real founder of the Liṅgayats. He concludes the discussion by remarking that "it is likely that Râmayya was responsible for really originating this sect," taken up by the Minister Basava, organised by him and carried into actual practice.

The Liṅgayats have their own canon, and flourished greatly during the Vijayanagar Empire, and the Professor winds up his disquisition on the Vîra Śaivas with a noteworthy suggestion: "Śaivism, like Vaishṇavism, began in the South during the historical period, not as a systematised religion or creed, but merely as the convictions of individual men, who could give expression to their own convictions in felicitous language, full of overflowing emotion." This was the condition of both religions between A.D. 200 to 1000. The Pallava times occupied most of this period.

Fundamentally Vaishṇavism, as a form of Bhakti, developed on the same lines as Śaivism, substituting Vishṇu, whose general name in the South is Tirumâl, for Śiva. Up to the Christian era the features of his cult were Northern, but subsequently it had a characteristic development. Like the Śaivas, the Vaishṇavas had their saintly singers, the Âḻvârs, and their teachers, the Âchâryas. Also, like the Saiva Aḍiyârs, the Vaishṇava Âḻvârs flourished in the Pallava period.

The great feature of the Âḻvârs' teaching was that "the way of salvation was attainable to the uninitiated according to the orthodox standards. It is this element and its teaching by these saints, that gave them their ultimate ascendancy among the people." Among the Âḻvârs were men and women of all castes. The greatest of them, Nâm-Âḻvâr, was a Śûdra, and another, Yôgivâha, was a Pariah (Paṛaiyan). These facts indicate "the liberalising part of the movement, which consisted in an effort, and an organised effort, too, at uplifting people who must necessarily have been outside the circle of those admissible to divine grace, so long as that grace was attainable by the exact performance of an exceedingly difficult and elaborate series of ceremonial rites. This simplification of the process for the attainment of the divine grace was in response to the views of the time."

It was in Nâm-Âḻvâr's day that the emergence of the preceptor took place "as essential to the attainment of salvation by the individual." Later on by the time of Râmânuja, it had greatly developed, and it was believed that a man's "salvation was the responsibility of his preceptor, so long as he took the pains to discover a suitable one. . . . . The importance of this development consists in this: Bhakti, or devotion, as the means to attain salvation, developed certain prescribed methods for prosecuting the work of devotion to God, which became essential." From this idea a methodised and formal system of worship emerged, and then it became "necessary that a class of people should take up the actual and unerring performance of the acts of worship, and leave the bulk of the people to proceed in the simple style of the earlier and the more primitive form of personal devotion." So each man and woman had to find 'the suitable preceptor,' the Guru, and hence there developed ultimately the doctrine of Self-surrender by which a man "puts his faith in God, and places the burden of his salvation upon Him, through one of His instruments on earth in the character of a worthy and accredited preceptor." This doctrine became an essential portion of the creed by the time that the Vaishṇava Âchâryas had followed the Âḻvârs, and Bhakti, or devotion and faith, became unlimited.

The teaching of the Vaishṇava Âḻvârs accorded with that of the Śaiva Aḍiyârs, and covered the Pallava period A.D. 200-800. The Âchâryas of the Vaishṇavas commence with Nâthamuṇi of the tenth century A.D., who revived the teaching of the Âḻvârs and provided for its continuance. He also created the forerunners of the modern Araiyars of Śrîraṅgam, who set the tunes and prescribed the forms for reciting the works of Nâm-Âḻvâr. Women also took up the profession of temple music and dancing. Nambi-Âṇḍâr Nambi did the same for the works of the Śaiva Âḍiyârs. All this does not mean that these two personages originated the temple music and dancing—which are very old,—but that they used them for the purposes of devotional recital. Nâthamuṇi passed his mantle to the controversialist Yâmunâchârya, or Âḷavandâr, who was his grandson, and from him it came to the latter's great-grandson, the famous Râmânujâchârya, or shortly Râmânuja.

Râmânuja commenced as a successful controversialist, and placed Vaishṇavism on a permanent footing. Among his achievements was the establishment of the hitherto regarded as the 'un-Vedic' and unorthodox creed of the Pâñcharâtra. It was, however, popular, and

he met thus a popular need. Then he laid emphasis on the old teaching of the Âḻvârs that "salvation was attainable by all, whatever their earthly position." He taught that "whatever be the position of a man or woman in society, every one stood as near to God as any one else, provided he or she kept to their high requirements of godly life." This position has led to great controversy in India, especially as the Śaivas were forming their religious houses (*maṭha*) in the same area. Here the Professor makes a remarkable statement: "the stories of persecution occur time and again in the accounts of the hagiologists (Śaiva, Vaishṇava, Jaina, Bauddha), and these stories have a family likeness in the details regarding the incidents, thereby stamping them as pious fabrications of the latter day hagiologists." Although the Professor is thus sceptical of the stories of persecution, he does not assume that religious excesses by parties of the people did not take place. Controversy always went on for generations at Śrîraṅgam and Kâñchî, and "gave a turn to literature till the Muhammadans broke into South India."

The Muhammadan raids commenced under 'Alâu'ddin Khiljî in the early 14th century A.D., for the purposes of plunder to supply him with money to keep the Mughals out of the North-Western frontiers of India. His generals could do as they liked, provided they secured the "royal wealth" of the countries raided, *i.e.*, materials for war. The raids were very cruel, and led to a Hindu organisation in self-defence under the Hoysala ruler of Mysore, Vîra Ballâḷa III, with the help of the Kâkatîyas of Wâraṅgal, as the Tamil powers had become helpless. On the death of Muḥammad Tughlaḳ, the Hindus ousted the Muhammadan garrisons about 1350 A.D., and a war waged by the Hindus for mere existence and the preservation of their religion ended in the rise out of the general trouble of the Vijayanagar Empire, as "the visible embodiment of the national resistance to save Southern India for the Hindus and to keep from being over-run by the Muhammadans".

The Vijayanagar Empire thus "stood for all that was worth preserving in Hindu religion and culture." It was a national movement,—"a nationalism which was infused through and through with the sentiment of religion." Anything like a particular form of religion was impossible to it. The one object was to preserve Hindu independence in South India. "The whole organisation of the forces of Vijayanagar had this object in view."

The Empire of Vijayanagar was organised by Viceroyalties or Mahârâjyas. The civil administration was left where it had always been, *i.e.*, the people carried on the administration for themselves under a small hierarchy of great officials touring the country. The business of the Imperial authority was to raise the revenues required for protecting the Northern frontier,—keeping ready for war but avoiding it. The consequent military expenditure was exhausting. The result on the social organisation was "a hardening and a more clear demarcation of the rights and duties of the various castes of which Hindu society was then composed . . . . Some of the worst features of which remain even yet, while some of the best have gone out of it by desuetude." The advantage at the time was that Society looked after itself and the central government could devote itself entirely to defence.

The conditions under which Vijayanagar lived and worked are well shown by the work of its great rulers. Dêvarâya II remedied a vital defect in his army—inferiority in cavalry and archers—by introducing Muhammadan soldiers. He gave them a mosque and slaughter-houses, and used the Brâhmaṇ Viceroy of Madura to organise them. The main point was defence of the realm, and there was no hatred of Muhammadans as such, only a great dread of the recurrence of Muhammadan raids. Afterwards Kṛishṇadêva Râya

spent his life in reducing under great difficulties the two great frontier fortresses of Muḍkal and Raichûr, which in the hands of his Muhammadan enemies were a source of vital weakness to his own Empire.

The literature of the period shows that the Hindu war on the Muhammadan garrisons was conducted in a crusading spirit, and the immediate result of success was the rehabilitation of the gods and the restoration of temples. The very titles assumed by the first 'Emperor' indicate the ideas underlying the movement of the people : — " the establisher of the four castes and orders ; the publisher of the commentaries on the *Vêdas ;* the master establishing ordinances prescribed by the *Vêdas* ; the provider of employment to the Adhvaryu (priests) who are the auspicious ornament of kings."

Among the many men who played a part in the Hindu rehabilitation are two Brâhmaṇ brothers associated with the foundation of the Vijayanagar State, Mâdhava Vidyâraṇya and Śâyaṇa, who were not only statesmen, but Vêdic scholars of high rank. In that time, too, there flourished the great Vaishṇava scholar Vêdânta Dêśika, who "gave in many respects the final shape to the Vaishṇavism of South India, following closely the teaching of Râmânuja." Śaivism, Vîraśaivism and Jainism also flourished greatly. The Professor sums up the work of these men thus :—"it may be safely said that for good or evil the present day Hinduism of South India retains the form it received under Vijayanagar, which ought to be given credit for having preserved Hinduism such as it is . . . . Cataclysmal irruptions of foreigners causing revolutionary changes in doctrine and practice there were none . . . . The spirit of compromise and insistence upon peaceful living by the various sects was adopted as the religious policy of the civil authorities by the sovereigns of Vijayanagar, each of whom had his own particular persuasion."

The importance of all this to India becomes clear when one considers that it is the Southern Bhakti school of thought that one can trace in Vaishṇavism—the prevailing belief—as it is now in Northern India. "The contribution of South India in this particular sphere is a genuine School of Bhakti, and it is small wonder that the later *Purâṇas* accord to the South the monopoly of it." Modern Hinduism owes its existence and its form, firstly to the influence of the long rule of the Pallavas, and secondly to the Vijayanagar Empire.

The Professor winds up his discourse with a great tribute to the South Indian Brâhmaṇs : "the Brâhmaṇ has been able, thanks to the goodwill of the communities amidst which he cast his own lot ; to carry on his Brahmanical life unimpaired, and even encouraged by the communities on whom he exercised his influence in the direction of elevating them to a higher plane of life. So much so was this the case that an European writer, making a study of Indian women, gives it as the characteristic of Southern Indian womenfolk as a whole, that their ideals in this life are other-worldly. The Brâhmaṇ has on the whole discharged his responsibility, as the teacher of the community, by preserving the ancient learning of the Hindus. He has made an honest effort, according to his lights, at preparing the people to lead a good life here, and to go to a better life hereafter. Through the ages he has maintained the ideal of uplifting, however short he may have fallen in actually achieving this ideal."

Professor Kṛishṇaswâmi Aiyangar's lectures extend also to the expansion of India beyond seas and to an account of the administration in South India. Both portions are replete with information of great interest and much of it is new. But these subjects are not within the scope of the present paper, and with very great regret and reluctance I close here this survey of a remarkable effort of Indian scholarship.

THE SIEGE AND CONQUEST OF THE FORT OF ASIRGARH BY THE EMPEROR AKBAR.

(Described by an Eye-Witness.)

BY REV. H. HERAS, S.J., A.M.

Two of the Muhammadan historians of the siege and surrender of the fort of Aśirgârh were eye-witnesses of the event; but some passages of their narrative seemed to be quite absurd and incredible, until a third eye-witness was brought on to the stage by Dr. Vincent Smith, in his work on *Akbar the Great Mogul.* This new historian of the conquest of Aśirgârh was Fr. Jerome Xavier, a Spanish Jesuit of the Lahore Mission, who accompanied Akbar in his campaign through the Deccan. His account is quite different from that of the Muhammadans, and for the most part quite irreconcilable. Dr. Smith, who was the first to examine critically the Jesuit narrative, prefers it to the official account of Abu-l Fazl and Faizî Sirhindî. It was to their interest to conceal the perfidy and military failure of Akbar, while the Jesuit had no reason to be afraid of telling the truth to his Superiors either in Goa or Europe.

But Smith knew only the narrative of Xavier through the famous work of Fr. Du Jarric, *Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum,* and affirms twice in the same chapter that the letters of Xavier are still unpublished.[1] This statement is somewhat strange, considering that he was acquainted with Guerreiro's *Relación anual de las Cosas que han hecho los Padres de la Compañia de Jesùs en la India Oriental y Japòn, en los años de* 600 *y* 601, Spanish version from the Portuguese, printed at Valladolid in 1604.[2] It is certain that Du Jarric had no other source, when writing the account of the conquest of Aśirgârh, than either the original Portuguese work or this Spanish translation. These yearly relations published by the Portuguese Jesuits were not general accounts based on the letters of the Missionaries, but consisted of a collection of those very letters, each of them being published as a different chapter of the book, with the address and the signature omitted. One can still recognise the different styles of the writers in the various chapters of the work, even in the Spanish translation. Moreover, some Missionaries speak of themselves in the third person—as Fr. Monserrat does in his well known *Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius*[3],—while others write in the first person.[4] This means that the editor did not trouble to unify his work, but (fortunately) inserted the letters just as they stood.

The copy of this rare volume seen by Smith is in All Souls Library, Oxford; there is another copy in the British Museum mentioned by Maclagan[5], who says that such collections published by Fr. Guerreiro "are first-rate authorities". Fortunately we have worked through a third copy of the same edition in the Goethals Indian Library, at St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, from which we have translated the following account[6].

"This great King [Akbar] left Lahore[7] for the kingdoms of Deccan followed by a numerous army for enlarging his own kingdom. He sent before him one of his captains

1 Smith, *Akbar The Great Mogul.* Chap. X, p. 177, No. 2 (Oxford, 1919).

2 Cf. p. 282, note 6 and p. 189, note 1.

3 Fr. Xavier writes in this way in the narrative translated below.

4 Such is the habit of Fr. Piñeiro, for instance; "The time of the supper came, I took two or three morsels," etc.

5 *JASB.*, Vol. LXV, p. 45.

6 The original language of the letter of Fr. Xavier must have been either Spanish or Portuguese; anyhow the letter published in Guerreiro's work supposes one or two translations.

7 He left the capital for Agra late in 1598, after a prolonged residence of thirteen years in the Punjab.

with fifty thousand men,[8] being himself at the head of a hundred thousand additional infantry and cavalry and more than a thousand elephants. He took also with him the *Padres.*[9] The purpose of this journey was to conquer Goa and Malabar and the whole kingdom of Bisnaga[10], after having taken the Deccan kingdoms. A queen of Deccan, helped by the Portuguese, opposed him and slew many of his soldiers[11] just at the gate of the kingdom of Barara[12], which is a pass leading through the mountains towards that kingdom. Now, her death having taken place, the Deccan people were deeply divided among themselves, and this was the cause of the total ruin of that kingdom ;[13] for some of them having been suborned or deceived, others acting treacherously, and the grandees hoping to improve their position, as ordinarily happens in divided kingdoms[14], the gate of this one was opened

8 We learn from Muhammadan sources that Akbar was already in Ujjain when he detached a part of his army to serve as a vanguard. His youngest son, Sultan Daniyal, had been just then appointed commander of the Deccan army in the place of his brother Sultan Murad, whose demise had taken place in May 1599. Daniyal reached Barhanpur early in January 1600, and its King, Bahadur Shah, refused imprudently to give his service to the Imperial army proceeding to the conquest of Aḥmadnagar, contrary to the policy of his father Râja Alî, and against his own promise to Abu-'l Faẓl. Cf. *The Faruqi Dynasty of Khandesh,* by Lt.-Col. Sir T. W. Haig, K.C.I.E. in *The Indian Antiquary,* 1918, p. 179. When this news came to Akbar's knowledge, it seems that the Emperor sent at once a diplomatic envoy, named Mîrân Sadr-î-Jahân by Sirhindî and Khvâja Maudûd in the *Zafar-al-Wâlih.* to inquire into the matter. The Emperor realised that Bahadur was keenly hostile to him, and thereupon sent orders to Shaikh Farîd of Bokhâra to march against the audacious king with a considerable army, which was joined a few days later by Abu-'l Fazl who came hastening from Berar.

9 The companion of Fr. Xavier was not a priest, but the famous lay brother, Benito de Goes, who was sent later by the same Fr. Xavier to look after the kingdom of Cathay and its Christians. This enterprising brother, whose name is mentioned by Xavier near the conclusion of this letter, died in 1607, just as he had reached the great wall of the Chinese Empire.

10 Since the time of Ala-ûd-'dîn Khiljî the eyes of the Muhammadan rulers of India were turned towards the South. Bisnaga or Bisnagar is the name used by the old Portuguese writers for the famous kingdom of Vijayanagar. Cf. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire,* p. xi (London, 1900). The second Hindu Dynasty had lost the kingdom in the battle of Talikôṭa in 1565, against Bijâpûr, and the splendour of Vijayanagar had already reached its close at this time. Nevertheless, a third dynasty arose, "if dynasty it can be appropriately called," and the king Venkata I was the ruler contemporary with the events narrated by Xavier. *Cf.* Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire,* chaps. XV and XVI, pp. 197–221.

11 It is not difficult to recognise in the Queen of the Deccan the valiant Regent of Aḥmadnagar, Chand Bîbî, who after the events above narrated received the title of Chand Sultâṇa. Fr. Xavier records in this passage a fact long past, because, after having related it, he says that the aforesaid Queen was already dead at the time of the siege of Asîrgarh ; he means no doubt the first siege of Aḥmadnagar in 1596, when she opposed the Mughals personally with a naked sword in her hand in the breaches of the mines which they had made. Cf. *Firishta-Briggs,* Vol. III, pp. 289–304. As to the help given her by the Portuguese, I cannot find any reference to it, either in the new works in Portuguese India, or in the older ones, for instance, the *Asia Portuguesa* of Manuel de Faria y Sousa (3 Vols., Lisboa, 1674). But I cannot doubt that Xavier was aware of this alliance, the headquarters of his mission being in Goa itself. A little farther on, in the same letter, there is a hint of another alliance between the Portuguese and the Kings of Khandesh. This piece of news is important, since no other author mentions it. Was it a real league of all the enemies of the Mughal Empire ?

12 The kingdom of Barara, or Berar, was one of the provinces of the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar, which was ceded to Akbar on the aforesaid occasion in order to purchase peace. This was the result of Sultan Murad's campaign.

13 The death of Chand Sultâṇa, who was murdered by her own people in August 1600, as Firishta related (*l.c.,* p. 312), must have taken place about the very time when Xavier was writing his letter. After her demise the internal disturbances of her kingdom grew more intense, and in a few days the fort of Aḥmadnagar was stormed by Sultan Daniyal, *cf.* note 8.

14 From this account we can conclude that bribery was often used by Akbar in his conquests. Could it be true then that the same "Chand Sultâṇa was in treaty with the Mughals for the delivery of the fort", as the eunuch Ḥamîd Khân shouted through the streets of Aḥmadnagar, after hearing of her determination to negotiate with Sulṭân Daniyal for the evacuation of the fort, as Firishta relates (*l.c.*) ?

to him, and thus he took possession of the kingdom of Melique[15], which he garrisoned by a large detachment from his army under the command of one of his sons[16] whom he left over there. Then marching forward, he reached the kingdom and town of Breampur[17], whose king, named Miran[18], fled at once[19] and took refuge in the great fortress of Syr[20], which was the chief stronghold of the kingdom and was supposed to be impregnable by reason of its location on the top of a high mountain, whose base was five leagues in circumference; its mighty walls were constructed in three different lines of great size, and so cleverly arranged that from any one of them help could be given to the others.[21] There were many springs inside,[22] and a great deal of fire-wood and vegetables; finally they had supplies sufficient for many years, and for an army of more than seventy thousand men[23], which was in occupation there[24]. The pieces of ordnance numbered more than three thousand, and many of them were so big that they sounded like thunder while

15 Melique was the Thanadar of Dabhol or Dabhul, a little south of Chaul in the Konkan. He had offered help to the Portuguese in 1576, but afterwards treacherously murdered the captains of their vessels. He is called by the Portuguese historians Melique Tocan

16 This was Sultan Daniyal who was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan after the fall of Asirgarh, having under him the three newly erected Subhas of Aḥmâdnagar, Berar and Khandesh, along with Malwa and Gujarat.

17 Burhanpur.

18 The last king of Khandesh, Bahadur Shah. His full name was probably Mîrân Bahadûr Shâh, as Smith several times calls him

19 Probably the unfortunate King did not expect the arrival of Akbar when he fled towards Asirgarh. My opinion is that he had already left his capital, on hearing of the approach of Shaikh Farîd's army. When did Akbar reach Burhanpur? On March 31, according to Smith; but Lt.-Col. Sir T. W. Haig thinks that it was on April 8, which is the date given by another contemporary, the author of the *Zafar-al Wâlih*. Anyhow on the following day the Emperor sent Khân-i-A'zam and other officers to commence the siege of Asirgarh.

20 Asirgarh. The old writers, such as Xavier and Ogilvy, used to drop the end of this word, which means 'fort.' Firishta and Sirhindî call it Ashir.

21 Asirgarh is mentioned from old times, but the strength of this fort, which had been taken by Ala-ûd-'dîn Khiljî in 1295, dates from the time of the Faruqi Kings of Khandesh, specially Âdil Khân I (1457-1503), who made it the chief stronghold of his kingdom. "The fort . . . is about eleven hundred yards long from east to west, and six hundred broad from north to south, and has an area of no more than sixty acres. Round the foot of the fort wall is a bluff precipice, from 80 to 120 feet high, scarped so as to leave only two pathways, one at the north-west angle near the grand gateway, and the other at the south-eastern bastion. The defences of the fort are three wall-lines one within the other; the main defence, a faussebraye or mound outside the rampart, and outworks. The main defence is a rough irregular masonry wall, of an average height of fourteen feet, following closely the edge of the high scarped rock which crowns the hill. At every out-standing corner is a round tower, once armed with large swivel guns. The rocky scarp has an average height of from 80 to 120 feet, and except at two points, is unbroken, and may, especially along the east and the south, be considered impregnable."—*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XII, p. 575.

22 "The water supply of the fort is from six reservoirs, three large and three small. Of the three large reservoirs the Mamu lies to the east and the Sakkar and Sepoy to the west of the fort . . . The fort has many other small ponds . . . At the north end of the Sakkar reservoir is a well about thirty feet deep, with stone steps circling down its sides and leading to a vaulted chamber."—*Gazetteer*, pp. 576-577. "There were no springs of water in the fortress; but there were two or three immense reservoirs in which the (rain) water was collected and stored from year to year, and amply sufficed for the requirements of the garrison. In the dwelling of each officer of importance there was a separate reservoir, containing a sufficient supply of pure water for his household." Sirhindî, *Akbarnâma* in Elliot-Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 140.

23 "Of provisions of all sorts, wines, medicines, aromatic roots and of everything required for the use of man, there was vast abundance. When after a protracted siege of eleven months, the place fell into the hands of the Imperial army, the quantities of grain, oil, etc., which remained after some thousands of men had been fed (during the siege), seemed as if the stores had never been touched".—Sirhindî, *Akbarnâma* in Elliot-Dowson, Vol. VI, pp. 139-140.

24 "The population in the fortress was like that of a city, for it was full of men of every kind. After the surrender, the inhabitants came out and there was a continuous throng night and day for a week". Sirhindî, *l.c.* "To this end he (Bahadur Shah) invited fifteen thousand persons, including labourers, artisans and shop-keepers, into the place and filled it with horses and cattle, in order that they might serve for work and eventually for food and other purposes".—Briggs, *Firishta-Briggs*, Vol. IV, pp. 325-326.

firing.[25] Besides the King Miran, who was inside, there were in the same fortress seven Princes who enjoyed the title of king, and always lived there without going out of their dwellings; according to the custom of the kingdom[26]; these Princes succeeded one after another to the throne of the kingdom, when vacant. There was also the chief commandant of the kingdom, one *Abexin*[27], a very valiant captain, and seven other captains, white men, who,—although they belonged to the sect of the Moors[28]—were descendants and grandsons of the Portuguese[29]. And all these, and principally the *Abexin* and the seven white ones,[30] were the commanders in that war, and defended that fortress skilfully and valiantly; so much so that the great Moghul King neither achieved his purpose nor could do so, although about twelve thousand men were besieging it;[31] because neither the place of the fort nor the large artillery[32] nor the courage of the aforesaid captains, allowed him to go on: therefore it was impossible to take the fort through the efforts of the army, and the only means of so doing was by the use of money, which always furnishes the strongest bullets by which fortresses and kingdoms are conquered. The Sovereign became very furious on account

25 "After the capture of the fortress account was taken of the munitions. Of pieces of artillery, small and great, there were more than 1300, besides some which were disused. The balls varied in weight from nearly two *mans* down to a *sir* or a half *sir*. There were great number of mortars and also many *manjaniks*, each of which threw stones of 1000 or 2000 *mans*. On every bastion there were large iron cauldrons, in each of which twenty or thirty *mans* of oil could be boiled and poured down upon the assailants in case of assault. No account was taken of the musquets. The stores of ammunition were such, that thousands of *mans* were left although the quantity consumed had been enormous. The rulers of the country had incessantly cared for the strengthening and provisioning of the fort, more especially in respect of artillery."—Sirhindî, *Elliot*, pp. 139-140.

26 "It was the established custom among the rulers of Khandesh, that the reigning potentate kept his sons, brothers and other relations in confinement, to guard against attempts upon the throne; so these unhappy persons, with their wives and families, passed all their lives in confinement. Bahadur Shah had passed nearly thirty years in prison."—Sirhindî, *l.c.*, p. 134. This custom is confirmed also by the author of *Zafar-al-Wâlih*, who was in the service of one of the Amirs of the same Bahadur Shah.—Cf. *The Indian Antiquary*, *l.c.*, p. 183.

27 This is not a name but, I suspect, an adjective expressing his nationality, *viz.*, Abyssinian. Fr. Xavier says expressly: "*Estaba también el Regidor del reino, que era un Abexin,* . . ." And in the above mentioned *Asia Portuguese*, Vol. II, Part III, Chapter XX, the author, speaking of the kingdom of Bijapur, says: "*A pocos dias los Abexines* (*Guardas de aquellos Reinos*) *obraron lo mismo,*" etc. The author of the *Zafar-al-Wâlih* gives us more particulars of this commandant: his name was Malik Yâqût Sulṭâni,—a circumstance that escaped the notice of Smith, who says that he was an unnamed Abyssinian and was a man very old and blind, but very valiant, and of great authority in the kingdom. Cf. *The Indian Antiquary*, *l.c.*

28 *Viz.*, Muhammadans. In that time it was customary among Spaniards to call all Muhammadans Moors, since the Muhammadans who had ruled over Spain were really Moors.

29 These renegade Portuguese were probably the skilful artillery-men, who disturbed Akbar's plans. Ogilby, whose rare book I have not been able to see, clearly says that these seven Portuguese had the sole conduct of the war, and fortified the fort with no less care than art. It is worth noticing here that this traveller wrote the account of this conquest from Portuguese sources, perhaps from the letter of Fr. Xavier. *Gazetteer*, p. 580.

30 The portrait of Bahadur Shah given by the author of the *Zafar-al-Wâlih*, who must have known him very well, is that of a man unable to rule a kingdom, and still less able to defend a fortress: "He divided among lewd fellows of the baser sort, says he, the jewels and rich stuffs which his fathers had amassed and collected together; all that promoted sensual enjoyment, and all manner of unlawful pleasure became common; and he aroused wrath in the breasts of his father's ministers, so that they were prepared to welcome even a disaster that might bring peace". *The Indian Antiquary*, p. 183. Naturally the commanders of his army were left in charge of the defence of the fortress.

31 The officers sent by Akbar to Asirgarh to select positions for the trenches "on their return"—as Sirhindî narrates—"reported that they had never seen in any country a fort like this; for however long an army might press the siege, nothing but the extraordinary good fortune of the Emperor could effect its capture."—*Elliot*, p. 138.

32 "For throughout the siege a constant firing was kept up night and day with and without object; so that in the dark nights of the rainy season no man dared to raise his head, and even a demon would not move about. There were large chambers full of powder."—*Elliot*, p. 140.

of this, and, realising that his army was unable to force an entry into so impregnable a fortress, determined to take it by deceiving its defenders. He sent a message to king Miran[33] inviting him to come to his own tent to discuss certain points: and at the same time he swore on the head of the prince[34],—which is an inviolable oath among those gentile kings, as much as when the princes swear on the heads of their fathers,—that afterwards he should go back to his fort without injury.

"The ill-fated King took advice from his councillors on this proposal. The chief commandant *Abexin*, with the other seven white captains, opposed the meeting: but others, who are supposed to have already been suborned, advised him to go to the Moghul King's tent. Miran followed the latter advice, and left at once[35] wearing around his neck a stole-like scarf that reached his knees, to show his subjection. On reaching the presence of Akbar[36] he made three bows, and the Moghul King remained motionless;[37] on approaching, he was just about to make another bow when one of the captains who was present came out and, grasping the scarf, pulled it suddenly, causing the King to fall flat on the ground. This was supposed to have been done with the Emperor's consent; although he, pretending that he disliked this act of impoliteness, gently scolded his captain. He entertained the King with kind words, and made him write a letter to the defenders of the first wall[38], ordering them to open the gate of the fort to the lord who was coming, for the good of the kingdom,

33 The official Muhammadan account here begins to take a different line; but the author of the *Zafar-al-Wâlih*, who belonged to the opposite party and had no need to flatter the Emperor, continues relating the events as they occurred, and serves us as a splendid guide in annotating Fr. Xavier's letter. From his narrative it seems that before this invitation of Akbar to the King Miran Bahadur, the latter sent an embassy to the Emperor, with the precise object of avoiding the surrender of the fort. Knowing the character of Akbar, he concluded that he would remain in his kingdom until the fort fell. Hence he decided to go personally to the imperial camp and make an act of submission, in the hope that the Emperor would give back to him the government of Khandesh. When the garrison learnt the king's decision, they would not allow him to leave the fort alone, but one of the nobles, named Sâdât Khân, was sent to the Imperial camp with his troops and servants, carrying many rich gifts, to arrange preliminaries with the Emperor. Akbar then started his new tactics of bribery. Sâdât Khân never came back to the fortress, but from that day joined the service of the Emperor. The garrison then sent another embassy, headed by the son of the *Abexin* Malik Yâqût, named Mukarrab Khân by both Sirhindî and our present guide. This embassy came back after a while with the promise that Bahadur would be maintained on his throne. This was precisely the invitation of Akbar which Fr. Xavier speaks of. And this satisfactorily explains why Mukarrab Khân was afterwards sent back, because he who had heard the oath of the Emperor was the fittest to recall its remembrance to him.

34 *Viz.* On his own royal head; that is, a Persian oath, as Smith notes.

35 From the *Zafar-al-Wâlih* we learn that Bahadur Khân left the fort, accompanied by the leading men of his army, among whom, no doubt, was Mukarrab Khân, as we conclude from one of the subsequent events which we shall narrate in the sequel. At this point our guide says: "And that was the end of his reign (*viz.*, of Bahadûr Shâh) over his kingdom and his mountain".—*The Indian Antiquary.*, p. 182. This proves the truth of Xavier's account, which cannot be reconciled with that of Abu-l Fazl and Sirhindî.

36 Smith thinks that these events took place near the end of August; I hope to show that they occurred later; *Cf.* note 43. The same author says that the ordinary residence of Akbar during the siege was the palace of Burhanpur; but Sirhindî, who knew the facts well and had no reason to make a false statement on this point, tells us that the royal camp was at Búrgáwn "seven or eight *kos* from Asir", and that Shaikh Farid, to meet the Emperor, proceeded to this royal camp.—*Elliot*, p. 143.

37 The author of the *Zafar-al-Wâlih* does not say anything about this darbar. Why? Because he, being inside the fort, did not know what happened outside it; and so he merely records that Akbar did not permit Bahadur Shah to come back to his subjects. I think however that the darbar described by Sirhindi just before the surrender, is this darbar, at which both he and Xavier must have been present: "When Bahadur came out," says he, "the Emperor held a grand darbar, at which all the great men were present, and Bahadur was amazed at the splendour and state."—*Elliot*, p. 146.

38 The so-called fort of Malai or Malaigarh.

as soon as he should receive it[39]. After this he wanted to go back, but, [Akbar] did not allow this, and ordered him to stay. The Governor *Abexin*, knowing this, sent at once one of his sons [to the Moghul King] with a message saying that that man was his own king, and since he had left [the Fort] to meet him confiding in His Highness' word and oath, it was not just that His Highness should keep him ; therefore he asked His Highness to permit him to return ; and afterwards he might wage the war as he liked[40].

"The Moghul Emperor, knowing that this *Abexin* was the key of the whole fortress, questioned his son as to whether his father would also come to meet him. The young man, who was a valiant character, answered boldly that since his father had sent him to His Highness with this message, he might know from this that he was not a man who would treacherously surrender that fort. Therefore he advised him that he should not expect [his father] to come to meet him. He might surely know that when he would come, His Highness would not go into the fort, and that if he would not permit the arrested king to go back, many other kings would take his place. The Moghul Emperor became very furious on hearing this answer, so much so that he immediately ordered him to be killed[41]. When this reached the ears of his father, he caused him to send a message to the Emperor, saying : 'God forbid that I may ever see the face of so disloyal and treacherous a king.' [42]. Then putting a scarf around his neck he addressed those of the fortress, reminding them that the winter was approaching[43] and that the Emperor would necessarily have to raise the blockade and

39 Smith refuses to accept the narrative of Sirhindî from the moment he begins falsely to conceal the perfidy of Akbar ; but I believe that there is some truth mixed up with the falsehoods. Following on the above quoted words, Sirhindî says : " Mukarrab Khân, and several others of Bahadur's nobles, were sent into the fortress, in advance of Shaikh Abu-l Fazl, to inform the garrison of the surrender, and to require the giving up of the keys " (*l.c.*). These two messages were precisely the contents of the letter Bahadûr Shâh was forced to write, *viz.*, " to open the gate of the fort to the lord who was coming ". The words of Sirhindî mean therefore that Mukarrab Khân was the bearer of the King's letter to his father Malik Yâqûb.

40 We can quote again Sirhindî's words to illustrate those of Fr. Xavier—truth among falsehoods again: "When they approached Mukarrab Khân and the other nobles bringing Bhahadur's letter—Mukarrab Khân's father mounted the top of the fort, and reviled him for having thrown his master into bonds and surrendered the fort ".—*Elliot, l.c.* The author of the *Zafar-al-Wâlih*, who was perhaps present at this meeting between father and son, writes as follows : " And it happened that as he (Malik Yâkûb) was defending the fortress, there came up to it his son Mukarrab Khân with a message—*viz.*, the letter from the king ; and Malik Yâqûb said to his son : 'May God not show me thy face. Go down to Bahadur and follow him.' And he went down and obeyed his order."—*The Indian Antiquary*, p.182. Ogilby says that these reproaches of Malik Yâkût to Akbar were contained in a letter.—*Gazetteer*, p. 581.

41 Sirhindî, of course, could not record this murder by his Imperial Master ; therefore as soon as he had ended the narrative of the meeting of Mukarrab Khân with his father, adds : " Unable to endure his abuse [his father's words], the son stabbed himself two or three times in the abdomen and a few days afterwards he died ".—*Elliot, l.c.* Thus the crime of Akbar remained hidden, so that when the fort surrendered some months after, the author of the *Zafar-al-Wâlih*, who being in the fortress had not yet learnt of the death of this young man, was told of his suicide, perhaps by Abu-l Fazl himself, and thus wrote in his history : " And he went down and obeyed his order, until at length in the assembly of Abu-l Fazl he stabbed himself in the belly with his dagger, in abasement that his father was not content with him and he died ".—*The Indian Antiquary, l.c.* This is the reason why this trustworthy historian disagrees with the Jesuit narrative : they gave him false information, and he would naturally not suspect the veracity of such historians as Abu-îl Fazl or Sirhindî.

42 It seems that this was a phrase often used by this commander, because the author of the *Zafar-al-Wâlih* attributes a similar remark to him, while speaking to his son, as we have just seen. This establishes more clearly the fidelity of both accounts.

43 Smith says that 'winter' here means rains (p. 279, n. 2). I do not agree with him, because the rainy season is far advanced at the end of August, its beginning dating from the first half of June. How could he say that the 'rainy season' was approaching ? He speaks of the real winter that begins in November : therefore I am inclined to believe that these events took place, not near the end of August, but in the month of October.

leave, lest the whole of his army should be destroyed; that no one could take the fort except God or those to whom God or they themselves might give it; that the best and most honest fate was always that of those who fight according to reason; therefore they were bound to defend themselves very strenuously; so far as he himself was concerned, he did not wish to live any more, so that he might avoid seeing the countenance of so wicked a man[44]. Having said this, he made a knot in the scarf and strangled himself[45].

"After the death of the *Abexin*, those of the fort defended themselves for sometime, so that the Moghul Emperor began to despair, because, after having used so many means, he had not succeeded in his purpose. Therefore he thought to attack it with artillery, but, since he had none, he called the Fathers who had come with him, and ordered them to write at once to the Portuguese of Chaul, which was a hundred leagues distant; and he would also do the same, saying that he was in need of guns and ammunition to attack that fort; and that since they were very good friends of him, let them send him both[46]. Father [Xavier] answered that His Highness wanted something, which he [Xavier] was unable to perform, nor could he advice the Portuguese to comply, because it was clearly against the Christian law[47]. The Emperor became so angry on hearing this answer that his wrath burst forth; and he told Xavier to return to Goa at once, leaving the court for ever. They went out from his presence determined to leave accordingly; but one, who was a very good friend of theirs[48], advised them not to do so, because, if they did depart, they would

44 A third repetition of the same idea. How could he say it, when he was blind? It may have been an habitual phrase, used by him before he lost his sight. I admit that the words of Fr. Xavier cannot be the very words of the speaker, because he only learned the fact some months later, from the Portuguese people who were in the fortress; but we cannot reject the idea of the speech. The author of *Zafar-al-Wâlih*, who was perhaps present, gives us further information. On hearing the news of the murder of his son, Malik Yâkût assembled in the royal palace those seven princes, who were supposed to be the heirs of the throne and all their sons, and addressed them as follows:—"The fortress is as it was, and the garrison is at it was. Which of you will accept the throne and will protect the honour of your fathers? And not one of them answered him anything—the historian continues, and he said to them: "Would to God that ye were women. And they excused themselves"—*The Indian Antiquary*, p. 182. Fr. Xavier confirms this a little further on.

45 The account of this suicide is differently narrated by the anonymous author of Asirgarh. I prefer this narrative to that of Xavier, because his information was better on this point, and his account shows more signs of probability than that of the missionary. "But Yâkût Malik Sulṭânî," says the former, "when he despaired of all the offspring of Bahadur Shah, went out to his house, made his will, bathed himself, and had his shroud brought. Then he summoned his family and went out to the mosque which he had built, and prayed and distributed benefits and gave alms, and he caused a grave to be dug in a spot which he desired; and then he ate opium, for his jealous patriotism was strong upon him, and he died and was buried there". (*l.c.*) The speech, as it stands in Ogilby's *Atlas*, is substantially the same: "O brothers! The winter approaches, which will drive the Mughal from the siege, and to avoid their utter ruin, force them all to retire home. None but God shall ever be able to conquer this place unless the inhabitants thereof will surrender the same; therefore resolve valiantly to defend the same".—"Having ended this speech, adds the traveller, he went and strangled himself immediately".—*Gazetteer*, p. 581.

46 We can remember here the words of Xavier in the beginning of this same letter: "The purpose of this journey was to conquer Goa and Malabar." In another letter of the same volume, which we hope to publish soon, he declares more fully the Emperor's design of conquering the Portuguese possessions.

47 "I believe, Du Jarric says, that Xavier thus acted for no other reason than that the Portuguese had concluded a treaty of peace with King Miran shortly before"—*Thesaures Rerum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 46.

48 I am almost sure that this gentlemen, who knew the character of Akbar so well, could not be any other than Abu-l Faẓl himself. Fr. Montserrat, in his *Commentarius*, speaks of him as follows: "Admirationi Sacerdotibus erat. Librum Evangelii religiossissime osculabatur et suo capiti imponebat. Sacerdotes intuebatur quasi angelos, juvenem eorum interpretem beatum esse dicebat, qui consuetudine ipsorum frueretur. Quid plura? In privitis cum Rege colloquiis, nihil habebat antiquius, quam illorum senten tiam et modestiam commendare".—*Commentarius*, pp. 571-572.

undoubtedly be killed by the Emperor's order. Hence they had to hide themselves until his wrath subsided. They did so, and after a while their friendship with the Emperor was renewed[49].

"The Emperor persevered in besieging the fortress, till at last it surrendered to "the best guns and bullets", that is, to the aforesaid money and bribes, by which he weakened the loyalty of those who were inside; none of the seven princes were willing to succeed to the throne, because they knew how short their reign would be"[50]. So it happened that the fort surrendered a few days later[51]. After this event the Moghul Emperor took possession of the whole kingdom[52] and all its wealth, which was very great[53]. He gave immunity to the people in general, but the kings, including the one who had been his prisoner[54], and the other seven successors, all of whom were inside the fort, were exiled and sent as prisoners to different parts of his kingdom[55]. He gave to king Miran four thousand *escudos*[56], and two thousand to each of the others for their support. When he received the homage of the seven white captains, he asked them who they were. When they answered that they were Moors, he ordered them to be punished. Father Jerome Xavier

49 This event agrees marvellously with the description of the character of Akbar, made by the same Montserrat: "He seldom gets angry, but then violently; yet he cools down quickly, for he is naturally kind". "Father Monserrate's Account of Akbar," by Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., in *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VIII, p. 192.

50 We have already learnt from the anonymous historian of Asirgarh how they refused the acceptance of the throne. *Cf.* note. 44. Smith thinks that the pecuniary negotiations must have begun in December (p. 281). We have already shown that they started some time before. *Cf.* note 33.

51 The capitulation took place on January 17, 1601, according to the inscription that can be still seen on the façade of the Jama Masjid in Asirgarh. This confirms my opinion, against that of Smith, that the kidnapping of Bahadur Shah could not have occurred in the month of August, but later on. Xavier says: "The fort surrendered a few days after"; *viz.*, after Akbar had decided to ask for Portuguese artillery from Chaul. This decision took place just after the aforesaid kidnapping, when he realized, against his expectations, that the besieged generals did not wish to capitulate.

52 The following items are given in the *Ẓafar-al-Wâlih* on the surrender: "The people of the fortress were summoned to come down and take assurance, and in accordance with their answer Shaikh Abu-l-Faẓl of Delhi went up the mountain and took his seat on the stone platform known as that of Tafâ'ul Khân, and gave permission to them to descend with their families, and this they did, and the reduction of the fortress in H.A. 1009 (1600–01) was attributed officially to Shaikh Abu-l Faẓl".—*The Indian Antiquary*, p. 182. But Sirhindî says that the man who received the surrender of the fort was Shaikh 'Abd-al-Ḥahmân, Abu-l Faẓl's son, and in this case I prefer his authority to that of the chronicler of Asirgarh, because the former knew Abu-l Faẓl and his family personally and the latter perhaps never made their acquaintance. After a while, "the Emperor went in and inspected the fortress . . . The Emperor stayed in the place three days, and then proceeded to Barhampur".—*Elliot*, p. 146. The kingdom of Khandesh formed one of the three Subahs put under the command of prince Daniyal.

53 "Khân-Khânân, who had come from Aḥmadnagar, went into the fortress and placed the royal seal on the treasure and warlike stores, which were then placed in charge of responsible officers . . . The emperor went in and inspected the fortress. All the treasures and effects of Bahadur Khân, which had been collected by his ancestors during two hundred years, were brought out."—(*l.c.*). Sir T. W. Haig records an item given by Khâfî Khân in his *Muntakhab-al-Lubâb* on the treasures of the Faruqi Dynasty, which contained also the wealth of the old Hindu chiefs of Asirgarh.

54 Bahadur Shah was sent to the fort of Gwalior, with his wives and family. According to Sirhindî the former were two hundred in number.

55 These seven princes, mentioned by Xavier several times, were all sons of Muhammad Shah II, and therefore uncles of Bahadur Shah. Their names were as follows: Da'ud Khân, Hamid Khân, Qaisâr Khân, Bahram Khân, Shir Khân, Ghazni Khân and Darya Khân. There were also eight brothers of Bahadur Shah, with their families. The Muhamadan historians do not say where they were sent. *Cf. The Indian Antiquary*, pp. 183–184 "He received all the inhabitants favourably, except the imprisoned king and the seven successive princes, whom he dispersed into several provinces"; Ogilby, in *Gazetteer*, p. 582.

56 This must have been a yearly donation, as Smith had noted. *Escudo* is a Spanish word, meaning gold currency.

asked the King to pardon them[57]. But he answered that they had to be killed according to the laws of the Portuguese; because they, being of Christian descent, had made themselves out to be Moors. However, since he had interceded for them, he gave them over to him. The Father then devoted himself to the salvation of their souls: and all of them were converted— Thanks be to God. This was not the only fruit the Fathers gained in this journey; for many sons and daughters of Portuguese were also given over to them, and Brother Benito de Goes brought them to Goa.[58]"

From the rest of Fr. Xavier's letter, which gives no further news about the conquest of this fort, we may conclude that Akbar spent some further time in the neighbourhood, where he received homage and some religious gifts from Fr. Manuel Piñeiro, S.J., who had remained at Lahore in charge of the Christians of that town.

The letter of Fr. Xavier is the most trustworthy account of the conquest of Asirgarh; but it needs to be supplemented and checked by the sidelights provided by the Muhammadan historians, and especially by the author of *Zafar-al-Wâlih*; this task we have attempted, while publishing the letter in English for the first time. From its study the following facts, not recorded by Smith, are brought out:—

(1) The purpose of Akbar in this expedition was to open the way through the Deccan for further conquests in Goa, Malabar, Vijayanagar and Dabul.

(2) An alliance probably existed between the Portuguese and the Deccan kingdoms, to oppose the Moghul Emperor.

(3) Mukarrab Khân was sent twice by his father Malik Yâkût to the Imperial camp, the first time before the kidnapping of the king, and the second after that event.

(4) The kidnapping of Bahadur took place, not at the end of August but later on, probably in October.

MISCELLANEA.

DISPOSAL OF DECEASED LAMAS IN EASTERN TIBET AND THE MUMMIFYING OF BODIES IN CHINA.

In Eric Teichman's *Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet*, the latest and very excellent book on that country (1922), there occurs a remarkable statement on the mode of disposing of the bodies of lamas by feeding them to birds, to which the author has attached an equally remarkable account of the Chinese method of mummifying the dead held to be of much account.

On p. 84, we read: "On this march we passed a deceased lama being cut up and fed to the birds, a somewhat gruesome sight. Domna, our Tibetan mastiff, immediately galloped off to join in the feast, and was with difficulty recalled. This is the usual method of disposing of deceased lamas. The idea seems to be that a speedy reincarnation is secured by being thus fed to the birds (and each reincarnation is, it is hoped, a step towards non-reincarnation and the desired escape from the revolving wheel of earthly existence). Dead laymen are usually thrown into rivers, a practice which makes it inadvisable to drink unboiled river water in Tibet."

Both the above statements are of interest. The first because the Parsi mode of disposing of the dead in towers of silence to be eaten by birds is said to be due to the idea of not polluting the Mother Earth by burying the body in it. The second is of course a common Hindu custom of (?) Aryan or outside-Aryan origin.

On the same page Mr. Teichman has a note of great interest on Chinese mummifying, which is worth reproducing here.

"We never came across a mummied lama in Eastern Tibet, but the mummy of Tsongkaba (the great reformer of Tibetan lamaism) is said to be preserved in a monastery at Lhasa. Mummies of priests and other celebrities are not uncommon in China, and there is one at Peking which is well known to foreign tourists. The Chinese make their mummies by starving the subject before his death (so that he may be as empty and dry as possible) and then placing the body in a sealed jar with charcoal, which absorbs the moisture. When the body is entirely dried it is removed from the jar and gilded."

R. C. TEMPLE.

57 The conduct of Fr. Xavier was that of a minister of Jesus Christ, Prince of Peace, and he acted according to the words of God to the Prophet Ezekiel: "I desire not the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live" (XXXIII, 11), and he succeeded in his efforts.

58 The fact that there were so many Portuguese in the fort perhaps confirms the hint of Fr. Du Jarric, that an alliance existed between them and the kingdom of Khandesh. Cf. note 47.

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE GLASS PALACE CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF BURMA, translated by PE MAUNG TIN and G. H. LUCE. Burma Research Society Text Publication Fund. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1923.

The Burmese have long taken their history seriously, and the result of this feeling has produced many chronicles with names well known in the Country,—the Celebrated, the Old and the New Pagân, the Great, the Middle, the New, the Tagaung, the Rakhaing, the Tharêk'ittarâ, the Ng'eppyit-taung, the Pagân, the Pâli Paukkân, the Vamsâdipâni, the Abridged, the Gôdhâvarâ, the Nyaungyaung, the Thatôn, and many others. The inscriptions in Burmese are innumerable, and then there are besides the *êgyin*, or historical ballads, and similar poetical compositions, and the *thamaings*, or prose histories of pagodas and monasteries, and even of towns. Every pagoda has one of its own. Innumerable as these are, none of them are 'historical,' but they contain historical facts, and between them they can be made to yield real history, while their very numbers make them capable of being used to check each other, and thus to extract credible history out of them. No doubt in time this will be done, for the Burma Research Society is taking this fascinating subject steadily in hand.

I call the study fascinating, because the peoples of Burma have a true literary *flair*, and their chronicles are full of captivating poetry and are delightful reading, whether the reader is bent on a search after true history or merely on literary enjoyment. With translators so capable and so true to their text as Messrs. Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, the English forms of such works are a pleasure as they stand without annotations.

Not that I would advocate leaving the Burmese records unannotated by scholars, as is the case with the volume before me. Mr. Pe Maung Tin, in preparing for his translation, has examined "all available records which bear on history," and "made a detailed comparative study of them, embodying the results in the form of footnotes and appendices to the *Glass Palace Chronicle*. But this apparatus of notes with numerous cross references would have entailed a higher cost of printing than the Burma Research Society was prepared to defray." So he printed nothing but the plain text divested of all notes. One can understand the position of the Society, but that does not mitigate the regret that so much scholarship should be thus thrown away at a time when it is so greatly required. Other publications of research in Burma show that the time has now come when the results of the searchers are well worth publication, and it is to be sincerely hoped that Mr. Pe Maung Tin will not have to wait long for a publisher of his annotated edition. There are very many points in this one that need elucidation by a scholar's notes.

Although the old time Burmese scholars were not critical according to present day ideas, they were by no means unaware of the mythical nature of early Burmese history, nor of the value of collating their many sources of information and of collecting together what they thought credible. They had moreover from time to time rulers also who were willing to have the most reliable history practicable put together. Such considerations were in fact the cause of the compilation of the *Glass Palace Chronicle*. In 1829 King Bâgyîdaw of the Alompra (Alaungp'ayâ) Dynasty appointed a Committee of learned men to compile a chronicle "sifted and prepared in accordance with all credible records in the books." It was worked out in the Glass Palace (M'an Nan), whence its name. It was to be a standard, and to be "purified by comparing it with other chronicles and a number of inscriptions; each with the other, and adopting the truth in the light of reason and the traditional books." The compilers set about their work very seriously and with great learning and assiduity, drawing upon all sorts of literature for the facts and arguments, and freely interrupting the narrative with disquisitions on their authorities. The present volume gives only a portion of the Chronicle, and in it "are quoted eleven inscriptions, eleven other chronicles, ten *thamaings*, besides the Pali chronicles and Burmese poetical literature." The whole scheme was excellent, the actual procedure honest, and the only point in which the compilers failed according to modern ideas was in their interpretation of the term 'credible.' Nevertheless a book so constituted is well worth publication and thoroughly critical annotation.

Mr. Pe Maung Tin's description of his own criticisms of the sources of Burmese History is most valuable. He first discusses the Inscriptions, as the oldest and most trustworthy material. King Bôdawp'ayâ (1781–1819) made an immense collection of them, now put together, mostly uncritically, in six large volumes. He had true copies made of some (*s'int'ô*), revised versions made of others (*satt'ô*), and a large class he did not have copied at all. The Inscriptions date from the 11th century, and obviously require careful looking into, which no doubt they will get in due course.

The Chronicles are a comparatively modern body of works. The oldest, the *Celebrated Chronicle* of Sâmantapasâdika Silavamsa, more familiarly known as Thilawunthâ, dates only from the 14th century and is not of much use for 'history.' Mr. Pe Maung Tin gives an excellent short account of

it and of all others that he examined. The *Old Pagan Chronicle* is said to date from the 16th century, but does not appear to be the *Old Chronicl* quoted by the Glass Palace compilers. Maung Kalâ's *Great Chronicle* of the 18th century, however, appears to be the foundation on which they really worked, their production being seemingly an amended and annotated copy of it. Maung Kalâ also compiled an abridgment of his great work, which he called the *Middle Chronicle*, though it does not appear to be the *Middle Chronicle* used in the Glass Palace. The *New Pagân Chronicle* of 1785, a fine and valuable compilation, reproduced both *the Great* and *the Old* with additions, and was the first to display critical powers as to its predecessors. The *New Chronicle*, by the well-known scholar Twinthin Mahâsîthû, produced about the same time, is the work of one of the examiners of inscriptions for King Bôdawp'ayâ's collection. It is a critical work and is as valuable as the *New Pagân*, although the Glass Palace compilers often ignored the information it contains. These are the documents dealing with general Burmese history, and of them the Old, the Great, the New Pagân, and the New, are those that Mr. Pe Maung Tin classifies as the *Standard Chronicles.*

Turning to those that profess to give local history, the *Tagaung Chronicle* is largely legendary and in its later parts incoherent, but it is useful for the purposes of comparison. The *Rak'aing* (Arakan) *Chronicle* throws many sidelights on general history. Similar remarks apply to the Tharêk'ittarâ, Ng'eppyittaung, and the Pagân. The Pâli Paukkân may be taken as a Pâli version of the Burmese *Great Chronicle.* The Vamsâdipâni is a modern exposition by Mêt'î Sayâdaw, 1916. All the *Talaing Chronicles* deal with local history, such as that of Pegu, Tavoy, Zimmè, and the like.

Mr. Pe Maung Tin further goes into the *êgyin*, which are historical ballads, but from them true history can only be extracted by an expert, because of their poetical nature. He also goes into the *thamaings*, or prose histories of holy places, where again very expert knowledge is required for the recognition of valuable references to general history.

I have thus gone closely into the Introduction to this book in order to bring out the fact that the historical resources of Burma are great, and only require critical examination to be of practical use. It is a great pleasure to see that the Burma Research Society is likely to provide it.

The translators, have found serious difficulty, like every one else, in transliterating Burmese terms and names, as who will not, where words are written on one system and pronounced on another ? I have already drawn attention to this difficulty in this *Journal* and will say no more about it now . But it is a burning question.

As regards the *Glass Palace Chronicle* itself as now presented to us, it is capital reading and is in easy and admirable English. On their rendering the authors are to be greatly congratulated, and also on confining themselves for the present to those parts only of the original which purport to tell the story of the Burmese Kingdoms of Tagaung, Tharêk'ittarâ and Pagân. The tale thus begins with the more or less mythical founding of Tagaung by Abhirâjâ the Sâk'ya, *i.e.*, of the tribe of the Buddha himself, in an unknown age B.C., and takes us as far thence as the Chinese conquering raid at the end of the 13th century.

One point that has interested me personally is that it contains once more many stories of the Thirty Seven Nats, who were all more or less directly connected with the old Burmese Kings, and I propose in due course to compare the stories I published of them in this *Journal* in Vol. XXXV with those in the *Glass Palace Chronicle*.

The whole work wants close annotation, as many remarks are made in it of anthropological interest,—such as constant references to astrological conditions at the time of a king's death, and the statement of the day of the week on which each king was born. All of which mean much to Burmans, but are unknown to the rest of the world.

R. C. TEMPLE.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY, edited by DR. SHAFAAT AHMAD KHAN, Vol. II, Part I, Serial No. 4, November 1922; Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, the Editor, has provided students of Indian history with four interesting papers in the latest number of the Journal of Indian History. The first, written by Professor Beni Prasad, deals with the accession of Shâh Jahân and explains in easy and succinct style the circumstances and intrigues which obliged the Prince to raise the standard of revolt, despite the fact that Jahangir, by appointing him in 1608 to the Sarkar of Hissar Firoz and loading him with political honours, had already marked him out publicly as his chosen successor. The intrigues and plotting, which were the natural concomitant of Mughal successions to the throne, were indeed so serious and so constant that our ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, prophesied a bloody internecine war on the demise of Jahangir, and on that account warned the East India Company not to extend their business too far into the country. This unfortunate immersion in political plotting, the constant exposure of the princes to the evil influence of palace factions, must have had a degrading effect upon even the best natures ; and it is only on such grounds that one can explain why Shâh Jahân, who in his youth exhibited unusual strength of character, showed great prowess

as a soldier, and has immortalized himself by his faithful love for Arjumand Banu, should have stained his reputation by the infamous murder of his brother Khusrau and by ordering the assassination of the princes by Asaf Khân. In the course of his narrative, the author refers to Malik Ambar as "the first of the builders of the Marâthâ nation, who enrolled, organised and trained guerilla bands of light Marâthâ horse and fitted them against the Mughals." This dictum serves as a wholesome reminder that, great as were the services of Sivâji Mahârâja in welding the Marâthâs into a powerful fighting force, he owed not a little of his success in both civil and military spheres to a former age. Professor Surendranath Sen has already shown that his administrative arrangements had their roots deep down in ancient Hindu political science, and Professor Beni Prasad's reference to Malik Ambar supports the view that much of the later military success of the Marâthâs was due to the training received under the old Musalman dynasties of the Deccan.

Dr. Tritton provides in this number the second portion of a careful account of the "Rise of the Imams of Sanaa" (1006–1050 A.H.), which contains facts that are probably new to many students, while Professor H. G. Rawlinson contributes a brief sketch of the "Early Trade between England and the Levant." The Company of Merchants of the Levant, which succeeded in completely ousting the Italian cities from the Mediterranean trade, has a special interest for students of Indian history, as having been the parent of the East India Company. Mr. Rawlinson reminds us that for a time these two companies actually had the same letter-book, and that the Levant Company was ultimately wound up as late as 1825, after a long and prosperous career of 244 years. The story of John Fox, mentioned in the paper, is worth remembrance as an example of British tenacity in difficult and dangerous circumstances.

The longest and in some ways the most important paper in this number is Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's essay on the "Origin and Early History of the Pallavas of Kânchi." For many years the precise origin and nature of the strange dynasty, which showed so much hostility to the Tamil Kingdoms of South India, have been a subject of speculation: and it is only now that epigraphy and historical research are beginning to throw light on the problem. There is no one better qualified by knowledge and experience than Professor S. K. Aiyangar to gather up the scattered strands and weave them into a harmonious and credible story. He opens his paper by disproving the supposed connexion between the Pallavas and the northern Pahlavas, though he holds that the two names are philologically identical, and shows that the information to be gleaned from ancient Tamil literature directly militates against the theory of a Pahlava origin. Then, on the evidence supplied by the most ancient Tamil records, by various copper-plate and other inscriptions discovered from time to time in South India, and by certain types of Ândhra coins, he proceeds to unfold his theory of the origin and rise of the Pallava power in the region, known as Toṇḍamandalam, between the lower course of the Krishna and the Palar river. Incidentally he points out that the people of Toṇḍamandalam in early days were styled Toṇḍaiyars and that this term was synonymous with Pallava; while in early Tamil literature the more important section of the inhabitants of this region was known as Tirayar or "sea-people," and one of their chiefs, the son of a Choḷa king by a Nâga princess, was the first viceroy or ruler of Kânchî. Of this interesting figure we shall have more to say in a later paragraph.

Professor Aiyangar's conclusions are briefly as follows. While the Choḷas were still dominant in the south and in control of Toṇḍamandalam, the Sâtavâhanas under Pulumayi endeavoured to conquer this region, the struggle being reflected in Tamil literature by reference to hostilities between the Tamils on one side and the Ariyar and Vaḍukar on the other. After the death of Karikâla, the Ândhras (Sâtavâhanas) advanced south and occupied the country almost up to the Southern Pennar. For some time they placed in charge of this country viceroys chosen from among their own relatives; but later, probably in the reign of Yajña Srî, they appointed a local Pallava chieftain, styled "Bappa Deva" in the earliest known Prakrit inscription, who did much towards extending cultivation and irrigation. His son ruled over Kânchî, which was the headquarters of the territory. This territory had apparently broken up into three by the time of Samudragupta, in consequence, doubtless, of the irruption of the Ikshvâkus from the north, and the only Pallava ruler proper at the date of the Hari-Sena inscription was Vishnugopa of Kânchî, the rulers of Vengi and Pâlakka being scions of the Ikshvâku race. Samudragupta's defeat of all three rulers seems to have so far undermined the power of Vishnugopa of Kânchî that he was ousted by Vîrakurchâ Pallava, who founded the Pallava dynasty of the Sanskrit charters, and obtained possession also of the south-western viceroyalty of the Chûṭu family of Sâtavâhanas, who were Nâgas, by marrying a Nâga princess. By force of arms and also by virtue of this marriage, he united under his own sway the whole southern block of Sâtavâhana territory, about the time that the northern block was being attacked by the Nâgas, the Vâkâṭaka and the Kshatrapas in the north. Vîrakurcha and his successors managed to reassert Pallava authority as far north as Vengi, until in the reigns of Simhavarman and

his son Simhavishnu we find the Pallavas in full control of the Choḷa country. Professor Aiyangar also deals with the history of the territory of the Nâga cousins of the Sâtavâhanas, lying to the west of the recognized Pallava territory, which, seized in the reign of Skandavarman by an enterprising Brahman named Mayura Sarman, was gradually absorbed by the Pallavas in later generations, until the rise of the Western Chalukyas placed a limit upon their advance.

Thus, according to this brief sketch of their early history, the Pallavas proper first appear in the person of 'Bappa Deva,' the local chieftain, appointed viceroy of Tondamandalam for the Ândhras in the reign of Yajña Sri Sâtakarni. The question then arises as to the origin of Bappa Deva, who founded the historical Pallava dynasty of the Prakrit charters. In a recent issue of this Journal, Mr. M. C. Rasanayagam has put forward the view, based on definite statements in ancient Tamil literature, that the Choḷa King Killi Valavan or Nedumudi Killi, who moved his capital to Uraiyûr after the destruction of Kaveripattanam, had a son by a Nâga princess, who was the daughter of Valaivanan, the Nâga king of Manipallavam, which he identifies with the Jaffna peninsula in Ceylon. This son, named Tondaiman Ilam-tirayan, was created by his Choḷa father king of Tondamandalam about A.D. 159 or a little later, with his capital at Kânchi, and was in fact the earliest founder of the dynasty which derived its dynastic name of Pallava from the second half of the name of the region (Mani-pallavam), whence Ilam-tirayan's Nâga mother originally hailed. Professor Aiyangar apparently accepts the tradition of Ilam-tirayan's rule or viceroyalty, as embodied in Tamil literature, but points out that there is no direct evidence to connect Ilam-tirayan with the clearly historical Bappa-deva, who appears in a later generation. He states that Ilam-tirayan was succeeded by the Choḷa Ilam-Killi, younger brother of Ilam-tirayan's father Nedumudi-Killi, and that Choḷa sovereignty ceased with his rule or viceroyalty. The Pallavas of the early charters succeeded to the possession of the territory, the first of them being the local chief Bappa-deva. Surely it is not impossible that Bappa-deva may have been connected by descent with the "Pallava" Ilam-tirayan, in which case this strange and powerful dynasty would have been primarily descended, partly from the Choḷa royal line and partly from a tribe or dynasty of Sinhalese Nâgas. When we leave the realm of tradition and come to recorded fact, Professor Aiyangar provides us with an excellent and well-reasoned résumé of early Pallava history, which illuminates many dark places and proves the close connexion existing historically between the rulers of Kânchi and the important Ândhra dynasty. This article alone should suffice to assure a warm welcome to this number of the Journal.

S. M. EDWARDES.

ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY, STUDIES IN HISTORY. Volume I, HISTORY OF JAHANGIR, by BENI PRASAD, M.A., Assistant Professor of Indian History, with a foreword by SHAFAAT AHMAD KHAN, Litt.D. Humphrey Milford—Oxford University Press, 1922.

Students of the Mughal period of Indian History have hitherto been obliged to rely for their knowledge of the reign of Jahangir upon Elphinstone's History of India and the work of Khafi Khan. Professor Beni Prasad introduces us for the first time to various contemporary, and therefore important, Persian chronicles of that Emperor's reign, and by carefully sifting these and comparing them with contemporary European evidence, Rajput chronicles, and later records, has produced a very complete and withal succinct review of Jahangir's life and reign. The author states in his preface that he has aimed throughout at a simple style; and he has certainly achieved his object: for his narrative runs forward smoothly and without effort, thus conveying the facts and circumstances of Jahangir's career more clearly than would have been possible, perhaps, in a more ornate or florid style of composition.

In the opening chapter the author gives us a careful estimate of Jahangir's character, showing how his nobler qualities, his love of physical exercise, his undeniable intellectual capacity, were marred by a lamentable weakness of will, which was aggravated by intemperance, the besetting sin of the Mughal imperial line. It seems almost impossible that he could have consumed so large a daily allowance of liquor as "twenty cups of doubly distilled spirits, fourteen during the daytime and the remainder at night." Yet we have his own confession to this effect, and also his description of the disastrous result of these potations upon his health. Professor Beni Prasad combats the hitherto popular view that the quarrel between Akbar and Jahangir (then Prince Salim) was founded on religious incompatibility, and that the latter played the rôle of champion of Islamic orthodoxy against the heretical views of Akbar and Abu'l-Fazl. He proves his contention from original records, and shows that the dispute between Jahangir and his father was in origin purely secular and was fought on secular ground. At the same time, on a later page, he disposes finally of the groundless story that Akbar died of poison administered by Jahangir. On more than one occasion, as Professor B. Prasad admits, Jahangir was driven by gusts of passion to acts of barbarous cruelty: but the guilt of the parricide cannot be laid to his charge. A general survey of his life shows him to have been on

the whole a kindly, sensible man, with strong family affections, affable and open-handed.

The author likewise exonerates Jahangir from the charge of having instigated the murder of Sher Afkhun, in order that he might secure for himself the beautiful wife of the latter, Nur Jahan. Apart from the improbabilities of the story itself, which the author fully explains, he shows that the accusation against the Emperor was never heard of till the second half of the seventeenth century, and was transformed and embellished by Dow and other writers during the eighteenth century. A close study of contemporary authorities and of well-established facts indicates that Sher Afkhun died in 1607, under suspicion of complicity in a seditious conspiracy in Bengal, and that Jahangir did not meet and marry his widow until the early months of 1611. The happiness of his married life with Nur Jahan and her own very remarkable strength of character render it extremely unlikely that their union was facilitated by an odious crime. The author dwells at some length upon the exceptional qualities of the Padishah Begam or First Lady of the Realm, as Nur Jahan was styled on the death of Sultan Salima Begam in 1613, and upon her great beauty. The contemporary portraits of her, which are preserved in the India Office and British Museum, help one in some degree to realise her loveliness, and, while amply explaining Jahangir's lasting affection for her, seem to repel the suggestion that she would willingly have linked her fortunes with her first husband's murderer. Jahangir is not the first Indian potentate against whom charges of murder have been made, which later inquiry has proved to be unfounded.

Professor Beni Prasad regards the epidemic which swept through Ahmadabad in 1618, during Jahangir's visit, as identical with the so-called 'influenza' which caused such appalling mortality in India in 1918, and points out that on both occasions the epidemic followed a period of scarcity and a war. Assuming that the disease was the same in both instances, its incidence in the case of Europeans and Indians does not appear to have been similar. For, according to contemporary accounts, the disease generally proved fatal to Europeans in 1618, whereas three centuries later the mortality among this class was trivial by comparison with the effects of the epidemic on Indians. The identity of the two outbreaks appears to me by no means definitely proved, though I am quite prepared to agree with Professor Beni Prasad that the generic term 'influenza' is now often loosely applied to obscure visitations, of which medical science has so far failed to discover the precise character and origin. On the other hand, there is little room for doubt that the epidemic in the Doab in 1616—1624 was identical with the bubonic plague which appeared in the Mandvi ward of Bombay in 1896. A precisely similar epidemic, of which the symptoms were described by Khafi Khan, broke out in 1698 among Aurangzeb's forces in Bijapur. The modern theory of the responsibility of the rat in the dissemination of the disease is curiously foreshadowed by the remark of a contemporary writer, Motamad Khan, that 'when it (the plague) was about to break out, a mouse would rush out of its hole, as if mad, and striking itself against the door and the walls of the house, would expire. If, immediately after this signal, the occupants left the house and went away to the jungle, their lives were saved; if otherwise, the inhabitants of the whole village would be swept away by the hand of death.' The author of the *Iqbalnama* may claim credit for having indicated three centuries ago two axioms in regard to plague which are generally accepted by medical science to-day, *viz*:—the association of the rat (or mouse) with the spread of the disease, and the vital necessity of evacuating infected areas without delay.

Considerations of space forbid further reference to the contents of Professor Beni Prasad's well arranged work. The chapters on Mughal Government, Mewar, Shah Jahan's Rebellion, Mahabat Khan's *coup-de-main*, and on Nur Jahan, deserve close study, and constitute a valuable addition to our knowledge of the period. The obvious care taken to sift all available evidence, and the manner of presenting his conclusions to the reader render Professor Prasad's study of Jahangir a worthy companion volume to Dr. V. A. Smith's well-known monograph on Akbar. One can only hope that the author will find leisure to publish a similar volume on Shah Jahan. The present book is furnished with an exhaustive bibliography and a good index.

S. M. EDWARDES.

No. 1, vol. 3, of DJAWA, THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE JAVA INSTITUTE (Weltevreden).

Djawa contains articles on Eastern and Western culture, on facial expression in Hindu-Javanese sculpture (with illustrations) and an important communication on musical scales and instruments of Western Java, in continuation and completion of the previous article on Sudanese music (*Djawa*, vol. 1, pp. 235 ff.), by J. Kunst and C. J. A. Kunst. It gives particulars of many different kinds of orchestras with descriptions of the instruments used in them, and numerous tables and diagrams of musical scales, etc.

J.M.B.

DJAWA: No. 2 (1923), Driemaandelijksch Tijdschrift uitgegeven door het Java-Instituut bij G. Kolff and Co., Weltvreden.

Djawa maintains the excellence of this serial in illustrations and articles. The first paper is on Javanese dancing, of which there are two types, the *Solo* and the *Jogja*. The poses assumed in

the dances are fully described and illustrated. The second article is on a festival, called *Roe-watan,* celebrated to avert the ill luck incurred by upsetting or breaking certain objects. The next is on the deterioration of native applied art, with illustrations of specimens of old and new work, among them reproductions of two bas reliefs, one of Maja's [Mâyâ's] dream and the other of the birth of Buddha, to show the vessels represented in them. The article following is on the puzzling character of the Javanese stage called *Semar.* Next comes a paper (to be continued) on maladies from the Javanese and from the Dutch standpoint. Then follows a short article (illustrated) on the old graves of the Sultâns in Madeggan (Sampang). The next two articles are in answer to that of Dr. Nieuwenhuis in *Djawa,* No. 1 (1923), on East and West. Then follows a paper (illustrated) on native building, its importance and future.

J.M.B.

THE INDIAN ATHENÆUM. A Journal devoted to History, Literature and the Arts. Vol. I, No. 1. July 1923.

This is a new Indian Journal established in Calcutta, which "seeks to follow in the footsteps of its great English namesake." and it holds that "it will be found that we are in as good a position to cater for the savant in History, Literature and Art as our great Brother is."

The first two articles are interesting. "Armenian Journalism in India," by Mesrovd J. Seth and "A Tamil account of St. Thomas and Kandappa Raja from the Latin," re-edited by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J. Father Hosten's article is, like all his work, valuable and illuminating.

I wish I could say as much for the rest of the issue. In an article "About Job Charnock" there occurs a startling statement: "There is no record, so far, of Charnock's ancestry." This ignores the efforts of the present writer and others in this direction, published in the *Indian Antiquary,* vol. XLVI (1917), pp. 256 ff; and in *Notes and Queries,* XII. S., III. Sept. 1917, p. 410 (Correspondence of Richard Edwards), reprinted in *Bengal Past and Present,* Vol. XVII. Pts. I and II. Serial Nos. 33–34, July–Dec. 1918. Further, an account of Job Charnock's parentage appeared in *The Times Literary Supplement,* 24 May 1917, and the discoveries there noted are supported in Mr. William Foster's latest volume of *The English Factories in India,* p. 294 n.

There is also in the *Journal* a "Fragment" on Edward Littleton and his two daughters, Jane Hugliana and Elizabeth Gangetica; and of the former it is stated that she "was sent to England in the *Society* and leaves no record." This, too, is not correct. In the correspondence of Richard Edwards, *N. & Q.,* XII, S. IV. August 1918, p. 211. it is shown *inter alia* that she predeceased her father and died before 1709, aged about 23. All this should have been known to a writer in a "Journal devoted to History."

There is at the end of the issue an ill-natured article, to be continued, on British Appreciation of Indian Art.

On the whole I fear that the new venture will have at any rate to improve its History before it can compete with several other journals in India.

R. C. TEMPLE.

EPIGRAPHIA CARNATICA, Vol. II. INSCRIPTIONS AT SRAVANA BELGOLA, (Revised Edition), by RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHAR, M.A. Mysore Government Central Press, Bangalore, 1923.

The first edition of "Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola" was published by Mr. B. Lewis Rice in 1889, and the present volume represents the result of fifteen years' hard work by Mr. R. Narasimhachar to bring his predecessor's valuable record up to date. The result is in every way creditable to the author, whose own directorate of archæological research in Mysore has now terminated. The preparation of the present volume necessitated the comparison of every one of the printed inscriptions with its original, and a very thorough survey both of Sravana Belgola itself and the surrounding villages. As a result of these painstaking labours, nearly three hundred and fifty hitherto unknown records have been brought to light, and many have now been copied and recorded, of which no trace is likely to be left in a few years' time owing to the action of wind and weather. The volume contains 500 inscriptions, ranging in date from A.D. 600 to 1889, and full descriptions of ancient buildings, of which the architecture varies from the eighth to the seventeenth century of the Christian era.

Many of the records of pilgrims, which Mr. Narasimhachar here publishes for the first time, indicate that Sravana Belgola was a place of great sanctity and importance in very early times. On this account eminent Jain *gurus,* poets, artists, chiefs, officials and other high and puissant personages, in common with ordinary people, considered it incumbent upon them to visit the holy place at least once during their lifetime and have their names permanently recorded there. Many of the inscriptions are epitaphs, some of which date back to the seventh and eighth centuries, and record the religious suicide of Jaina monks and nuns. *Sallêkhanâ* was the term applied to the vow under which these pious devotees starved themselves to death, and the author quotes the following description of the process from the *Ratna-karandaka* of Samantabhadra:—"When overtaken by calamity, by famine, by old age, or by incurable disease, to get rid of the body for *dharma* is called *Sallêkhanâ.* One should by degrees give up solid food and take liquid food; then, giving up liquid

the [illegible] gradually content himself with warm water, then, abandoning even warm water, should fast entirely, and thus, with mind intent on the five salutations, should by every effort quit the body." Presumably it was this method which the Mauryan [illegible] or Chandragupta adopted after his abdication of the imperial throne and his journey to Sravana Belgola with the saint Badrabahu. Mr. Narasimhachar discusses at length the legend of Chandragupta's self-imposed death by starvation, and quotes the local inscriptions which refer to it. Though the evidence is somewhat conflicting, I agree fully with Mr. Narasimhachar that the legend rests upon a solid basis of fact, and that the emperor's journey to the south with Badrabahu and his subsequent death in the manner described amply explain his sudden disappearance from the political arena.

The date, dimensions, characteristics and history of the colossal statue of Gommatesvara are thoroughly [illegible] and explained by the author, who [illegible] that this remarkable monument, which is 57 [illegible] in height, was probably made by Chamunda [illegible] minister of the Ganga king Rāchamalla (974-84 [illegible] must have been completed in A.D. 983. [illegible] the inscriptions give interesting side-lights [illegible] The Rashtra-[illegible] king Indra IV, for example, is described as extraordinarily expert at a game of ball, played on horseback, which Mr. Narasimhachar assumes, probably correctly, to be polo. "The ball may be bigger than a black pepper seed; the stick may be shorter than four fingers' breadth; the horse may be bigger than a mountain; the circuit may be larger than that of the earth; still Indra Rāja will not be satisfied unless he makes eight or ten rounds under these conditions, though others, when they think of these, will not even make an attempt." Another inscription proves that in the eyes of some Jain ascetics dirt was as much a proof of holiness as it was among the saints and desert-dwellers of the early Christian church. One Maladhārideva is described as having "never once scratched the body when itching was caused by the dirt which covered the whole of it like armour." On the other hand, virtue could hardly be better expressed than in the brief description of one Isaravya, who died about A.D. 900, as "the elder brother to others' wives."

Space does not permit of further quotations from this important work. The book is well printed, contains many excellent plates and a good index, and reflects credit upon both Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhacher and the Government of Mysore.

S. M. EDWARDES.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A GRANT OF THE VAKATAKA QUEEN PRABHAVATI—GUPTA, THE YEAR 19TH OF PRAVARASENA.

When on a short visit to Poona, Sardar A[illegible] Muzumdar on behalf of the Bhārata-Itihāsa-Saṃśodhaka Mandala, Poona, handed [illegible] to me four copper plates for decipherment [illegible] taking estampages, two for Mandala, one [illegible] my reading and two to illustrate my article [illegible] the *Epigraphia Indica* or elsewhere. On examining [illegible] plates measuring I found that they contain [illegible] most valuable grant of the Gupta period, *viz.*, [illegible] of Prabhāvatigupta, daughter of Chandragupta II and the chief queen of Sri Mahārāja Rudrasena II, of the Vākāṭakas. The most interesting point is that she calls herself the mother of Mahārāja Śri Dāmôdarasena Pravarasena. Another important point is that the record is dated in the 19th year of the reign of Pravarasena (प्रवरसेनस्य राज्यवर्षसम्वत्सरे एकोनविंशतितमे) the actual date being the 12th day of the bright fortnight of Kārtika. In the grant of the same queen edited by Prof. Pāṭhak and Mr. K. N. Dikshit (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 40), the date given is the 12th day of the bright-half of Kārtika in the 13th year. The authors remark "This might be either from the accession of Rudrasena II, or from that of the young prince, in whose name the queen mother was ruling; the former supposition appears to be more probable."

On the analogy of this grant of the same queen, it is reasonable to infer that the thirteenth year should be that of Divâkarasena. But who was this Divâkarasena? Was he the same person as Dâmôdarasena or Pravarasena? Dr. Fleet has edited two grants of Pravarasena II, *viz.*, Chammak and Siwani copper-plate inscriptions, both of (his) 18th year (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, pages 235-249). These grants were made at Pravarasena's command or instructions (वचनात्) The present record is of his next year.

To judge from the wording of this grant, as also from the other, one is inclined to believe that Prabhâvatiguptâ was more proud of her paternal relations, the imperial Guptas, than of her connection with the Vâkâṭaka family

The grant is issued from the feet of the god of Râmagiri, which appears to be Rāmaṭeka in the Central Provinces. Bhaktakâbhôgakshetra is conferred on the Brâhmans of the Taittiriya Śâkhâ of the Pârâśara gôtra. They are the inhabitants of Asvatthanagara.

The *dutaka* is Vevanda Swâmi and the writer of the grant Prabhusingha (Prabhû-simha).

I have given my preliminary readings of the text in my article read before the Bhârata-Itihâsa-Saṃśôdhaka Mandala. The grant will be edited in full in the *Epigraphia Indica* or elsewhere. I am indebted to the Secretaries of the Maṇḍala for kind permission to publish this summary of a most valuable record.

Y. R. GUPTE.

CESARE DI FEDERICI AND GASPARO BALBI.

BY PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER; UPSALA.[1]

AMONG the Italians who visited India during the sixteenth century, the greater part were undoubtedly merchants or at least persons interested in commerce. Their greatest predecessor—one might fain say their patron saint—had, of course, been Marco Polo, who vastly surpassed all travellers of his nation that followed him. And during the last century of the Middle ages, Nicolò de' Conti and Hieronymo di S. Stefano—a Venetian and a Genoese—visited the fabulous regions of the East, bequeathing to their countrymen short relations of their travels.[2] These names are probably the only ones that are now remembered amongst Italians visiting India in those remote times.[3]

After the Portuguese had discovered the direct sea-route to India, and Lisbon had thus become the European emporium of Oriental trade, the merchants of the Italian sea-ports—and above all the Venetians—tried in every way to get rid of their new rivals, in order to re-establish their decaying commercial position in the Far East. Even intrigues and alliances with the Turks and the Muhammadans of Southern India, who also saw their interests endangered by the Portuguese conquerors, did not seem wholly objectionable to the Venetians. Nevertheless the Portuguese, through the superior strategy and heroism of some of their leaders—we need only remember the d'Almeidas, d'Alboquerque, João de Castro, etc.—generally kept the upper hand in the struggle, and on the whole they succeeded in upholding their high position in the East, until the time when the exhaustion of their own country reached its culmination through the disastrous African expedition of Dom Sebastian (1578) and the union with Spain under the sceptre of Philip II (1580).[4] His enmity with the Dutch and English gradually brought the power of Portugal in the Indian Ocean to a complete downfall.

However, with the discovery of the direct sea-route to India, the commercial power of Venice in the East was, no doubt, once for all broken down, and every endeavour towards restoring it had to be looked upon as quite hopeless. It is not to be doubted that among the Venetian merchants still continuing to visit the Indian seas many were nothing more than a sort of commercial spies, trying if possible to find out the secrets of Portuguese commerce with the interior of India and of their relations with the natives, in order afterwards to impart what they had learnt to their countrymen. Consequently, the descriptions of their voyages became little else than handbooks on the trade-routes and commercial products of the East,[5] and they generally show only a scanty interest in the conditions of the interior of the

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1 From the *Geografiska Annaler,* 1920, H. 2. Svenska Sällskapet för Antropologi och Geografi. Stockholm.

2 Italian texts in Ramusio, *Navigationi et viaggi*, I (1613), foll. 338 ff., 345 ff. An English translation with valuable, although somewhat antiquated introduction in Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century,* London, (Hakluyt Soc.), 1857.

3 I am sorry to say it has been impossible to me to get hold of A. de Gubernatis *Storia dei viaggiatori italiani nelle Indie Orientali,* Livorno, 1875.

4 When Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India,* 1497—1550, Westminster, 1899, dates the Portuguese downfall in the East from 1550, and says on p. 324: " D. João de Castro was the last man with any pretensions to superiority who held office in the early days of the Portuguese connection with India, and the names of his successors for many generations, some indolent, some corrupt, some both, and all superstitious, are but the milestones that mark the progress along the dismal path of degeneration," it seems to me that he delivers a somewhat too strong judgment. Men like D. Constantin de Bragança or D. Luiz de Ataide ought to have been spoken of in quite different expressions.

5 There existed a famous standard of such books in the *Pratica della mercatura* of Pegolotti (c. 1340). Cf. Yule *Cathay and the way thither,* II, 137 ff.

countries they visited, though every such traveller has, of course, something of value to tell the student of Indian history and religions. From that point of view this literature has as yet been far too much overlooked.

I will now deal shortly with two voyages by Venetian merchants in the later half of the sixteenth century, which are certainly typical of this sort of literature. The chief reason why I have come to deal with them is the somewhat enigmatic position in which they stand to each other, which will be entered upon at the end of this paper. Little known as they seem to be, there may be some interest in first giving a short survey of their travels.

Cesare di Federici (or Fedrici)[6] and Gasparo Balbi belonged to the merchant-class of the proud Venetian republic. Balbi was a jeweller, while his countryman has not, as far as I know, given us any direct intelligence concerning his chief business. In India he traded in jewellery, precious stuffs, spices, etc., and thus seems to have possessed some knowledge of the secrets of various commercial undertakings. Balbi dedicated his book to the *clarissimo signor Theodoro Balbi nobile Venetiano*, and seems to claim descent from the old and illustrious family of the Balbi, but I have not been able to obtain any knowledge whatsoever concerning the family to which Federici belonged. The years of their birth and death are alike unknown, and on the whole nothing more seems to be known of them than the facts connected with their respective voyages. Even encyclopœdias and biographical dictionaries, that I have been able to consult, do not give anything further: cf., *e.g.*, *Biographie universelle*, XVI, 250 ff., *s.v.* Federici, and III, 261 ff., *s.v.* Balbi, or Boccardo, *Nuova enciclopedia italiana*, III, 117, *s.v.* Balbi.[7] Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, VII: 1, 212, only mentions *il viaggio di* Cesare Federici *fatto nel* 1563, and *ibid.*, p. 216, he enumerates Gasparo Balbi among the less known travellers of the sixteenth century. Of other literature quoted as dealing with Federici I have not been able to consult *Asiatick Miscellany*, I,[8] and *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, I, 332 (1823), nor for Balbi the work of Mazzucchelli, *Degli scrittori d'Italia* and of Ginguené, *Histoire littéraire de l'Italie*.[9]

I have, however, been able to read the chapter dealing with them both in Zurla, *Di Marco Polo, e degli altri viaggiatori veneziani più illustri*, Venezia 1818, II, 252—264, and although it contains scarcely more than a summary of the two works, it does not appear to me to be wholly without value.

Federici's work first appeared at Venice in 1587 as a volume in 12° printed by Andrea Muschi.[10] Later on it was reprinted in Ramusio, *Navigationi et viaggi*, III (ed. of 1606), foll. 386r—398r with the title: *Viaggio de M. Cesare di Fedrici nell' India Orientale, et oltra l' India, per via di Soria.* The last lines run thus: *Io Don Bartholomeo Dionigi da Fano, da un memoriale del soprascritto M. Cesare, ha cavato il presente viaggio e fedelmente in questa forma disteso; che letto più volte dall' istesso Authore, come vero e fedele, ha voluto à commune delettatione & utile, al mondo publicarlo.* I have not the slightest idea who this D. Bartholomeo Dionigi da Fano was, nor have I had an opportunity of seeing the *editio princeps* of 1587. But from Zurla[11] I gather that the subscription was already in the first edition, and consequently da Fano must have brought some diary kept by Federici into its present shape and edited it.

6 In England this man is generally spoken of as Cæsar Frederick, the form of his name used by Hakluyt and Purchas.

7 In this Italian work there is no entry at all on Federici.

8 This periodical apparently appeared at Calcutta in two vols. in 1785—1786.

9 As for these works I have not even been able to get information concerning the volume and page, owing to the bad methods of quotation often adopted in the older books.

10 Cf. *Zurla* l. c. II, 252.

11 II, 252.

The work of Balbi appeared in Venice in the year 1590, printed by Camillo Borgominieri, with the following title: *Viaggio dell' Indie Orientali, di Gasparo Balbi Gioielliero Venetiano. Nel quale si contiene quanto egli in detto viaggio ha veduto per lo spatio di* 9. *Anni consumati in esso dal* 1579, *fino al* 1588. *Con la relatione de i datij, pesi, e misure di tutte le città di tal viaggio, e del governo del Rè di Pegù, e delle guerre fatte da lui con altri Rè d'Auuà e di Sion. Con la Tavola delle cose più notabili* (one volume in small 8°). According to the *Biogr. univ.*, III, 262, and Boccardo, III, 117, a second edition was issued in 1600, of which I have not been able to get any other information.[12]

The works of Federici and Balbi have never, as far as my knowledge goes, been translated into any modern language except English. Both of them are found in Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffics and Discoveries*, and further, the whole of Federici and that part of Balbi dealing with Pegu, in Purchas *His Pilgrims, II.* X, 1702 ff., 1722 ff., (ed. of 1905—07, X, 88 ff., 143 ff.). There is also a Latin translation of Balbi in De Bry, *India Orientalis,* Pars VII (1600), pp. 43—126[13], where, according to the method adopted in that famous work, some illustrations are added, of which there are none in the original.[14] The statement of Boccardo[15]: *Oleario nella sua edizione dei viaggi di Mandelslo dá un compendio del viaggio del Balbi,* I do not quite understand, as it does not seem to be borne out by facts.[16]

The voyage of Cesare di Federici is valuable from more than one point of view—above all for a very clear description of the trade-routes and products of the East. But it has also some value as a historical source, there being found in some passages notices of contemporaneous events in India and Pegu that do not appear elsewhere, or are here put forward in a special way.[17] But as a historical source the work has, as far as I can see, scarcely ever been used,[18] but this point cannot be further entered upon here, as being wholly outside the scope of this small paper.

Simple and clear as his style generally is, there is, however, one difficulty that cannot easily be mastered: although the author has, by the order of the places visited by him, approximately indicated his route, he has hardly ever told us the exact time of his visit to this place or that. Consequently it is difficult, and partly impossible, to form a clear opinion of what periods of his long travelling time (1563—81) he spent at the different places he found occasion to visit. In the following lines only a feeble attempt can be made to throw at least some light on the obscurities of his book.

12 In Ersch-Gruber, the year of this 2nd edition is given as 1609, which may, after all, be a misprint.

13 *Cf.* Camus, *Mémoires sur les collections des voyages des De Bry et Thevenot,* Paris 1802, p. 23; Zurla l. c. II, 258.

14 As the work of De Bry seems to be extremely rare, I give here an index of these ten illustrations; (1) Hook-swinging; (2) A palanquine; (3) An audience with the king of Pegu; (4) Traitors burnt to death in Pegu; (5) A battle between the kings of Pegu and Ava; (6) Elephants in the corral; (7) Procession of elephants in Pegu; (8) Festivals in Pegu; (9) Sapan Daiche and Sapan Donon (festivals); (10) Funeral of the king of Pegu and of Talapoins.

15 *l. c.* III, 117.

16 On Mandelslo *cf.* the remarks of Vincent A. Smith, *JRAS.*, 1915, p. 245 ff., and *Akbar the Great Mogul,* Oxford, 1917, p. 475.

17 Some small remarks of this sort I have given in a review of Vincent Smith's excellent book on Akbar that appeared in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* of 1919.

18 In Sinclair and Ferguson, *The Travels of Pedro Terzeira,* London, (Hakluyt Soc.), 1902, p. 194, I find a quotation from Federici (and Balbi) concerning the King of Ormuz.

The general extent of his travels is indicated by the names Venice-Malacca, as he does not seem to have penetrated further east, telling us in his own proper words: *io non son passato più inanzi di Malacca verso Levante, ma quello ch' io ne parlarò, sarà per buona informatione che n' ho havuto da quelli che vi sono stati.*[19] He left Venice in 1563 with the ship *Gradeniga* (*patronigiata di Giacomo Vatica*), and went viâ Cyprus to *Tripoli di Soria* from which place in six days he arrived at Aleppo. Then he tells us that *in Aleppo si fa poi mercatura co' mercanti Armeni, e Mori, per andar in lor compagnia in Ormus ; e cosi con essi a' Aleppo partitomi, giungessimo in due giornate, e mezza al Bir.*[20] From Bir the route lay down the Euphrates to Feluchia, a journey of some 15—18 days according to the author, but on which he had to spend 44 days owing to the lack of rain and low water. From Feluchia to Babylon it took him a day and a half, and from there he proceeded to Basrah (Basora)—situated, according to Federici[21], fifteen miles from the sea[22]—a journey for which usually eight to nine days were needed; however, Federici arrived in Basrah only eighteen days after having left Babylon (*perche l' acque erano basse*). In Basrah he embarked for Ormuz, the distance between the two places being, according to the author, 600 miles; and then the text runs thus: *partendosi da Basora si passa ducento miglia di Golfo co' l mare a banda destra, sino che si giunge nell' isola di Carichi,*[23] *di dove fino in Ormus si và sempre vedendo terra della Persia a man sinistra, et alla destra verso l' Arabia si vanno scoprendo infinite isole.*[24]

Only for that part of his voyage falling between Tripoli—Basrah has the author told us the length of time he spent (altogether 71 days); nor do we know at what time of the year 1563 he departed from Venice. Consequently we are not able to say if he arrived at Ormuz and further onwards during that same year or during the following (1564). However, he proceeded from there along the Persian and Indian coasts in order to reach Goa, the capital of Portuguese India, and at that time one of the two or three foremost emporia of the East. On his way thither he passed the usual stations Diu—Cambaia—Damam—Bassain—Tana—Chiaul—Daboul, whence he arrived at Goa—as usual he does not tell us at what time.[25] But he states that in the year 1566 he undertook first a journey from Goa to Bezeneger (Vijayanagara) in the Deccan and back again, and afterwards a journey from Goa to Malacca (*cf.* below). Consequently he was in Goa in 1566, and he was there again in 1570, when the " Dialcan "[26] laid siege to the town for fourteen months.[27] But it seems clear that he cannot, on his outward journey, have stayed the whole time until 1566 in Goa, as he was most probably already in 1565 in Negapatam, a fact that will be further dealt with below. Having left Goa he visited, one after another, the principal ports of the coast, viz. Onor, Mangalore,

19 Ramusio, III, fol. 391ᵛ. 20 *Ibid.* III, fol. 386ᵛ. 21 *Ibid.* III, fol. 386ᵛ.

22 What is called ' mile ' here and in the following pages is not the English mile.

23 This is the island of Carrack in the upper part of the Gulf of Persia (*cf.* Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*2, p. 165, where this very passage is quoted).

24 *Ramusio*, III, fol. 386ᵛ.

25 It seems curious that on fol. 387ᵛ he assigns only 990 miles to the distance Ormuz—Goa, which is absurd, when compared with the 600 miles between Basrah and Ormuz.

26 This is the name by which he designates the Adil Khân (Adil Shâh) of Bijâpur, whom the Portuguese writers call Hidalxão, Idalxa. The other Muhammadan rulers, who routed the Hindu Râja of Vijayanagara at Tâlikot (Jan. 25th, 1565), he calls (fol. 388ʳ) Zamaluc (=Nizâm-ul Mulk), Cotamaluc (=Kutb-ul-Mulk) and Veridi (=Malik Barîd, *Port.* Meluque Verido). The town of Vijayanagar had in 1567 begun to be depopulated (fol. 388ᵛ).

27 According to Burgess, *The Chronology of Modern India*, Edinburgh, 1913, p. 44, this siege should only have lasted from June—Dec. 17th, 1570. It is difficult to get out the true dates from Do Couto *Decada*, VIII, ch. 33 ff., but I doubt whether Burgess is right here.

Barcelore, Cananore, Cranganore, Cochin and Coilan (Quilon),[28] and further on, Cabo Comeri (Cape Comorin) and the pearl-fisheries in the Gulf of Manar (*Pescaria delle perle*, fol. 390v). After that he went to Ceylon, chiefly in order to see with his own eyes the plantations of the cinnamon-trees, of which he gives a vivid description. He apparently had obtained good information concerning the political status of that island, as he says: *il rè legitimo di questa isola, sta in Colombo fatto Christiano e privo del Regno, sostentato del Rè di Portogallo,* by which he means the christianized D. João Dharmapala (1542—81). The usurper Madoni,[29] of whom he speaks immediately afterwards, was his grand-uncle Maaya Dunnai († 1571), whose sons Federici calls Barbinas and Ragiu. As a matter of fact, he had three sons; the names of the two elder I have not been able to ascertain from any source, but the youngest was Râja Simha I (1581—92),[30] apparently the Ragiu of our author.

From Ceylon Federici went to Negapatam, where he most probably must have been in 1565, as he speaks of an accident having happened there in that year, which he can only have heard of by being present there himself. From Negapatam he went to San Tomé (or Mailâpur), the main port for ships bound for Malacca, whither he proceeded through the Sombrero-Channel in the Nicobars. In the year 1566 Federici left S. Tomé for Malacca—on the way he seems to have visited the northern part of Sumatra (Achin). From Malacca he went northwards to Tenasserim, Mergui, Tavai and Martaban, where he arrived in 1567. Just at that time the king of Pegu had marched away with his whole army to conquer Siam,[31] and Federici was forced to stay for two and twenty months in Martaban, before he could obtain permission to continue his journey. Consequently he could only leave Pegu in August 1569,[32] whence he intended to go to Satagan (Chittagong);[33] however, a typhoon arose during the voyage, and carried the travellers to Sondiva[34], whence they proceeded to Chittagong.[35] Leaving this place he went back to Goa, just at that time (1570) besieged by the Adil Shâh of Bîjâpur (Dialcan) and heroically defended by the then viceroy, D. Luiz de Ataide. According to our author, the viceroy did not permit any ship to leave Goa during this time.[36] As he was thus obliged to stay there for a long time—during which he was seriously ill for four months (fol. 395v)—he suffered great losses, and consequently decided not to return to Venice, but once more to visit Pegu. Having decided upon this, he went to Cambaia, where he bought great loads of opium, that drug having at his departure from Pegu been very expensive there. However, bad luck seemed to persecute him; he was obliged to stay during the winter (apparently during the

28 Cf. Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*2, p. 751 ff.

29 The Portuguese call him Madune.

30 Tennent, *Ceylon*5 II, 13 ff.

31 Ramusio, III, fol., 391v. According to one author the army numbered 1,400,000 men.

32 According to Burgess, *Chronology of Modern India*, p. 43, this seems to have been the month in which the Siamese capital was sacked.

33 Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*2, p. 203 ff.

34 An island now called Sandwip to the northwest of Chittagong; the form Sundiva is found in a letter of 1591 in the *Archivio Portuguez Oriental*, III, 257 (Nova Goa, 1861).

35 On another voyage, intending to go from Malacca to S. Tomé, he was carried away to Orissa, whence he went to Chittagong, and stayed there for four months.

36 The statement is curious as being directly contrary to that of Do Couto, *Decada*, VIII, p. 314 (1786), who says: "and as there were in the port of Goa ten or twelve ships for Ormuz loaded with merchandise, he (the Viceroy) gave them permission to leave, as well in order not to cause so great losses to the merchants as to show the Moore how little he cared for them" etc. Both Federici and Do Couto were eye-witnesses of the siege, but it is always to be remembered that the 8th *Decada* is not the original work, which was stolen while in manuscript, but is made up from fragmentary annotations kept by the author (*cf.* the preface to *Decada* VIII).

year 1571—72)[37] at Manar ; after that he proceeded to San Tomé, and from there to Pegu, where opium had in the meantime gone down in price, so that he again suffered great losses. In order to repair them he bought lac at Pegu, and went with it to San Tomé[38] and thence to Ormuz ; from there he returned by Chiaul—Goa—Cochin—San Tomé to Pegu, where he made good progress in selling opium. Finally he returned, and stayed during the winter in Cochin (fol. 396ᵛ),[39] after which he left India, and proceeded to Ormuz. In that town he fell in with Messer Francesco Beretin from Venice and other Italians and accompanied them to Basrah, where he had to wait 40 days for boats ; after that he proceeded to Babylon, where he stayed for four months. Thence his caravan arrived in 40 days at Aleppo (of which 36 were spent in the desert). Leaving Aleppo he went to Tripolis and Zaffo (Jaffa), and thence to Jerusalem, where he remained for 40 days to visit the holy places. Having returned to Tripolis, he embarked in the ship *Ragazzona*, and arrived safely at Venice on November 5th, 1581.[40]

Gasparo Balbi, on the contrary, has in his book everywhere referred to the day and year when he arrived at or left different places, and it is thus quite easy to follow him closely during the whole of his journey.

He left Venice in 1579—he has not given the date—and went (probably by the same route as Federici) to Aleppo, where he arrived on the 13th of December. On the 15th, in the evening, he came to Albir (Bir), where he remained until the 5th January, 1580, when he continued the voyage, and on the 25th of that month he finally reached Babylon.[41] On March 13th he left that town after a stay of more than six weeks, which he himself curiously enough speaks of as " some days " (*dopo esservi stati alcuni giorni*), and on the 21st he arrived at Basrah (*Balsara ò Basora*, fol. 32ʳ).[42] After having spent about a month at that place, he and his companions set sail for Ormuz on April 22nd, 1580, in the morning ; having experienced different adventures, they arrived on May 10th at the port of Ormuz in the morning. There Balbi stayed until September 29th, when he embarked in a ship belonging to the Portuguese governor, D. Gonsalvo di Mienxa (fol. 47ʳ),[43] in order to proceed to Goa. On October 24th (fol. 58ᵛ) they cast anchor in the port of Diu, where they heard very important news : the Cardinal D. Henrique II, King of Portugal, had died without heirs,[44] and further *il gran Rè di Magor poco prima dopò haversi fatto disputar la fede di Christo N. Signor da alcuni padri Reverendi di San Paolo si volse batezzare insieme con le moglie, e due suoi figliuoli*, etc. This refers to Akbar's invitation to the Jesuits in Goa and the mission of Fathers R. Acquaviva († 1583) and A. Monserrate († 1600), thence to Fathpûr-Sîkrî (November 1579).[45]

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37 Generally these older authors by ' winter ' understand the rain-period, but this is scarcely the case here.

38 As he says himself (fol. 395ˡᵗ) that ships went only in March from Pegu to S. Tomé, he can scarcely have returned there before March 1573.

39 As he came back to Venice in November 1581, this must have been in the year 1579-80.

40 If we put together the sums given by himself (Basrah 40 days, Basrah—Babylon 40 days, Babylon 120 days, Babylon—Aleppo 40 days, and his stay at Jerusalem 40 days), we get 290 days, or 9 months 20 days. The journeys Aleppo—Tripolis—Jaffa—Jerusalem and Jerusalem—Tripolis—Venice may have taken at least some 50 days. Thus his journey Ormuz—Venice should have lasted some 11 months, and he may have left Ormuz about December 1st, 1580. But this is, of course, mere guess work.

41 Fol. 22ᵛ ; on fol. 23ᵛ he says that he had spent 49 days between Albir and Babylon, which must be a misprint. Federici used 45—46 days for that journey.

42 According to Federici exactly 8—9 days were used for the route Babylon—Basrah.

43 I have not been able to trace any person with that name in the *Decadas* of Do Couto ; the index of the edition of 1788 is, however, very incomplete.

44 He died on January 31st, 1580.

45 *Cf.* Vincent A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, Oxford 1917, p. 168 ff.

From Diu Balbi sailed on October 30th, and on November 2nd they passed "Bombain," where he notes the existence of the cave-temple *detto Alefante*—he was not the only author of his time, who held it for a construction raised by Alexander the Great (fol. 63r).[46] On November 4th he arrived at Chiaul (fol. 65r), where he remained only for a day. His arrival at Goa took place on November 10th, 1580, after a journey that was not quite without danger because of the Malabar pirates.

In the capital of Portuguese India Balbi lived for nearly a year and a half. It was only on April 11th, 1582, that he proceeded southwards with the ship *S. Bastian*, (Captain Alfonso de Morais), and arrived at Cochin on April 18th, after having passed Cananore and Calicut. There he stayed on until April 25th, went on the next day to Silon (Quilon), where he remained for twenty-four hours, and doubled Cape Comorin on April 28th. Then the ship took the circuit round Ceylon, where our author seems scarcely to have landed;[47] on May 2nd he passed Point de Galle, and on May 8th he came, after having sailed round the island, to a small island called La Vacca, apparently the Ilha das Vacas of the Portuguese.[48] On May 9th the voyagers arrived at Negapatam,[49] and on the 29th they continued to San Tomé (Mailápur), which they reached on the following day (May 30th, 1582).

Here Balbi reports an episode that does not give a favourable opinion of his truthfulness. For speaking of the church of the Jesuit Fathers in that town (fol. 85v), he continues : *in fabricar la quale non si trovando travi tanti, che bastassero* (fol. 86r), *miracolosamente gli fu buttato un grosso legno dalla fortuna del mare, che pareva fosse stato fatto à posta, et à misura per detta chiesa. Et io mi trovai presente, quando detto legno arrivò, porche una mattina andando à Messa alla Chiesa della Madre di Dio, viddi molta gente, che correva alla marina, et accostandomi per saper che cosa fosse, viddi questo legno spinto dal mare al lito. Era allhora la Chiesa di S. Giovan Battista finita di restaurarsi, ma perche non havevano travi da fargli il colmo, l' havevano coperta di paglia. Onde fu havuto per miracolo di Dio, che ivi fosse stato spinto dall' onde del mare un legno così grosso, il quale capitò à punta all' incontro del choro della Chiesa. Quando quei Reverendi Padri della compagnia di Giesù, di quali quelle Chiesa è Monasterio, viddero il legno, n' hebbero grandissima allegrezza, e' l Padre Luigi Ferrera Rettor del luogo, insieme con quegli altri Padri, e con tutto il popolo, vi concorsero, e fu presa la misura del detto legno, la lunghezza del quale fu trovato che bastava ad intraversar la Chiesa, onde tutti con lieto applauso confessando ch' era stato miracolosamente da Dio, lo fecero segare per lungo e ne fecero tanti travi, (fol. 35v) e tanto grossi, che bastarono per armar tutto quel colmo da un capo all' altro. Mosse tanto questa cosa alcuni di quei gentili, che aggiuntevi le persuasioni di quei Reverendi Padri, correvano à gara l' uno dellaltro à battezarsi*, etc.

What we read here appears to me somewhat suspicious, for the reason that it is really only another version of the miracle of the St. Thomas Legend of the South-Indian Christians —a legend that had already at that time been dealt with by many famous Portuguese authors, *e.g.*, Correa, de Barros, Camões,[50] Do Couto, etc. But it must be added that the Jesuits in

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[46] *Cf.* especially Do Couto, *Decada* VII, 3, 11 and Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*,[2] p. 341 ff.

[47] That he was quite ignorant of the then condition of Ceylon he shows by speaking (fol. 78v) of the Christian king at Colombo, D. João Dharmapâla, who had died already in 1581.

[48] It is the present island Delft in the Palk Strait, WSW of Jaffnapatam, cf. Tennent, *Ceylon*[5], II, 550.

[49] The description of a holy place called "*Sette Pagodi dei Chini*" that is found inserted here is very confused. Balbi claims to have seen it before arriving at Negapatam, and apparently it cannot be Rameswaram, which he certainly did not see. But the so-called Chinese Pagoda is situated NW of Negapatam (Yule, *Marco Polo*, II, 272 ff.), and the Seven Pagodas again are at a distance of 30—40 miles south of Madras (Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*,[2] p. 814). This place is mentioned on fol. 85r (*Sette Pagodi*).

[50] *Os Lusiadas*, X, 110—112.

the *Annuæ Litteræ* of the years 1582—84 do not mention one single word of this miracle, which they would certainly not have neglected to speak of, had it really happened. To me it seems evident that Balbi has made up the whole story from the muster of the miracle of St. Thomas.[51]

At San Tomé Balbi remained for more than a year, leaving the place only on September 13th, 1583,[52] in a ship bound for Martaban. On September 23rd the ship entered the so-called "Maccareo"[53] in the Gulf of Pegu (Martaban), where the voyagers visited different localities and stayed between October 5th and 26th in Cosmi.[54] Afterwards they also visited the then famous town of Sirian (Syriam), somewhat to the East of Rangoon, and finally they arrived at a place called Meccao, whence they made the journey overland to Pegu, probably arriving there on November 8th, 1583 (fol. 100^{r}). In Pegu Balbi had an audience with the King, which he depicts vividly, giving also a somewhat extensive description of the ruler himself, his town and his kingdom (he was just then at the highest development of his power) and successes in war (chiefly against the Siamese), and of the capture of his elephants, the festivals, processions, etc. (foll. 100^{r}—128^{v}). These passages may be looked upon as those claiming the chief interest in the whole work of Balbi, and we have already seen that the greater part of the illustrations in De Bry are to be referred to the description of Pegu.[55]

After a stay of more than two years Balbi left Pegu on January 5th, 1586, and proceeded to Martaban (fol. 128^{v}), where he arrived on the 12th of that month. About a month afterwards, on February 10th, he embarked, and went by the Andamans and Nicobars to Ceylon, where on March 2nd he passed Point de Galle. On the 4th he passed Cape Comorin, and seems to have reached Cochin on March 7th early in the morning (fol. 135^{r}). There he had to wait for about seven months for a ship to take him further to Ormuz. Finally he left Cochin on October 8th, 1586. On October 14th the ship cast anchor at Chiaul, where the passengers remained for nineteen days, after which they proceeded further to Ormuz, Balbi arriving there on December 25th, 1586, and remaining until July 11th, 1587.

On the same day he continued his journey to Basrah, which lasted twenty-two days (fol. 142^{r}); consequently he seems to have reached that town on August 2nd, and to have stayed there for about two months and a half. This I conclude from his remark (fol. 143^{r}) that he arrived at Babylon on November 23rd, 1587, after a journey of thirty-eight days from Basrah—he ought thus to have left that place on October 16th. This seems to be the last date given by Balbi. He does not tell us how long time he remained at Babylon, nor at what time he came back to Venice—we only know that it was in 1588, and it may well have been during the spring.[56] He had then been absent from his native country for about nine years.

Balbi and Federici in many points differ from each other, although they have generally described the same topics. Both of them have left quite a good description of their voyages; that of Federici even belonging to the better samples of that literature during the 16th century.

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51 Some time after having written this down I found that Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*2, III, 252n., when treating the St. Thomas Legend, gives a short reference to this passage in Balbi without any comments upon it.

52 Fol. 91r.

53 *Cf.* Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*,2 p. 527 ff.

54 According to Forchhammer this Cosmi is the old Kusumanagara (nowadays Bassein) in the western part of the Irawaddy Delta (Yule-Burnell l. cf. p. 259 ff.). *Cf.* also *ante*, Vol. XXII, pp. 18, 252 ff.

55 *Cf.* above p. 51, n. 14.

56 According to Federici forty days were needed for the way between Babylon and Aleppo and six days between Aleppo and Tripolis. How long it took to voyage from that place to Venice (by Cyprus) I do not exactly know.

He has told things in a very simple way, depicting the places he visited with their products and very seldom giving a more personal touch to his description. Balbi, on the contrary, has chiefly given us a diary of his voyage, with most careful annotations concerning the dates, so that we are able to follow him from place to place during his long journey. Into the frame of this diary he has put longer descriptions of manners and customs prevalent among the various peoples he visited ; his chief interest, however, seems to have been a commercial one. To the description of every important place visited by him he has added careful notes concerning the coins, measures and weights used there, and he winds up his diary with a summary of the monsoons and trade-routes in the seas surrounding the Indian peninsulas (chapter 46 : *Seguitano i tempi, ne' quali le navi si partono per i viaggi si per il Nort, come per il Sul*[57] *per diverse parti delle Indie, le quali stazioni da loro sono detti Mansonni*[58]). He adds a table of the different coins used in India and their value in relation to each other (chapter 47 : *Seguita la tariffa delle monete di tutta l' India, ridotta da una sorte di moneta ad un' altro*). Balbi consequently has tried to make his description a sort of commercial handbook, and also something on the same lines as Pegolotti's *Pratica*. We can scarcely doubt that his work seemed useful to his countrymen, and was perhaps at that time frequently read.

But the works of Federici and Balbi stand in a queer relation to each other, which has not, as far as I know, been observed or dealt with by former writers.[59] The ideas and regulations concerning copyright are more developed in our day than they were at the time when our authors published their books, but it still seems to me somewhat marvellous that a man, who has himself made a journey and is writing down the chief events of it, should make use of a predecessor in a rather foolish way, writing out whole passages of his work and putting them into his own composition. However, this is undoubtedly the case here, and there can be no serious question as to whom we must denounce guilty of literary theft. For when Balbi in 1588 returned to Venice, the work of Federici had already been available for something like a year, and may have belonged to the books that were at that moment rather frequently read in the City of the Lagoons. As the book of Balbi did only appear in 1590, there is scarcely a doubt that he has in a most shameless way—at least according to our ideas—plundered his predecessor.[60] I hereby let the proofs of my accusation follow without further comments :

CESARE DI FEDERICI.	GASPARO BALBI.
386 A : Il Bir è una picciola cittade, ma molto abbondante di vettovaglia..(*B*) gli Arabi, che son ladri formicheri, non amazzano, ma robbano, e fuggono, e contra questi sono molto buoni gli archibugi, temendone essi grandemente. (I pass over some small coincidences on fol. 386ʳ—ᵛ and foll. 18ᵛ—19ʳ that are probably accidental.)	*12ʳ.* Albir, la quale è picciole città, mà abbondante di vettovaglia....(12ᵛ) gli Arabi i quali non amazzano, mà robbano, e fuggono, contra di quali sono molto buoni gli archibugi temendone essi grandemente.

57 These names, as well as those on his wind-rose (fol. 144ʳ), are Portuguese.

58 On the history and different forms of this word *cf.* Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*², p. 577 ff. The form coming nearest to the one used here is *Mansone* in Carletti, *Rajionamenti*, II, 206 (Firenze 1701).

59 Some words in Zurla, *l. c.*, II, 259, scarcely induce us to believe that even he observed the facts to be dealt with below.

60 Whether Federici was at that time still alive we do not know. Perhaps he was not, as Da Fano published his book.

CESARE DI FEDERICI.

316 C: La Feluchia . . . è una villa, di dove si và in Babilonia in una giornata e mezza.

386 C: alcune zattare fatte d' utri gonfiati, e ligati insieme, sopra i quali distendono delle tavole e sopra esse caricano la roba etc.

386 C: Et è Babilonia una città non molto grande, ma ben popolata) e di gran negotio di forestieri, per esser un gran passo per la Persia, per la Turchia, e per l' Arabia.

386 C: Giace questa città nel regno di Persia, ma da un tempo in quà è signoreggiata dal Turco ; ha dalla banda, che guarda verso l' Arabia oltra il fiume, all' incontro della città, un borgo con un bel bazarro, e assai fonteghi, ove alloggiano la maggior parte di mercanti forestieri, che vi arrivano.

386 C: ma quando il fiume per le pioggie s' ingrossa troppo, fa bisogno aprire questo ponte in mezzo, una parte del quale s' accosta alle mura della città, e l' altra s' appoggia alle rive del Borgo, et in questo tempo si passa il fiume con barche, con grandissimo pericolo, percioche essendo le barche picciole . . . spesso si ribaltano, ò sono della correnthia del fiume inghiottite, e vi s' annegano molte persone etc.

386 C: La Torre di Nembrot, è posta di quà dal fiume verso l' Arabia in una gran pianura, lontana della città intorno a sette, overo otto miglia qual è da tutte le banda ruinata e con le sue ruine s' ha fatto intorno quasi una montagna . . . pur ve n' è ancora un gran pezzo in piedi, circondato, e quasi coperto affatto da quelle ruine.

386 D: Questa Torre è fabricata di quadrelli cotti al Sole . . di stuore fatte di canne, tanto forti ancora etc. . . . può circondare . . . intorno ad un miglio . . . Fa questa Torre effetto contrario a tutte l' altre cose. . . e quanto più l' huomo di gli avvicina, piu grandi si dimostrano, ma questa da lontano pare una gran cosa . . . io stimo, che sia cagione di questo, l' esser

GASPARO BALBI.

21v: La Felugia è una villa lontana da Babilonia una giornata, e mezza.

21v f: alcune barche, come zattare sopra dieci, o dodici udri gonfiati di vento ligati insieme, e sopra quelli mettendo alcune tavole, portano gran quantità di robba.

25r: Babilonia . . . à città assai popolata, seben non è molto grande, e vi si fanno molti negotii di mercantia da forestieri, per esservi gran passo per l' Arabia, per la Turchia, e per la Persia etc.

25v: E porta questa città nel Regno della Persia : mà da un tempo in quà è dominata dal Turco. Hà dalla banda, che guarda verso l' Arabia oltre il fiume all' incontro della città un castello, o borgo, detto Rachiche con assai case, e fonteghi, e altri magazeni, ove alloggiano la maggior parte dei mercanti forestieri che vi arrrivano.

25v: quandi l' acque è grande di detto fiume per le molte piogge, all' hora fa bisogno aprire questo ponte in mezzo, parte del quale così aperto, si accoste alle mura della città, e l' altre si appoggia alle rive del borgo, et è forza passar con barche con grandissimo pericolo, porche essendo le barche picciole, spesse volte sono voltate sossopra, et inghiottite dal corso dell' acqua con morte di molte persone.

26r: La Torre di Nembrot è lontana da Babilonia più di otto miglia, et è di quà dal fiume Tigris. . . posta in una gran pianura verso l' Arabia, et è tutte rouinata, e con le sue rouine si hà fatto intorno quasi una montagna. Pur ve n' è ancora un gran pezzo in piedi, che quasi è coperto da quelle ruine.

26r: Fu fabricata già con pietra cotta al sole, e con stoie di canna anchora esse fortissime. . . Circonda di giro intorno circa un miglio, fà effetto contrario da quello, che fanno gli altri edifici, che quegli quanto più se gli avvicina, più grandi si dimostrano, e questa di lontano par gran cosa . . . ch' è questo, porche d' intorno non hà alcuna cosa grande, nè alta, eccetto [26v] le pietre

CESARE DI FEDERICI.

porto essa Torre in mezzo ad una larga pianura, e non havere intorno cosa alcuna rilevata fuor che le ruine etc.

386 E : Basora è città dell' Arabia, e la signoreggiavano anticamente gli Arabi Zizaeri, ma hora dal Turco è dominata, il quale vi tiene con gran spesa un grosso presidio. Possedono questi Arabi Zizaeri un gran paese, nè possono essere dal Turco sottoposti, percioche sono in esso diversi canali, che vengono dal mare, crescendo, e calando di maniera, che par tutto diviso in isolette ; e però no vi si può condurre essercito, nè per acqua, nè per terra, e sono i suoi habitatori gente molto bellicosa.

386 E : Basora è distante dal mare intorno a quindeci miglia, et è città di gran negocio di speciarie, e di droghe, che vengono d' Ormus, e vi è gran quantità di frumento, di risi, di legumi, e di dattili, che nascono nel territorio.

386 F : Ormus è un' isola, che circonda intorno à venticinque, ò trenta miglia, et è la più secco isola, che al mondo si trovi, percioche in essa non si trova altro, che sal, et acqua, e legne et altre cosa all' human vitto necessarie, vi si conducono di Persia, indi dodeci miglia distante, e dall' altre isola circonvicine, in tanta abbondantia, e quantità, che la città *n'* è copiosamente fornita.

386 F : Ha una fortezza bellissima, vicina al mare, nella quale risiede un capitano del Rè di Portogallo. . . Nella città poi habitano i suoi cittadini. . . Si fanno in questa grossissime d' ogni sorte di spetiarie di drògarie, sete, panni di seta, broccati, e di diverse altre mercanti . . . e tra l' altre gran trafico è quelle de' cavalli. che di qui si portano in India.

386 F : Morto il Rè, il capitano n' elegge un' altro di sangue Reale, e si fa questa elettione nella fortezza con assai ceremonie,

GASPARO BALBI.

della sua rouina, e porche è posta in un grandissimo piano.

32r : Balsara altrimente detta Basora è una città posta nell' Arabia, la quale al presente è signoreggiata dal Turco, mà prima da gli Arabi detti Zizaeri, i quasi nondimeno possedono un gran paese, nè possono essere dominati dal Turco, porche il paese loro patisce i flussi, e riflussi del mare in modo, che hora una campagna resta attorniata dall' acqua in Isola, e hora coperta, e spesse volte senza. Per il che non vi si puo condar essercito nè per mare, nè per terra. I loro habitatori sono genti molto bellicose, e però fa mestiero al Turco tener un grosso presidio in Balsara con infinita sua spesa.

32v : Questa città e lontana dal mare da 15. miglia, et è città di gran negocio di spetiarie, di droghe, et altri merci, che vengono di Ormus, è abondante di dattoli, risi, e grano, che nascono nel territorio suo.

47r : Ormus è una città non molto grande : mà popolata posta in un' Isola di trente miglia di grandezza : mà è la più sterile di quante mai io n' habbia viste : percio che in essa non si trova altro, che sale, e le legne, e le altre cose al vitto necessarie vi vengono portate dalla costa di Persia, ch' è distante da questa città da 6. miglia ; e vi sè ne conducono in tanta quantità, che la città ne reste copiosamente fornita.

47r : Ha vicino al mare una fortezza bellissima, nella quale risièda un cap. del Rè di Portogallo. . . Nella Città poi habitano i cittadini di essa. . . Si fanno in questa grossissime di ogni sorte [*47*] di spetiarie, di droghe, sete, panni di seta, broccati . . . et altre sorte da mercantie. . . e frà le altre gran traffico e quello de cavalli, che di qui si portano in India.

47 : Morto il Rè, ne viene eletto un' altro di sangue reale dal cap. della[61] fortezza con assai cerimonie, et eletto, che egli è[62] giura

61 Perhaps to be read *nella* ?

62 The text of Federici shows that the punctuation is incorrect here.

Cesare Di Federici.	Gasparo Balbi.
et eletto che egli è, giura fedeltà al Rè di Portogallo, et all' hora il capitano li dà il scetro Regale in nome del Rè di Portogallo suo Signore, et indi con gran pompa e festa l' accompagnano al palazzo Reale posto nella cittade. Tiene detto Rè honesta corte, et ha sofficiente entrata senza fastidio alcunò, percioche il capitano li difenda, e mantiene le sue ragioni ; e quando cavalcano insieme l' honora come Rè, nè può detto Rè cavalcare con la sua corte, se prima non lo fa sapere al capitano.	fedeltà al Rè di Portogallo ; et all' hora il Capitano gli dà lo scettro reale in nome del Rè di Portogallo suo Signore ; et indi con gran pompa, e festa l' accompagna al palazzo reale posto nella città. Tien detto Rè honesta corte, et hà sofficiente entrata senza fastidio alcuno, perche dal cap. gli vengono difese, e mantenute le sue ragioni, e giurisditioni, e quando il cap. cavalca in sieme con il Rè, l' honora come Rè ; ma non può detto Rè cavalcore con la sua corte; se prima non lo fà intender al capitano.
387 A : Diu, posta in una picciola isola del Regno di Cambaia, ove è la miglior fortezza, che sia in tutta India, et è picciola città, ma di gran facende, perche vi si caricano assai nave grosse di diverse robbe, e per lo stretto della Mecca, e per l' isola d' Ormus etc.	*59v :* Diu è una città non molto grande mà di gran facende ; perche vi si caricano assai navi grosse di diverse merci, e droghe per lo stretto della Mecca, per l' Isola di Ormùs, è posta in una picciola Isola del regno di Cambaia . . . . Ha la miglior fortezza che Portoghesi possedono in quei paesi etc.
387 E : Chiaul etc.	*64 :* Chiaul etc.
387 F : Il Rè Zamalucco[63] etc.	*64v :* Rè Zamalucco Moro etc.
388 A : Goa è la principal città, c' habbian i Portoghesi in India, nella quale stãtia il Vice Rè con la corta regia, et è in una isola che può circondare da venticinque in trenta miglia : e città con suoi borghi honestamente grande, e per città dell' Indie assai competentemente bella ; ma piùbella è l' isola, come quella, che è piena di giardini, e di boschi de' Palmari detti di sopra ; sù per la quale sono alcune villette. . . È situata Goa ne' paesi del Dialcan Rè Moro etc.	*67r :* Goa è una città con i suoi borghi honestamente grande per città delle Indie, et è assai bella : è porta . . . in un' Isola di circuito di trenta miglia in circa tutta piena di giardini, e di boschi di noci d' India, con alcuni villaggi piccioli ancora. In somma è la principal città, che habbino i Portoghesi nell' Indie, per haverci la risidenza un Vice Rè del Rè di Portogallo con bella corte. È situata Goa ne i paesi di Dialcan Rè Moro etc.[64]
389 D : Onor etc.	cp. *73r :* Onor etc.
389 D : Cananor etc.	cp. *73v :* Cannor (!) etc.
387 E—F : Description of the cocoa-nut trees.	cp. *73v :* alcuni alberi detti palmeri etc.
389 E : Tiene Cochin il primo luogo etc.	cp. *75r :* Cocchi è dopo Goa la prima città etc.
389 F—390 A : Description of the Nairs and their customs.	cp. *75v :* The Nairs etc.

63 As is seen from De Barros, *Decada,* II, 2, 7, and other writers this is the ruler called by the Portuguese Nizamaluco [also Izam Maluco (Correa), Nizamoxa (Garcia da Orta) etc.], i.e. the Nizam-ul Mulk, the Muhammadan king of Ahmadnagar (since 1490).

64 Balbi afterwards speaks of the siege of Goa by the "Dialcan," his troops counting some 200,000 men, and the siege lasting for fourteen months. We know of this siege already from Federici.

CESARE DI FEDERICI	GASPARO BALBI
390 B—D : Federici here speaks of the *Pescaria delle perle* in the Gulf of Manar.	*49^r—51^r :* Balbi speaks of *in che modo pigliano le perle, et in che luogo ;* but this really deals with the pearl-fisheries in the Persian Gulf (Bahrein etc.) However, on foll. 49^v—50^r he has put in notes concerning the Manar fisheries which are mostly taken directly from Federici.
390 E : Description of cinnamon-trees, cp. and how the cinnamon is prepared.	cp. *78^v :* Cinnamon-trees of Ceylon (many small coincidences).
390 F : un monasterio di S. Francesco di gran divotione (at Negapatam).	*82^r :* un monasterio di S. Francisco di gran divotione.
391 A—C : Description of S. Tomè (Meliá-pur).	cp. *87^r :* description of S. Tomè (some small coincidences).
	In the description of Pegu there are on foll. 91^v, 97^v, 100^{r-v}, 102^r, 116^v and 117^v some small coincidences with Federici foll. 391^v—394^r that need not to be repeated here.

From this short survey, which is not wholly exhaustive, one can very well see how Balbi has in many passages of his work borrowed whole sets of words from his predecessor. Sometimes when copying a passage from Federici, he has slightly altered it, *e.g.*, on fol. 67^r (description of Goa) in comparison with Federici fol. 388A. But this is a well-known method amongst plagiarists. However, it seems remarkable that the coincidences are almost exclusively found in the former part of Balbi's book, while in the latter part—chiefly dealing with Pegu—they become ever more rare. It is scarcely to be imagined that Balbi during the continuation of his work suffered from a somewhat bad conscience by reason of his robberies. It seems more probable that either he may have possessed better notes concerning his stay at Pegu than concerning his voyages in India, or he may have found some other source—unknown to us—to copy for the latter part of his work.[65] Though I must leave these matters open to further investigation, I feel convinced that the facts pointed out here must to some degree alter the opinion concerning the value of the work passing under the name of Gasparo Balbi.

[65] From Zurla, l. c. II, 260, one might infer that Balbi had perhaps copied Marco Polo in his description of the ships trading between Basrah and Ormuz [Balbi foll. 38^v—40^r and Polo in Ramusio, II, fol. 8 B. (ed. 1583)] But I am at a loss to find any verbal coincidences in these passages. However, I have not found time to compare other parts of Balbi's work with that of his famous countryman, and it may well be that he has sometimes used him just as he used Federici. [My own experience has been that 16th and 17th century travellers of all countries copied each other without acknowledgment. The procedure seems to have been to put together their own notes on reaching home, and to add to them out of other recently published travels everything else that they thought might interest their readers and make their books more important. They never seem to have acknowledged the sources of their information, and often added further inaccuracies from their ignorance of those that they may have adopted. Vincent Smith has shown up Mandelsloh in this matter and I have occasionally taken the trouble to hunt a generally borrowed tale to its source. The difficulty in reading a traveller's MS. or book of that period is to be sure as to how much of a description is his own or someone else's.—R.C.T.]

PEARL AND COTTON MERCHANTS' SLANG.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE. BT.

THE Curator of Libraries, Public Library Department, Baroda, has sent us a list of numerals out of the *Mîrât-i-Aḥmadî* of 'Ali Muḥammad Khân, in which he says that the author gives "a kind of secret code which was used by pearl merchants in their transactions." His Department is publishing a supplement to the book and "desires the origin and etymology of the code." He adds, "I am told that *iran*, four, is the four-sided anvil on which a goldsmith works the gold, and that *ekwâhî*, three, is the three-pronged jeweller's instrument. *Wan*, nine, seems to be back slang for *nau*." There was also, he says, "a similar code which was used by cotton merchants. Many of these expressions are still in use by merchants, but those I have asked cannot tell me the derivation of the words." The Department is anxious to know if any of our contributors or readers can supply the information required.

I here give the table as sent with the letter.

SECRET CODES.

English.	*Pearl Merchants terms*	*Cotton Merchants terms*
¼	sali	..
½	sali	..
¾	likhwa	..
1	akara	ek
1¼	sala'ek	para kala
1½	samkas	salsang
1¾	maha-ni-likhwa	..
2	samani	jur
3	ekwahi	rakh
4	iran	hok
5	mol	bad or yad
6	sapar	dik
7	samar	pit
8	tamal	mankh
9	wan	kun
10	angal	sala
11	kakara	ekla
12	patar	jurla
13	nipar	rakhla
14	chapar	..
15	molpar	..
16	pariri	..
17	samarpari	..
18	tahalpari	..
19	wanpari	..
20	sut	kuri
30	ekwadahi	..
40	irandahi	..
100	pharona	bakpharona
1000	kathma-kothli	..

Sir George Grierson on being referred to wrote :—

"The Cotton Merchants' list is evidently an *argot* like the others mentioned in *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. XI. Words are formed by the prefixing of or changing of consonants or vowels. Thus *jur* (in the list = 2) is for *jora* ; *hok* for *chauk* : *rakh* (for 3) is a puzzle, but is apparently built on some such word as *trika*."

In 1885 I wrote a long article in *JASB.*, vol. LIII, pt. I, pp. 1–24 entitled *An Examination of the Trade Dialect of the Naqqâsh or painters on papier-machè in the Panjab and Kashmir*, in which I went into the slang numerals of several classes and professions. In 1885 I followed this up with an article in this *Journal* on *The Delhi Dalâls and their Slang*, vol. XIV. pp. 155–159. In vol. XVI, pp. 284 ff., Sir George Grierson had an article on "The Language of the Magahiya Doms," and in vol. XIX, pp. 160 ff., J. P. Lewis had one on the "Slang of the Tamil Castes in Ceylon." There was also a note on *Technical Jargons* in vol. XXXVII, p. 339, containing Mr. C. Otto Blagden's Review of D. R. Lasch's *Über Sonder-sprachen und Ihre Enstehung*. From these papers a certain amount of information on this interesting subject can be obtained.

On looking into the actual terms hitherto recorded, a few of the words given by the Curator of the Baroda Libraries can be directly identified : *e.g.*, *akâra*, one, is used by the Naqqâsh and *wan*, nine, by the Dehli Dalâls. *Paint*, seven, corresponds to the *pit*, and *sala*, ten, to the *salah* of the Dehli Dalâls. A closer examination may discover other analogies and the Pearl Merchants' slang quoted by 'Ali Muhammad Khân may arise in the same way as that of the Dehli Dalâls, as explained in the article above quoted.

The whole subject is very interesting and well worth examining in all trades by Indian scholars.

SPELLS OF ORIGIN.

BY A. M. HOCART.

THE *Aitarêya Brâhmaṇa* contains these words : "Inasmuch as Indra was great, that is the Great Indraness of Great Indra."[1] This sounds at first very much like nonsense. I venture to suggest that there is more in it than appears on the surface.

In Malaysia at one end and in Finland at the other there is a belief that if you can recite the origin and unfold the nature of anything you can control it. If you know the origin of iron, you acquire magic power over it. Skeat gives the following charm to keep a tiger at a distance :

"Ho, Bĕrsĕnu ! Ho, Berkaik !
I know the origin from which you sprang :
It was Sheikh Abuniah Lahab Abu Kasap.
Your navel originated from the centre of your crown," etc.[2]

The *Kalevala* is full of such charms.

In the ninth canto Vâinâmôinen goes to see an old man, to get him to heal a wound ; but the old man could not recall :

"'How the iron was first created,
And the unworked iron was fashioned.'"
"Then the aged Vâinâmôinen
Answered in the words that follow :
'Well I know the birth of Iron,
And how steel was first created.'"

1 *Yan mahân Indro 'bhavat tan Mahendrasya Mahendram*, III, 21.

2 *Malay Magic*, p. 167.

And proceeds to give a very lengthy account. Then the old man remembers and goes through the whole story again, using it to revile the iron and show how it has broken its solemn oath.

We may well expect to find the same idea in the countries that lie between Finland and Malaysia.

Indeed it appears in the *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa* : "That is Death which is the Year.... He who knows this death to be the Year, his life is not exhausted by days and nights before old age. He attains to a complete life."[3] Thus the mere knowledge that Death is really the year preserves a man from Death until the natural term of his life. Whoever knows that Vṛtra is a consumer of food becomes himself a consumer of food (*ibid.*, I, 6-3-17). This I think explains why the ***Brâhmaṇas*** so frequently give the "thatness," or essence of things: whoever possesses that knowledge has power over the thing. It seems fatuous to tell us that the Great Indraness of Great Indra consists in being great ; but it is necessary to know this for purposes of charms ; in order to conjure with Great Indra, it is necessary to know the legend which recounts how he came to be called Great Indra, which explains his Great Indraness. The essence is not always quite so obvious ; thus the essence of Death apparently consists in being the Year and the Ender. The Brihaśpatism of Brihaśpati consists in being *Ka* or Who ? Indra, according to the *Aitarêya Brâhmaṇa* shares Brihaśpati's nature ; it follows then that both gods are swayed by the same sacrifice ; and indeed we find in the *Maitrâyaṇi Saṅhita* (II, 1. 12) a sacrifice called *Aiṅdrâbârhaśpatyam.* These so-called etymological explanations would then seem to be really practical directions for the control of gods, and the formula "A is that which is B"[4] should be taken as the standard formula of the schools.

If I am right the ***Brâhmaṇas*** were not merely treatises for the information of the curious, but practical directions for the control of gods and the world, through a knowledge of their 'thatness,' their true nature and origin.

MISCELLANEA.

CASSUMUNAR.

In *A Memoir of the Two John Peacheys*, by G. C. Peachey, which appeared in *Janus*, Vol. XXIII, 1918 (published in Leyde, Holland), there is a mention of a pamphlet written by "John Peachie Doctor of Physick," published in 1679, entitled "Some observations made upon the root Cassumuniar called otherwise Rysagone Imported from the East Indies, showing its nature and virtues and its usefulness above others as yet written of, in Apoplexies . . . being the most proper Corrector of the Jesuits Powder . . ."

The writer says he received the plant from his brother Jeremiah[1] and that it is "a plant esteemed even by Princes themselves, some part of what I have being taken out of the King of Golcondae's garden . . ." Its properties, from the long description which follows appear to have been anti-spasmodic.

At first sight the word looks like a Hobson-Jobson, but a reference to the *Madras Manual of Administration*, Vol. III, shows that the plant was commonly called Cassumunar and is nothing more or less than wild turmeric, Cassumunar being the European spelling of the Hind. *kasumunar.*

The Telugu and Sanskrit names of the plant are *karallamu* and *vanardraka,* and it is also known as Bengal root, Curry turmeric and Downy-leaved ginger.

The alternative name Rysagone (also Risagon Rizagon) appears to be a word of doubtful origin, probably European, connected with Gr. *rhiza*, a root.

L. M. ANSTEY.

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3 *Eṣa vai mṛtyur yat saṃvatsaraḥ....Sa yo haitaṃ mṛtyuṃ saṃvatsaraṃ veda na hāsya [illegible] purâ jaraso horatrâbhyam ayu[illegible] ks [illegible]*, X, 4, [illegible]

4 *yad . . . tad*

1 Jeremiah Peachey served the East India Company in Bengal from 1673—1693, when he was dismissed the service. He died at Madras in 1702. See *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, foot-notes on pp. 19 and 342 of vol. II.

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE LAY OF ALHA. Partly translated by the late WILLIAM WATERFIELD, B.C.S., with introduction and abstracts of the untranslated portion by SIR GEORGE GRIERSON, K.C.I.E. Oxford University Press, 1923.

This valuable little book brings before us in enticinggarb the well-known *Alh-khaṇḍ*, the great ballad of the Rajputs, recounting the stories that have come down in connection with Rai Pithaurâ or Prithivî Râja, the Chauhân, the last Hindu Ruler of Delhi before the advent of Muslim rule under Shahâbu'ddîn Ghôrî in 1192. Rai Pithaurâ's best known action was the cause of the defeat of the Hindus before the Muhammadans at that time. He carried off the daughter of the great King of Kanauj, Jaychand, and the feud that arose between them in consequence, so weakened the power of the two great Hindu Rulers on what was then the frontier of Hindustan that the Hindus deprived themselves of the power to withstand the encroachment of their western neighbours of a strange religion. India went down before Islam, and Rai Pithaurâ's abduction of his neighbour's daughter became a turning point in Indian history. The situation has long held a fascination for the present writer and made the relation of the deeds of the Rajputs of those days a study of extraordinary interest.

It has come down to modern days in two great rescensions—the *Prithîrâj Râsau* of Chand Bardâi, the warrior poet who died with his master in the "Great Battle" of A.D. 1192, an epic of portentous length in true Indian fashion, and the *Alhkhaṇḍ*, the property of illiterate minstrels handed down from generation to generation. They tell the tale with many incidental interpolations from the point of view of Delhi, *i.e.*, of Rai Pithaurâ, and of Kanauj and Mahôbâ, *i.e.*, of Jaychand, respectively, and so in a fashion we get both sides of the story.

The incident of the abduction of Jaychand's daughter is, however, outside the main tale, which is really an account of the fall of Mahôbâ before Rai Pithaurâ. Mahôbâ lay in Bundelkhand, and at the time of the story was ruled by Parmâl, the Chandêl. The *Alhkhaṇḍ* is a long cycle of ballads recounting its destruction at the hands of Rai Pithaurâ.

The great hero of the *Alhkhaṇḍ*, the Lay of Alhâ, is Alhâ the Banâphar, of doubtful Rajput origin, but, with his brother Udan, the great upholder of Mahôbâ. They both met their death in its defence. Their story is told at great length in 23 Cantos. It is indeed a saga of Rajput chivalry, telling the Rajput life of the time, and is therefore of the highest anthropological value.

It has been fortunate in attracting the attention of four great enquirers into India, its ways and its languages, three of them now dead and the fourth a veteran: Sir Charles Elliott, Mr. Waterfield, Mr. Vincent Smith, and Sir George Grierson. In this *Journal* the last of them published a portion as long ago as 1886. Mr. Waterfield also produced in verse a portion of it in the *Calcutta Review* many years ago, and after his death in 1907 his MSS. and papers came before Sir George Grierson. Sir George found many more parts of it done into verse, and he has now published all these, adding abstracts in prose prepared by Sir Charles Elliott and himself of the remainder of the ballads. Mr. Waterfield's version is in English ballad verse, well suited to convey the original. Being a great scholar, Oriental and European, his translation is not only accurate, but lives and reproduces the full force of the poetry of the Indian ballad singers. Those who would know the Rajput and the feelings that sway him will do well to study his pages, guided by the informing introduction given by Sir George Grierson. They will find many things to surprise them which are worth knowing. The professed anthropologist will also see much to study, especially in the marriage ceremonies described at length.

R. C. TEMPLE.

SIR SUBRAMANYA AYYAR LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF SRI VAISHNAVAS, delivered by the late MR. T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, pp. 61 (1923). Published by the University of Madras. Price 10 annas.

The first attempt at a serious study of the history and literature of Vaishṇavism may be traced back to the days of the late Bishop Caldwell and Professor Seshagiri Sastriar, with whose strange and misleading conclusions on the age and relative positions of the Âlvârs and Âchâryas all students of South Indian History are fully familiar. Since then, several other South Indian scholars have studied the subject, some of them confining their attention to parts of the subject, such as the determination of the age of individual Âḻvârs. Among these may be mentioned the names of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Mr. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar, Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar and the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, and Mr. K. S. Srinivasa Pillai. The latest, the most comprehensive and authoritative publication on the subject is Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's "Early History of Vaishṇavism in Southern India" (1920), in which he has embodied the results of his research on the subject carried on for the last twenty-five years, parts of which he had already published in his earlier works.

The present work on the "History of Śrî Vaishṇavas by the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao" comprises two lectures delivered by the author before the University of Madras, when he was appointed to deliver the Sir Subramanya Iyer Lecture for

the year 1917 and has now been published in the form of a booklet by the University. The late Mr. Gopinatha Rao is well-known to all students of South Indian History as one of the most earnest, enthusiastic and active workers in the field of historical research with a special aptitude for epigraphy. As he himself tells us at the commencement of the lecture (p. 1) he began the investigation of the subject as early as 1905, and has revised his conclusions on the subject in the light of new materials collected since then.

The work opens with a brief account of the Âḻvârs as given in the orthodox Vaishṇava traditional accounts (pp. 1–7), which is followed by a similar account of the Âchâryas (pp 7–14), at the end of which the author enumerates the sources of information. Then follows 'a critical account of the Srî Vaishṇavas', in which he discusses the dates of the various Âḻvârs and Âchâryas (pp. 16–43). This occupies about 27 pages and is probably considered by the author as his special contribution to the subject. The rest of the work is devoted to an enumeration of the literary and inscriptional records having reference to the birth and important events in the lives of these saints. The last four pages contain the remarks of Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai who presided over the lectures.

It may at once be pointed out that the weakest part of the work, and the one which is most open to criticism, is the chronology adopted by the author for the Vaishṇava Âḻvârs, and the dates that he assigns to them, which we are afraid cannot find acceptance by the majority of South Indian scholars. Let us consider a few of these dates here. On page 17 the author has "All things considered, the Pallava period, corresponding to the first part of the eighth century, appears certainly to have been one of great Vaishṇava activity all over the presidency, in Toṇḍamaṇḍalam as well as in the Pâṇḍya and Chôla countries. It would not be wrong, therefore, to assign the Mudal-Âḻvârs and Tirumaḻiśai-Âḻvâr to this period." In support of this he quotes the date arrived at by Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai for Tirumaḻiśai-âḻvâr, namely, 720 A.D., and feels confirmed with his conclusion. For this date of the first three Âḻvârs, our author chiefly relies upon the reference to Mâmallai (the birth-place of Pûtatâḻvâr) which he considers on the authority of Prof. Dubreuil did not exist before the days of Narasimhavarman I (p. 16). This assumption, upon which our author mainly relies for his date of the 'Mudal Âḻvârs', is entirely untenable, and is not supported by any positive evidence to show that the place referred to as Mallai by the Âḻvâr did not exist before the seventh century. The probabilities are on the other hand that the place *did* have an existence, as a village if not as a town, from very early times, and as in the case of hundreds of such places, appears to have been simply renamed in the days of Mahâmalla. There is no reference, inscriptional or literary, which says that the place was founded for the first time by Narasimhavarman I. The historical introduction that is furnished in the recently discovered Sanskrit work (Daṇḍin's *Avanti-Sundari-Katha-sâra*) makes no reference to Mahâmallapuram having been founded by this king. Finally, the recent discovery of the royal statues of Simha-Vishṇu and Mahêndravarman and their queens in the Âdi-Varâha-Swâmi shrine at Mahabalipuram completely destroys this assumption, and carries back the antiquity of this place much earlier than the days of Mahâmalla.

In this connection our author makes no attempt to arrive at the dates of these Âlvars on the evidence furnished by early Tamil literary works. The identity of the Vaishṇava saint Poygai with the early Tamil literary celebrity Poygaiyâr, the author of *Kaḷavaḻi*, on literary and stylistic grounds which has a strong element of probability, is not even alluded to by our author. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his 'study of Vaishṇavism' makes a careful examination not only of the internal evidence of the Âlvars' own poems, but also that of early Tamil literature, and has come to the conclusion that the early Âlvârs may be assigned to the second century A.D., the age of Nalamkilli and Śenguttuvan (see page 75, *Early History of Vaishṇavism*). As this view appears to satisfy all considerations, historical and literary, we must be excused if we feel sceptical as regards the soundness of Mr. Gopinatha Rao's conclusions on this point.

As regards the much discussed date of Nam-Âlvâr, Mr. Gopinatha Rao thinks that the first half of the ninth century was the period when he lived and wrote his memorable *Tiruvôymoḻi* (p. 21). For this conclusion he chiefly relies upon the reference in Ânamalai inscription to Mâran-Kâri, the Uttara-mantrin of the Pâṇḍya king Parântaka, who had also the name Madurakavi. From the similarity of the names of the father of Nam-Âḻvâr and Mâran-kâri of the Ânamalai inscription, and that of the Madura-kavi with the disciple of Nam-Âlvâr, the conclusion is drawn that Mâran-kâri, the Pâṇḍya official, was the father of Nam-Âḻvâr, and that Nam-Âlvâr gave his father's name to his disciple as a *Dâsya-nama*. Such an identification, far from solving many an otherwise inexplicable difficulty, runs counter to all accepted tradition and historical sequence of the order of the Âḻvârs. It is surprising that Mr. Gopinatha Rao, who accepts the traditional accounts of the Âḻvârs in certain respects, such as the contemporaneity of the first four Âḻvârs, should deliberately overlook other aspects of genuine tradition regard ing Nam-Âḻvâr simply because it is inconvenient

to his date. According to a well-known tradition Tirumangai Âlvâr, the last of the Vaishṇava Âlvârs, arranged for the recital of Nam-Âlvâr's *Tiruvôymoli* at Śrîrangam. This tradition, if it can be relied upon, clearly shows that Nam-Âlvâr must have preceded Tirumangai-Âlvâr by a fairly considerable period of time. The traditional order of the Âlvârs does not also lend support to the position of Mr. Gopinatha Rao on this point. The other arguments advanced by the author, such as the one stated on page 20, that it became possible for Nam-Âlvâr to visit the inaccessible temples of Mala-nâdu, because he was the son of a prominent state-official of the Pâṇḍya king Parântaka, are mere surmises, more amusing and fanciful than real. The difficulties in accepting Mr. Gopinath Rao's date for Nam-Âlvâr are fully discussed by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in the third lecture of his work on Vaishṇavism already referred to.

On the date of Kulaśêkhara our author is not disappointed by the 'very little internal evidence' found in his works, to which he alludes (p. 22). He refers to a passage in *Perumâl-Tirumoli* alluding to the defeat and death of the lord of Mallai, whom he identifies (p. 22) with the Pallava king Danti-Varman. By this process of reasoning he assigns Kulaśêkhara to the first half of the ninth century. The interpretation that our author gives to the passage referred to differs radically from that adopted by the commentator and cannot find general acceptance by Tamil scholars. Moreover, the clear terms in which the overlordship of Kulaśêkhara over Kûdal, Kongu, and Kôli is referred to, suggest that he lived previous to the days of the great Pallavas, probably in the sixth century, as such overlordship would not have been possible at other times.

A reference may be made to the date assigned to Tirumangai Âlvâr by our author. After quoting the extracts from the Âlvârs' decade on the *Paramêśvara-Viṇṇagaram* containing references to the victories of an unnamed Pallava king, he identifies him with Nandi-Varman Pallavamalla (p. 25). He then refers to the final stanza of *Aṭṭabuja-Patikam* and identifies the Vayiramêga, referred to therein, with the Pallava king Danti-Varman, and infers from the present tense used therein that he was a contemporary of this king. The accepted and the more reasonable interpretation of this stanza is that the Âlvâr is alluding to the Râshṭrakûṭa king Danti-Durga by his surname Vairamêga. On this interpretation Mr. Gopinatha Rao thinks that there is little likelihood that Danti-durga ever took Kanchi. On the other hand, there are unmistakable references in some of the Râshṭrakûṭa copper-plate charters to the subjugation of Kânchi (see an interesting discussion on this question in the *Journal* of the Mythic Society, April 1923) where Professor S. K. Aiyangar gives ample reasons in support of the accepted interpretation of the Âlvârs' stanza, which takes back the Âlvâr's date to the middle of the eighth century.

Passing on to the account of the Âchâryas, one or two points may be noticed. On page 30 Mr. Gopinatha Rao identifies the Âchârya of the composer of the Ambil plates of Sundara-Chola with Âchârya Nâda-Munigal, which is probable, and may be confirmed.

On page 38 our author identifies the Chôla persecutor of Râmânuja with Kulôttunga I. In doing so he says that the scholars who wrote before him on the subject *uniformly* failed to identify this Chôla persecutor. We do not believe that Mr. Gopinatha Rao intends this seriously. It is well-known that Prof. S. K. Aiyangar has made this identification in his '*Ramanuja, his Life and Times*', published more than twenty years ago (1904), and later on in his *Ancient India*. In view of this, it is rather amusing that our author should claim originality on this point in 1917.

Finally may be mentioned a few of the misstatements and inaccuracies which mar the value of a university publication such as this, and which could have been avoided, if the authorities responsible for this edition were more careful. On page 4 we are told that besides *Tiruvôy-Moli* Nam-Âlvâr wrote *Tiruviruttam*, *Tiruviśaippa* and *Peria-Tiruvandadi*. It would be obvious to any one that the *Tiruviśaippa* is a mistake for *Tiruvâśiriam*; *Tiruviśaippa* is a Śaiva work attributed to Kandarâdittan. On page 16 the author says "We know from history that the Pallavas first came to Kanchi not earlier than the fourth century A.D. Here fourth century A.D. is apparently a mistake for the third century A.D.; as we know that the earliest of the copper plate charters of this dynasty, addressed from Kanchi, have been attributed on palæographical grounds, by most scholars, including Professor Dubreuil, to the beginning of the third century A.D.

The account of the Âchâryas given by our author contains several omissions, the most prominent being Appullâr, the teacher of Vêdânta Dêsika. Going through the work under review, one cannot resist the impression that the book might have been made infinitely more useful, if the author had indicated the leading features in the teachings of the Âlvârs and Âchâryas, and compared them with the early schools of the Pâncharâtrins and Vaikhânasas. The author does not also indicate the influence of the southern school of Vaishṇavism upon the northern movements, associated with the names of Nimbârka and Râmânanda.

The remarks of the chairman, Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai (pp. 58–61), contain a very important statement with regard to his calculation of the dates of the Âlvârs from the details of birthdates

furnished by the *Guruparamparas.* "I must admit," he says, "that the details brought together in my *Dates of Âlvârs* are not generally perfect . . . . In the light of subsequent evidence and of the general verdict of history in regard to the general ascertainment of birth dates of even great men of the times with which we are concerned, I should now look, with more than ordinary suspicion, upon all these birth dates." This means a definite abandonment of the dates indicated by Mr. Pillai in his "*Dates of the Âlvârs*" quoted continuously by Mr. Gopinatha Rao in the body of the book.

In spite of what has been said in the foregoing paragraphs, Mr. Gopinatha Rao's work represents a valuable addition to the existing literature on the subject. We cannot at the same time resist the feeling that the work should have been entrusted to more competent scholars for publication, in which case many of the errors and mis-statements noticeable in the work would have been removed. We hope that this will be done when a second edition is called for. R. G.

THE DATIVE PLURAL IN PALI.

Professor Surendranath Majumdar Sastri's article on the above subject is evidently a reprint from the Journal of some Oriental Society, but contains no indication as to its source. It is well known that, ordinarily speaking, in Pâli and Prakrit, the dative has disappeared and that the genitive is used in substitution for it. We find traces of this even in Sanskrit, where the genitive is often used for the indirect object after verbs of giving and the like.

In Prakrit the original dative has survived sporadically in special senses, and Professor Surendranath Majumdar Sastri in the paper under notice draws attention to similar survivals of the dative plural in the Asôka's Pâli. The termination is *hi*, which he derives from the dative plural termination *bhyas*. This, as Pischel (Prakrit Grammar § 365) long ago pointed out in regard to the ablative plural, is phonetically possible. Personally, however, I am inclined to derive this plural termination *hi* from the plural instrumental termination *bhis*. It is unnecessary to draw attention to the confusion between different cases which set in at an early stage of the development of Indo-Aryan languages, so that the change of meaning need not trouble us. Ordinarily speaking we should expect *bhyas* to become *hu* or *huṁ*, and the latter form is actually found in Apabhraṁśa This, however, is a matter of detail, and the article certainly shows that in Asôka's Pâli there are occurrences of a dative plural in *hi*.

G. A. GRIERSON.

1. THE LOST RING OF SAKUNTALA—IS IT A GREEK REMINISCENCE ? 2. WERE THE PRADYOTAS OF THE PURANAS, RULERS OF MAGADHA ? By SURENDRANATH MAJUMDAR SASTRI. Reprinted from the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1921.

The first of these questions is interesting as showing that Kâlidâsa, like Shakespeare, sometimes borrowed his plots. The love story of Śakuntalâ and Dushyanta is in the *Mahâbhârata*, and is in fact probably much older, but Kâlidâsa made it his own. Dushyanta, the King, marries Śakuntalâ secretly on a hunting expedition, has a child by her, goes home and forgets all about her. After six years she comes to his Court to claim her rights for herself and her child, but Dushyanta fails to recognise her. That indeed is the kernel of the story. Kâlidâsa adds to it that, on leaving Śakuntalâ in the jungles, Dushyanta gave her his signet-ring as a memento, and the poem centres on Śakuntalâ's adventures round the ring.

The idea of the signet-ring as a keepsake is in the *Râmâyaṇa*, and Kâlidâsa may have borrowed it thence. But Professor Majumdar Sastri points out that it is also in Herodotus, who relates a story in connection with Polycrates, King of Samos, which is based on the finding of a lost signet-ring, just as Śakuntalâ lost hers. The Professor then discusses the possibility of Kâlidâsa borrowing the story from Herodotus. It is an interesting point worth going into further, as it is quite possible that the signet-ring memento is general ancient folklore.

With regard to the second question, Professor Majumdar Sastri makes an examination of the Puranic texts regarding the Pradyota family. He points out that according to the texts the dynastic order in Mâgadha was Bârhadrathas, Vîtihotras, Pradyotas and Saisunâgas, and that the Vîtihotras were not rulers of Mâgadha, but ruled contemporaneously with them. The question is, where did they reign ? The Professor answers : "in Ujjayini (Avanti)." He also finds that "the Pradyotas who ruled after the Vîtihotras were rulers of Avanti." The identification is important.

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

47. Official Peculation, 1706.

Consultation at Bombay, 1 *April* 1706.—Resolved and Unanimously agree that . . . . there be an Order signed as it is directed to Captain John Wynn imediately [to] send ashoar what Horses, Goates and Sheep to be under the care and inspection of the Steward ; Barley for their Provision delivered by weight unto the Moody [*mûdî*, a revenue collector] and by him a dayly allowance morning and Evening as shall be directed by the Steward, and no other food but hay [provided, thus] Easeing the Company of that accustomed and extravagant charge, Oyle, Butter and Sugar, unaturall to Horses, as well as Sheep and Goates.

Bombay Public Consultations, vol. 2. R. C. T.

Pâtâla—1. Tatta in Sindh, mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* and Arrian's *Indika* (*JRAS.*, Vol. I (1834), p. 210; *Mbh.*, Udyôga, ch. 97). Cunningham identifies it with Hyderabad in Sindh (*Anc. Geo.*, p. 279). It is said to have been governed by the Nâga kings, who, according to Ragozin, were Dravidians (Ragozin's *Vedic India*, p. 308), the serpent (Nâga) being the Dravidian symbol of the Earth. Arrian calls the delta of the Indus, **Pâtâla**. According to Mr. Schoff, its modern name is Minnagar, Min being the Sanskrit name of the Scythians (*Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, p. 166); the Usbegs belong to the Min tribe of the Turks (Vambery's *Travels in Central Asia*). It is said that Egyptian vessels sailed to "Pattala, a sea-port of India" (David Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, I, p. 139). Perhaps it is the Pâṭalagrâma of the *Ava. Kalp.* (ch. 57) where a stûpa was built. Near Tatta is the Salilarâja Tîrtha or the Vâruṇi Tîrtha, Salilarâja being a name for Varuṇa (*Mbh.*, Udyôga, ch. 97). 2. See **Rasâtala.**

Pâtâlapura—The name was originally applied to Aśma of the *Râmâyaṇa* (Uttara, ch. 23), Oxiana of the Greeks, modern Aksu in Sogdiana situated on the northern side of the river Oxus, a little to the north-east of Balkh. Afterwards Balkh was called by the name of Pâtâlapura when the seat of Government was removed to it from Aśma (see my *Rasâtala or the Underworld*).

Pâṭalâvatî—A branch of the Chambal, mentioned by Bhavabhuti in his *Mâlatî-Mâdhava*, (Act IX). It is perhaps the Polaitah of Tod (*Râjasthân*, Vol. I, p. 4).

Pâṭaliputra—Patna, built in 480 B.C. by Suṇîdha and Vassakâra, the two ministers of Ajâtaśatru, king of Magadha and contemporary of Buddha, for the purpose of repelling the attacks of the Vajjis or Vṛijjis of Vaiśâlî (*Mahâvagga*, Pt. VI, ch. 28). The old capital of Magadha was Girivrajapura or Râjgir, but it was subsequently removed to Pâṭaliputra by Udayâśva, who was the grandson of Ajâtaśatru according to the *Vishṇu P.* (IV, ch. 24), but according to the *Sâmaññaphala-sutta*, he was the son of Ajâtaśatru, but it has been proved that he was the son of Darśaka and grandson of Ajâtaśatru (*JASB.*, 1913, p. 259). A very small portion of the modern town of Patna is on the site of the ancient Pâṭaliputra, the greater portion of which was diluviated by the rivers Ganges and the Sone in 750 A.D. The name of Pâṭaliputra, however, existed even at the time of Alberuni in the tenth or at the commencement of the eleventh century (Alberuni's *India*, Vol. I, p. 200). It was the birth-place of Ârya Bhaṭṭa, the celebrated Hindu astronomer, who was born in 476 A.D. Several Hindu sages, as Kâtyâyana (or Vararuchi, the author of the *Vârttika* and minister of the last Nanda called Mahâhanda, Yogânanda or Dhanananda) and Châṇakya flourished in this place. It contains the temple of Pâṭaleśvarî or Pâṭalâ Devî, one of the Pîṭhas mentioned in the *Bṛihad-nîlâ Tantra*. A graphic description of the town has been given by Megasthenes, who was sent as an ambassador by Seleucus Nicator to the court of Chandragupta, king of Magadha, who reigned from 321 to 297 B.C. He describes the town as being situated near the confluence of the rivers Ganges and Erannoboa (Hiraṇyavâhu or the Sone), and says that it was eighty stadia (nearly 10 miles) in length and fifteen stadia (nearly 2 miles) in breadth, and it was surrounded by a ditch thirty cubits deep and six hundred cubits broad which received the sewage of the town, and that the walls were adorned with 570 towers and 64 gates. According to this account, the circumference of the city would be 190 stadia or 23¼ miles. When Hiuen Tsiang visited it in 637 A.D., the kingdom of Magadha was under the subjection of the kings of Kanouj. The old city had been deserted for a long time and was in ruins, and a new city had sprung up close to it. Dr. Waddell, however, supposes that the site of the ancient Pâṭaliputra,

still exists. The Sugâṅga palace was situated on the bank of the Ganges (*Mudrârâkshasa*, Act II, written about the eleventh century). It also contained the celebrated Vihâra (monastery) called Kukkuṭârâma where Upagupta, the preceptor of Aśoka resided (*Svayambhû Purâṇa*, ch. I). The Kukkuṭa Vihâra was situated in a garden called Upakaṇṭhikârâma on the right bank of the Ganges (*Aśoka Avadâna* in Dr. R. L. Mitra's *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, pp. 6*f*.) Dr. Waddell identifies the old palace of Nanda, Chandragupta and Aśoka at Nili with Kumrar, Sandalpur and the Dargah of Shah Arzani, the eastern border of the palace was in a line running from the western border of the Sevai Lake through Dhanuki on the eastern margin of Kumrar to Mahârâj-khaṇḍa (Emperor's moat) at Tulsi Mundi which means the market place of the king. Dr. Waddell has identified the Âgam-kuân (the fiery or bottomless well) with a portion of Aśoka's "hell" with its fiery cauldrons; the brick mound to the east of the lake Gun-sar or Gaṅgâsâgara, containing a temple of Mahâdêva on the top, with the first and greatest of the 84,000 stûpas built by Aśoka to enshrine the relics of Buddha; the Pañchpâhâri with the five Relic-stûpas, which emperor Akbar ascended to reconnoitre the fort and environs of Patna; the Chhota-pâhâri with Upagupta's (identified with Moggaliputta Tissa) Hermitage Hill built by Aśoka; the Bhiknâ-pâhâri mound with Mahendra's Hermitage Hill; the mound to the east of Râṇipura with the Âmalaka Stûpa situated within the Kukkuṭârâma monastery; the Jaina temple at Kamaldih with the residence of the "heretics" of Hiuen Tsiang; the temple was built to the memory of Sthûlabhadra, the seventh Patriarch after Mahâvîra in the third century B.C., and former minister of Nanda, who died at this place; Sthûlabhadra became the leader of the Jaina community at the time of the famine during the reign of Chandragupta (Dr. Hoernle's *Uvâsagadasâo*, p. viii, Introduction); for the names of the Jaina patriarchs or Sthaviras after Mahâvîra, (see Dr. Stevenson's *Kalpasûtra*, p. 100); the spot which is less than half a mile to the east of Kamaldih with Pâṭaligrâma where Buddha stopped in a Chaitya preached and left his foot-print on a stone which was removed by Śaśâṅka and which may now be found at Bulinda Bâgh (Dr. Waddell's *Excavations at Pâṭaliputra and Exact Site of Aśoka's Classic Capital of Pâṭaliputra*, p. 38). P. C. Mukherji has identified Pâṭaligrâma with Pâhâri (Baḍa and Chhoṭa). He has identified Baḍa-Pâhâri with the great stûpa of Aśoka; Chhoṭa-Pâhâri with the stûpa of the four past Buddhas; Kumrâr with Nili, containing on its western and southern sides the palace of the Nandas and Chandragupta, where Aśoka was born; the spot on the north of Nanda's palace between Kallu Tâlâo and Chaman Tâlâo at Kumrâr with "Kâlâśoka's hell" or Jail; the Dargah of Shah Arzani with Mahendra's Hermitage, on the north of which is a Mahalla called Mahandru; the mounds at Bâhâdurpura with Upagupta's Hermitage, Upagupta, according to Mr. Mukherji, was the spiritual guide of Kâlâśoka and not of Aśoka. Upagupta was the fourth Buddhist patriarch (for the lives of the 28 Buddhist patriarchs from Mahâ-Kâśyapa to Bodhidharma, (see Dr. Edkins' *Chinese Buddhism*, ch. VI, p. 435); Sugâṅga palace with the Killâ at Sadargali in Patna city. The wooden palisade mentioned by Megasthenes has been traced by him from Lohânipura *via* Bâhâdurpura, Sadalpura and Sevai tank to Mangal Tâlâo. He also discovered an oval temple of the Maurya period at Naorattanpur (P. C. Mukherji's *Excavations of the Site of Pâṭaliputra*, pp. 14-18). Aśokârâma, the celebrated monastery, was situated near Pâṭaliputra and not within the town. It was situated on the west of the town, perhaps at Maharampura, a corruption of Mahâ-ârâma-pura. At the time of Fa Hian, Pâṭaliputra was seven miles to the south of the Ganges. The river then flowed considerably north. Kumrâr, where the ancient palaces have been discovered, is evidently

a corruption of Kusumpura, where the king and the wealthy people resided (*Mudrârâkshasa*, Acts I and VI). Six hundred years after the Mauryas, that is in the early part of the fourth century of the Christian era, the Guptas became kings of Pâṭaliputra. Samudra Gupta (326 to 375 A.D.) removed his capital to Ayodhyâ, though Pâṭaliputra was still regarded as the official capital. The last king of the dynasty Kumâra Gupta II was deposed and he left Ayodhyâ and resided at Śrâvastî (530 to 550 A.D.); and Yaśodharman, the general of the Guptas who deposed the monarch, removed the seat of government to Kânyakubja in 530 A.D. and became its king under the name of Vishṇuvarddhana. According to Dr. Hoernle, he assumed the name of Vikramâditya after defeating the Scythians at Karur at 533 A.D., which gave rise to the Samvat era, but according to Dr. Bhandarkar, Mr. V. A. Smith and General Cunningham, Chandragupta II was the celebrated Vikramâditya of Ujjayinî (see **Ujjayinî**). Since that time Pâṭaliputra began to decline and Kânyakubja increased in splendour and became the capital of India. Hiuen Tsiang, who visited India in the seventh century, found Pâṭaliputra as an ordinary village. For further particulars see **Patna** in Part II of this work. The dynasties from Chandragupta which reigned in Pâtaliputra were (1) the *Mauryas* from Chandragupta (for whose life see Dr. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, p. 259) to Bṛihadrath (321 B.C. to 188 B.C.) Aśoka (272 B.C. to 232 B.C.), the grandson of Chandragupta, ascended the throne on the death of his father Bindusâra after killing his elder brother Sumana, viceroy of Takshaśilâ, and was formally anointed king in the fifth year (*Divyâvadâna*, Cowell's ed., chs. 26-28). In the ninth year he became an Upâsaka, in the eleventh year a Bhikshu, and in the thirteenth year a staunch follower of Buddhism. In the seventeenth year of his reign, the third Buddhist synod was held at the Aśokârâma-vihâra in Pâṭaliputra under the presidency of Mudgaliputra Tissa, called also Upagupta. Upagupta, however, was the preceptor and chief adviser of Kâlâśoka called Aśoka (see **Mathurâ** and **Urumunda Parvata**). He was sent by Aśoka for pointing out to him the sites remarkable for some acts of Buddha on which he could build the stûpas (*Chinese Buddhism*, p. 69). (2) The Śuṅgas from Pushpamitra or Pushyamitra to Devabhuti (188 B.C. to 76 B.C.); (3) the Kâṇvas from Vasudeva to Suśaraman (76 B.C. to 31 B.C.); (4) the *Andhra-bhṛityas* (Sâtakarnis or Sâtavâhanas of the inscriptions) from Siprâ to Gautamîputra (31 B.C. to 312 A.D.), but according to Dr. Bhandarkar the *Andhra-bhṛityas* reigned from B.C. 50 to 154 A.D.; (5) the *Vâśishṭîputras*, according to Fergusson (*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 718), from Puliman, son of Gautamîputra, to Pulomâchi, reigned from 333 A.D. to 429 A.D., but the Vâśishṭîputras and Gautamîputras were merely metronymics (see V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 186). For the Gupta kings and the change of capital, see **Magadha.** Patna is the birth-place of Guru Govind, the tenth Sikh Guru; and the house where he was born still exists; he died at Abjalnagar in the Deccan (for a brief account of the Sikh Gurus from Nânak to Guru Govind see *JASB.*, 1845, p. 333, and also the *Vichitra Nâṭaka*, a portion of the Sikh Granth, which is an autobiography of Guru Govind, in *JASB.*, (Vol. XIX, p. 521; Vol. XX, p. 487).

The exploration at Kumrâr in 1913 has disclosed the remains of what is called a "Mauryan Hall" with "8 rows of monolithic, polished columns, with at least 10 columns in each row" evidently adorned with "heavy stone sculptures of something over life-size." Dr. Spooner with remarkable ingenuity has shown that this Mauryan Hall was constructed on the model of the Hall of a Hundred Columns or the Throne-room of Darius Hystaspes at Persepolis (see his *Zoroastrian Period of Indian History* in *JRAS.*, 1914 and 1915,

pp. 3f, 405f; *Arch. S. Rep.*—Eastern Circle, 1913-14). But further evidence is necessary to prove conclusively that the Mauryan Hall was a reproduction of the Achæmenian Hall at Persepolis. The question is whether the Mauryan Hall was a reproduction of the Persepolitan Hall, or the latter of the ancient Hindu Throne-room, of which the Mauryan Hall is an example, assuming that the Mauryan Hall was later in date than the Hall at Persepolis. It is admitted that several of the architectural passages in the *Mahâbhârata* are in such close agreement with the description of Chandragupta Maurya's palaces given by Megasthenes, that both the Greek and Sanskrit texts refer to the same class of buildings. But the *Mahâbhârata*, at least that portion of it which relates to the construction of the Throne-room of Yudhishṭhira (Sabhâ P., chs. I f), must have been composed at a much earlier date than the Achæmenian period. So long as this portion of the *Mahâbhârata* is not shown to be an interpolation of a later date, the inference would be that the Persians had adopted the Hindu style of palaces and throne-room for their model. Then again it has been assumed that the Hall at Pâṭaliputra was of the Mauryan period. Pâṭaliputra was built when Ajâtaśatru, the contemporary of Buddha, was reigning at Râjagṛiha, and the seat of government was removed there by Udâyî, the successor of Ajâtaśatru. Darius did not invade India till 30 years after the death of Buddha (Prof. Max Duncker's *Hist. of Antiquity*, trans. by Abbott, p. 38). The Hall at Pâṭaliputra might have belonged to an anterior period when the Śiśunâga and Nanda dynasties reigned over Pâṭaliputra, the Mauryas, if the Hall was constructed by them, might have adopted the architectural style as it prevailed at the time of their predecessors (Havell's *Anc. and Mod. Arch.*, p. 83). Râjgir has not yet been excavated and explored. All these points should be cleared up before any definite conclusion can be arrived at one way or the other. See, however, Dr. J. J. Modi's "Ancient Pâṭaliputra" in *Journal B. B. R. A. Society*, Vol. XXIV (1916-17).

Pathayampurî—Biana, ninety miles east of Jaipur in the Bharatpur State, Rajputana; it was the capital of the Yâdavas at the time of the Muhammadan conquest. It was also called Śrîpatha.

Pâtheyya—The western division of India at the time of Buddha, including Kuru, Pañchâla, Avantî, Gândhâra, Kâmboja, Śûrasena, etc. (*Mahâvagga*, VII, I, I—see Dr. Rhys Davids' note in *SBE.*, XVII, p. 146).

Paudanya—Same as **Potana.** It was founded by Aśmaka (*Mbh.*, Âdi, Ch. 179, v. 47—P. C. Roy's ed.)

Pauṇḍarika—Same as **Pâṇḍupura** (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 95).

Pauṇḍra—Same as **Puṇḍravarddhana**. It was also called Puṇḍradeśa after the name of Puṇḍra, a son of Bâlî (see **Sumha**). It was bounded on the east by the river Karatoyâ, but according to Mr. Westmacott by the river Brahmaputra (*JASB.*, 1875, p. 3), on the west by the river Kauśikî (Kosi), on the north by the Hemakûṭa mountain of the Himalaya, on the south by the Ganges. It was the kingdom of *Vâsudeva* who was jealous of Kṛishṇa (*Harivaṁsa*, chs. 281, 282; *Padma P.*, Uttara Kh., ch. 94; *Brahmâṇḍa P.*, Pûrva, ch. 55). Puṇḍradeśa and Pauṇḍra were the names of the country and Pauṇḍravardhana was perhaps its capital. It was also called Karusha (*Bhâgavata P.*, X, ch. 66). It has been identified with Pâṇḍuâ in the district of Malda in Bengal. It was formerly situated on the Mahânandâ which has now receded four miles to the west. It contains the celebrated Adinah mosque and the Satasgaḍ which is supposed to have been the royal palace. Mr. Pargiter, however, relying upon the *Mahâbhârata* (Sabhâ P., ch. 51, and Bhîshma P., ch. 9) considers that Puṇḍra and Pauṇḍra were two different countries, and

according to him, Paundra was on the south side of the Ganges and Pundra on the north side between Aṅga and Baṅga, and Paundra must have comprised the modern districts of Santal Parganas and Birbhum and the north portion of the Hazaribagh district (*Ancient Countries in Eastern India* in *JASB.*, 1897, p. 85).

Paundra-Vardhana—See **Pundravarddhana and Pundra**. It was the name of the capital as well as of the country. Jayapîda Vinayâditya who ascended the throne of Kasmir in the Laukika or Saptarishi year 3825 (3825—3075=750 A.D.) visited Paundravarddhana and placed Jayanta, his father-in-law, on the throne of Gauda by defeating the five chiefs of Pañcha-Gauda (Dr. Stein's *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, Vol. II, p. 163; *Visva-kosha*, s.v. *Kulîna*).

Paunika—Same as **Punaka** (*Vâyu P.*, ch. 45).

Paurava—A country on the eastern bank of the Hydaspes (Jhelam) including the Gujrat district, the original seat of the Purus. The kingdom of Porus who fought with Alexander (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ P., 27; *Harshacarita*, ch. VI).

Pâvâ—1. Identified by Cunningham (*Anc. Geo.*, p. 434) with Padraona, an ancient city on the Gandak, twelve miles north-east of Kusinagara, the last place visited by Buddha before he reached Kusinagara where he died. Dr. Hoey identified Pâvâ with Pappaur, about three miles east of Sewan in the district of Chhapra. Pâvâ was the capital of the Mallas, Padraona is a dialectic variation of Padaravana. At Pava Buddha ate at the house of Chunda, according to Dr. Hoey, *śûkara* (not hog's flesh) but *śûkara-kanda* (hog's root) which aggravated the illness that terminated his life (*JASB.*, Vol. LXIX, p. 80). For the meaning of "Sûkara-maddava" which was eaten by Buddha, see note at p. 244 of the *Questions of King Milinda* (*SBE.*, Vol. XXXV) by Dr. Rhys Davids. According to Dharmapâla it means the tender top-sprout of the bamboo plant. Buddha himself interdicted the use of meat, "Let no one, O Bhikkus, knowingly eat meat (of an animal) killed for that purpose: whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkata offence" (*Mahâvagga*, VI, 31, 14). It is not therefore likely that he would have taken meat at Chunda's house. Aśvaghosha does not mention the nature of the repast offered (see *SBE.*, XIX, pp. 285, note, 286). But see *Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta*, ch. IV in *SBE.*, XI, p. 71, where "boar's flesh" is mentioned. 2. Same as *Pâpâ* or *Pâvâpuri*, seven miles to the east of Bihar town, where Mahâvîra, the Jaina Tirthaṅkara, died (see **Pâpâ**).

Pavamâna—The Paghman (or Pamghan) range. It appears to be part of **Pâripâtra** (*q.v.*) and therefore of the Hindu Kush (*Devi-Bhâgavata*, VIII, ch. 7).

Pâvanî—The river Ghaggar in Kurukshetra (district Ambala), or rather the united stream of the Sarasvatî and the Ghaggar, which is called by the name of Sarasvatî, the most sacred river in ancient India. The Pâvanî, which means the 'Purifier,' is said to be one of the eastern streams of the Ganges (*Râmâyaṇa*, Âdi, ch. 43). Bharata crossed the river Sarasvatî at its junction with the Ganges (*Ibid*, Ayodh., ch. 71). Whether the Sarasvatî ever joined the Ganges or not, it is a fact that to the north of Thaneswar there is a celebrated Tîrtha on the Sarasvatî called *Gaṅgâ-tîrtha*, where Gaṅgâ (the Ganges) is said to have bathed in order to get rid of her sins (Cunningham's *Arch. S. Rep.*, 1863, p. 64; *Panjab Gazetteer*, Ambala District, p. 6), and the Ghaggar or Sarasvatî is situated to the east of the Hlâdinî which is also one of the three eastern streams of the Ganges (*Râmâyaṇa*, Ayodh., ch. 71, and Âdi., ch. 43). The Ghaggar was a very important river before and the Sarasvatî was its affluent instead of being the principal river itself as it is generally supposed (*Panjab Gazetteer*, Ambala District, ch. I, p. 5). 2. Same as *Baidyanâtha* or *Chitâbhumi* (*Bṛihat-Śiva P.*, Pt. II, ch. 3).

Payasvinî—1. The river Pâpanâśinî in Travancore (*Chaitanya-charitâmṛita; Garuda P.*, I, 55; *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, Vol. V—*Life of Chaitanya*, p. 45). 2. The river Paisunî or Pisâni, a tributary of the Yamunâ between the Ken and the Tonse near Mt. Chitrakûṭa. 3. The river Chandragiri in South Kanara District, Madras Presidency; it rises in the Western Ghats.

Payoshṇî—1. The river Pain or Pain-Gaṅgâ, a branch of the Wardha in the Central Provinces (*Bhâgavata P.*, V, xix, 17; *Padma P., Uttara*, ch. 41; *Matsya P.*, ch. 22, v. 33; Garrett's *Classical Dictionary of India*). 2. The river Purti in Travancore (*Chaitanya-charitâmṛita; Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, Vol. V—*Life of Chaitanya*, p. 45). 3. The river Pûrṇâ, a tributary of the Tapti (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 119). 4. The river Tapti and its branch the Pûrṇâ (*JRAS.*, 1890, p. 541). But the *Bṛihat Śiva P.* (Pt. II, ch. 20) and the *Matsya* (ch. 113) and other Purâṇas mention Payoshṇî and Tapti as two distinct rivers in the same verse. The *Padma P.* (Uttara, ch. 41) mentions "Tâpi, Payoshṇî and Pûrṇâ" in the same verse.

Perimuda—The island of Salsette near Bombay, the Perimula of the Greeks. McCrindle approves Campbell's identification of Perimula with Simylla (*Ptolemy*, p. 201), (but see his *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 142 note). But according to Da Cunha, the ancient name of Salsette was Shashṭhi (see **Shashṭhi**). It derived its sanctity from the tooth of Buddha which was enshrined there at the beginning of the fourth century of the Christian era, and which was visited by Buddhist pilgrims. The cave (chaitya) of Kanheri, which is called Krishṇagiri in the inscriptions of the island, is supposed by Fergusson to belong to the early part of the fifth century of the Christian era (*Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 161). The cave temples are scattered over the two sides of a big rocky hill at many different elevations. The largest and most remarkable of all is a Buddhist temple of great beauty and majesty (Bishop Heber's *Indian Journal*, Vol. II, p. 130).

Petenika—The country about Paiṭhân on the Godavari or Mahârâshṭra (Aśoka's Girnar and Dhauli Inscriptions in Smith's *Aśoka*, p. 120; and Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, Sec. iii; *JASB.*, 1838, p. 267).

Phalakî-vana—In Kurukshetra, where at Pharal on the Oghavatî river, 17 miles to the south-east of Thaneswar, Śukra Tîrtha is situated (*Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. XIV, p. 101; *Mbh.*, Vana P., ch. 83).

Phalgu—The united stream of the Nîlâjana (or Nirañjana) and the Mohanâ is called by the name of Phalgu. The Nîlâjana is united with the Mohanâ near the Mora hill, about a mile below Buddha-Gaya. The Phalgu flows through Gaya, and the whole channel of the river from Brahma-sarovara to Uttara-mânasa is considered holy (*Agni P.*, ch. 219).

Phâlguna—See **Pañchâpsâra-Tîrtha** (*Bhâgavata*, X, ch. 79).

Phenâ—Mr. Pargiter doubtfully identifies Phenâ with the Pengaṅgâ or Pain-Gaṅgâ. It was also called Sindhu-Phenâ (*Brahma P.*, ch. 129; *JRAS.*, 1911, p. 803). It is a tributary of the Godavari (*Brahma P.*, ch. 129).

Phenagiri—It is near the mouth of the Indus (*Bṛihat-Saṃhitâ*, XIV, v. 18).

Phullagrâma—Chittagong.

Pichchhilâ—A river in Kâmarupa or Assam (*Yoginî-Tantra*, Uttara-khaṇḍa, ch. 1; *Mahâbhârata*, Bhîshma Parva, ch. 9).

Pida—A country mentioned in the second edict of Aśoka at Girnar, it is the Pîdika of the *Brahmâṇḍa Purâṇa* (ch. 49). It was situated in the Arcot district (*JASB.*, 1838, pp. 160, 406).

Pinâkinî—The river Pennar in the Madras Presidency (*Skanda P.*, Mahes. kh., Aruṇâchala Mâhât., ch. 2; Sewell's *Arch. Surv. of South India*, Vol. I, pp. 123, 129). It was also called Pinâkâ. It is the Tyana of Ptolemy. It rises among the Nundidroog mountains in the province of Mysore, where on account of its northerly course it is called the Uttara Pinâkinî (Hamilton's *East India Gazetteer*). The Dakshiṇa Pinâkinî is the same as ***Pâpaghni***.

Pindaraka-Tîrtha—Near Golagar in Guzerat, sixteen miles to the east of Dwarkâ (*Mbh.*, Vana P.) It was at this place that the Ṛishis cursed Śâmba, Kṛishṇa's son, saying that he would give birth to a *Mushala* which would destroy the Yadu race (*Bhâgavata*, XI, p. 1).

Pishṭapura—Piṭhâpura in the Godavari district, it was conquered by Samudra Gupta. It was the ancient capital of Kaliṅga (Smith's *Early Hist. of India*, p. 284). Same as **Gayâpâda.**

Plakshaprasravaṇa—See **Sarasvatî** (1).

Polaura—According to Ptolemy it is the name of a town near the Kambyson mouth of the Ganges (McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 72). Same as **Kola-Parvatapura** (see my *Early Course of the Ganges* in *I.A.*, 1921).

Potali—Same as **Potana** (*Jâtaka*, iii, p. 2).

Potana—Paiṭhân on the north bank of the Godâvari. It was the capital of Assaka or Asmaka or Mahârâshṭra (*Mahâ-Govinda Suttanta* in the *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Pt. II; *Jâtaka*, iii, p. 2). See **Pratishthâna.**

Prabhâsa—1. Somnath in the Junagar state, Kathiawad. It is also called Devapattana and Berawal; Somnath is properly the name of the temple and the city is called Devapattana (Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 334 note). "The neighbourhood of Pattana" (which contains the celebrated temple of Somnath at the south-western corner) "is esteemed specially sacred by the Hindoos as the scene of Kṛishṇa's death and apotheosis. A small river known to the Hindu devotees as the Rauṇâkshî, empties itself into the sea, at the distance of about a mile to the eastward of Pattana. At a particular spot on this river, sacred as that of Kṛishṇa's death, are a ghâṭ and a few temples" (*JASB.*, Vol. VII, p. 869—*Note of a Journey in Girnar*). The reservoir called Bhâṭ-kuṇḍa or Bhâlakâkuṇḍa at a short distance behind Somnath's temple is traditionally the scene of Kṛishṇa's death, which took place on the first day of Kali yuga (Bhâgavata, XII, 2); the place where the Yâdavas fell fighting with one another is also called Amarâpurî Gopitalâ. Rauṇâkshî is another name for the river Sarasvatî (*Vâmana P.*, ch. 84). Somnath is known to the Jainas under the title of *Chandra Prabhâsa* or Chandraprabhâ-prabhâsa. It was formerly frequented by a very large number of pilgrims from all parts of India during an eclipse of the moon. Chandra (the moon) is said to have been cured of consumption, with which he was cursed, by bathing in the river Sarasvatî and worshipping Mahâdeva since known as Somanâtha (Śiva P., Pt. 1, ch. 45; *Mbh.*, Śalya P., ch. 36). Berawal is two miles to the north-west of the Somanâtha temple. The celebrated shrine of Somanâtha, which is one of the twelve great Liṅgas of Mahâdeva (see **Amareśvara**), occupies an elevated site on the south-western corner of the town of Pattana overlooking the sea and close to the wall. For a description of the temple of Somanâtha, see *Notes on a Journey to Girnar* in *JASB.*, Vol. VII (1838), p. 865. Somanâtha, also called Someśvaranâtha, was the family god of the Chalukya kings of Guzerat. The wooden temple of Somanâtha was replaced by a stone temple by Kumârapâla, king of Anahillapattana, at the request of Hemachandra, the author of the celebrated grammar called *Siddhahema* and the lexicography called *Abhidhâna-chintâmaṇi* (Tawney—

Prabandhachintâmaṇi, pp. 126, 129). 2. Pabhosa, now a small village on the top of a hill, 32 miles south-west of Allahabad and 3 miles to the north-west of Kosam Kherâj (Kauśâmbi), visited by Hiuen Tsiang (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 240). There is at rock-cut cave on the top of the hill, which is described by Hiuen Tsiang, as being the dwelling of a venomous Nâga and situated on the south-west of Kauśâmbi but the hill is to the north-west from the fort of Kosam. 3. A place of pilgrimage in Kurukshetra on the bank of the Sarasvatî near Chamasodbheda where the river reappears (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 129). It was at this place that Vasudeva, the father of Kṛishṇa, performed a sacrifice (*Bhâgavata P.*, X, ch. 84), and where the re-union of Śrî Kṛishṇa and Râdhikâ, the Gopis and the Gopas took place, which is generally known as *Prabhâsa Milana.* The *Brahmavaivartta Purâṇa* (Kṛishṇa-janma Kh., ch. 54, vs. 20, 23), however, places the scene of re-union at **Siddhâśrama** (*q.v.*) (*Ibid.*, ch. 126).

Prabhâsa-Sarasvatî—See **Sarasvatî** (2).

Prâchi-Sarasvatî—See **Sarasvatî** (1).

Prâchya—That portion of Bhâratavarsha (India) which was to the south-east of the river Sarasvatî (*Amarakosha*); the Prasii of the Greeks which included Magadha (McCrindle's *Megasthenes*, p. 68). According to Dr. Oldenberg, the countries of the Kâśîs, Kośalas, Videhas and perhaps Magadha were called Prâchya (*Buddha*, p. 393 note).

Pradyumna-nagara—Pâṇḍuâ in the district of Hooghly (*Mahâbhârata* as quoted in the *Gaṅgâmahâtmya* of Raghunandan's *Prâyaśchitta-tattva*). According to tradition, Pradyumna, son of Kṛishṇa, is said to have killed here Śambarâsura, and hence the name of the place was changed from Ṛikshavanta to Pradyumnanagara or Mârapura (*Harivaṁśa*, ch. 166). Pâṇḍu Śâkya made it his capital when he left the Śâkya kingdom for fear of falling into the power of Virudhaka, the parricide usurper of the throne of Kośala, and retired beyond the Ganges. His daughter Bhaddakachchânâ married Pâṇḍuvâsudeva, a prince of Siṃhapura, present Singur in the district of Hughly in Bengal, who afterwards succeeded Vijaya on the throne of Ceylon (Turnour's *Mahavaṃsa*, ch. VIII). It appears that from the name of Pâṇḍu Śâkya, who was Buddha's cousin, being the son of Aniruddha, ancient Pradyumna-nagara is called Pâṇḍuâ (see my *History of the District of Hughly* in *JASB.*, 1910, p. 610): see **Mârapura**. It appears that Pâṇḍuâ was conquered by the Mahomedans at the end of the thirteenth century; Shah Sufi, who was sister's son to the Emperor Firoz Shah II, was oppressed by the Hindu **Râjâ** of Pâṇḍuâ who was called Pâṇḍu **Râja**; he obtained assistance from his uncle at Delhi and overthrew the Râjâ. The old temple was destroyed and the present mosque was built with its materials. The great tower of Pâṇḍuâ, 125 feet high, is said to have been built by Shah Sufi in imitation of the Kutub Minar in Old Delhi as a tower of victory, and it served as a Muazzin's minar for a call to prayer. Pâṇḍuâ in the district of Hughly should not be confounded with Pâṇḍuâ called Firuzabad near Malda which is identified with Puṇḍravarddhana.

Prâgbodhi Hill—The Mora hill, across the river Phalgu, three miles to the north-west of Buddha-Gayâ; from this hill Buddha went to the latter place to perform the penance (*Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. III, p. 105). The hill is washed at its south-western base by the Mora Lake and therefore the hill is called Morâ-Tâl-kâ-pâhâḍ. The cave reached through the villages Manjhowli and Sahaipura. For a description of the caves see *JASB.*, 1904, pp. 30-35.

Prâgjyotishapura—1. Kâmrupa or Kâmâkshyâ in Assam (see **Kâmarupa**), Gauhati (*JRAS.*, 1900, p. 25). It was the capital of the kingdom of Kâmarupa. 2. There appears to be another Prâgjyotishapura on the bank of the river Betwâ or Betravatî (*Brahma P.*, ch. 28; *Râmâyaṇa*, Kishk., ch. 42).

THE MARATHAS AT THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AS DESCRIBED BY A SOLDIER OF FORTUNE.

BY S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

THE recent work of Mr. R. E. Enthoven on the *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, the third volume of which contains an important article on the Marâthâs, based on the scientific data elicited by the Ethnographical Survey, serves to remind one of a remarkable, but now almost forgotten account of these people, published by an Irish adventurer, William Henry Tone, in 1798. His observations, which were originally embodied in a letter dated August 1st, 1797. addressed to Captain Malcolm in Madras, contain so much that is interesting about the condition and habits of the Marâthâs before the British conquest of the Deccan, and in some respects anticipate so curiously the conclusions now rendered acceptable by the modern scientific inquiry conducted by Mr. Enthoven and his Indian coadjutors, that it seems to me worth while to lift the more important passages out of the obscurity into which they have fallen by the passage of time.

Before dealing, however, with his description of Marâthâ institutions, a word may be said about Tone's origin and career. William Henry Tone, son of a ruined coachmaker and brother of the Irish rebel, Theobald Wolfe Tone, was born in 1764 at Naas in Kildare. At the age of sixteen he ran away from home to join the East India Company's service as a volunteer, and was sent to St. Helena. After six years' service on that island, he resigned his employment with the Company; but joined it again in 1792 and was posted to Madras. There he managed to obtain his discharge, and journeyed to Calcutta where he met Marigny, the second in command of the Nizam's army, who gave him an appointment in the Hyderabad forces. But he soon found out that, in consequence of the enmity between Marigny and the famous Raymond, he had little or no prospect of promotion, and he therefore returned to Calcutta, where his good looks and good manners secured him a letter of introduction to the court of Baji Rao the Peshwa. He reached Poona in 1796 and was given a post in the Peshwa's brigade of regulars, then commanded by the American adventurer, J. P. Boyd. In 1801 Tone commanded 200 native troops in support of Lakwa Dâdâ and the Bâîs at the defence of Saunda, and was forced to surrender by Perron, who commanded Sindia's infantry. Perron permitted him to retire to Holkar's headquarters at Maheshwar, where Jasvant Rao Holkar provided him with money and generally superintended his restoration to health. He was not, however, destined to live long, for in the following year, 1802, he was killed while serving with Holkar's forces in a battle near Choli Maheshwar. An enterprising and valorous soldier, Tone appears to have been one of the most attractive of the many soldiers of fortune who sought service with Indian rulers in those days; while as regards his literary legacy no less an authority than Grant Duff remarks upon his intelligence and declares that his account of what he saw is fully worthy of credence.

Tone's account of the Marâthâs was, as stated above, embodied in a letter to Madras, and published in the *Bombay Courier* in 1897. A year later it was printed and published in book form at the Courier Press, Bombay, and was described as an attempt "to illustrate some Particular Institutions of the Mahratta People, principally relative to their system of War and Finance; also an account of the Political Changes of the Empire in the year 1796." Tone's justification for writing the letter may be given in his own words as they appear in the "advertisement" or preface. "To understand the feelings or sentiments of any people, he (Tone) humbly conceives that it is necessary to see them in a state of perfect

independence ; indeed it is essential, to enter fully into their character, that you act with them on the footing of complete equality ; in circumstances of this kind you discover all the energies of their nature, their passions, prejudices, partialities and antipathies ; in one word, their real character. Very few opportunities of discovering the Hindoo disposition can possibly occur in the settlements (*i.e.*, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, etc.) :—Here we see the Native in a state of inferiority, insensibly departing from his original habits and imperceptibly imbibing a certain proportion of European manners. Such a heterogeneous character is scarcely worth a disquisition : but the pure unadulterated Hindoo offers a subject infinitely more interesting. The Writer's opportunities as an officer in the native service afforded him advantages not within the reach of any individual in different circumstances."

One of the most important statements in Tone's letter concerns the social status of the Marâthâs. "In the great scale of rank and eminence," he writes, "which is one peculiar feature of the Hindoo institutions, the Mahratta holds a very inferior situation : being just removed one degree above those castes that are considered as absolutely unclean. In this artificial climax he ranks next the Daira (Dhed) or Parvarry (Parvâri, Mhâr) : but while the lowness of his caste may deprive him of respect from the higher orders, it has highly qualified him for the purpose of war, and may be considered as one of the sources of that astonishing success which has attended all the Mahratta expeditions." Here we have the definite testimony of an intelligent eye-witness to support the theory, arising out of the facts elicited by the modern Ethnographical Survey, that there is a considerable aboriginal element in the Marâthâs, and that the claim of the upper-class and land-owning Marâthâs to Râjput origin is a comparatively modern phenomenon originating in a rise in social status. Mr. Enthoven has pointed out that even in these days the Marâthâs do not disdain to admit into their community persons of plainly aboriginal origin, like the Kolis, provided that they have adopted the Marâthâ profession of agriculture : and secondly, that the upper class Marâthâs, despite their modern claim to a Kshatriya origin and their adoption of the prohibition of widow-remarriage, differ little, if at all, in origin from the cultivating Marâthâ Kunbi and the various Marâthâ occupational castes. But perhaps the most striking justification of Tone's views regarding the position of the Marâthâs in the Brahmanic caste-scale is to be found in the list of *devaks* or marriage-guardians which Mr. Enthoven has compiled. For a glance at the list shows that several of these totemistic guardians, which are common both to the upper-class Marâthâs and their Kunbi brethren, are shared by other low castes such as Bhoi, Mahâr, Gondhali, Phudgi, Burud, Chambhar, Bhâmta, Mâli, and so forth. In short, the estimate of the Marâthâ position in the social scale which Tone formed from keen personal observation is corroborated to-day by the technical findings of the trained ethnological expert.

Tone laid stress upon the great simplicity of manners which distinguished the Marâthâs in his day, and ascribed this characteristic to the fact that they were composed, as a class, of three main tribes, all of whom followed rural occupations namely the Dhangar or shepherds, the Gauli or cowherds, and the Kunbi or agriculturists. There seems little doubt that at the close of the eighteenth century, despite the rise of the Gaekwar, Holkar and other Marâthâ chieftains, the upper-class Marâthâs had not yet fully embraced the aristocratic aloofness which in these days divides them socially from their more humble kinsmen "Homer," remarks Tone, "mentions Princesses going in person to the fountains to wash their household linen. I can affirm having seen the daughter of a Prince (able to bring an army into the field much larger than the whole Greek confederacy) making bread with her own hands and otherwise employed in the ordinary business of domestic housewifery I

have seen one of the most powerful Chiefs of the Empire, after a day of action, assist in kindling a fire to keep himself warm during the night, and sitting on the ground on a spread saddle-cloth, dictating to his secretaries and otherwise discharging the political duties of his station. This primeval plainness operates upon the whole people : there is no distinction of sentiment to be discerned : the Prince and his domestic think exactly the same way, and express themselves in the same terms. There appears but one level of character, without any mixture of ardour or enthusiasm ; a circumstance the more surprising considering the great exploits they have achieved. But their simplicity of manners, uncorrupted by success, their courtesy to strangers, their unaffected politeness and easiness of access, must render them dear to every person that has had a commerce with them. Such a character, when contrasted with the insidiousness of the Brahman and the haughtiness of the Mogul, rises as superior to them as candour and plainness are to duplicity and deceit, or real greatness to barbaric ostentation."

The modern verdict is more succinct, but fully corroborates Tone's eulogy. "As a class," says Mr. Enthoven, "Marâthâs are simple, frank, independent and liberal, courteous, and when kindly treated, trusting. They are a manly and intelligent race, proud of their former greatness, fond of show, and careful to hide poverty." Perhaps the most unprepossessing of all the Marâthâs of that age was Jasvant Rao Holkar, who had acquired a well-deserved reputation for cruelty and violence. Yet none could have shown greater consideration than he did to the gallant Harding, when the latter was mortally wounded at the battle of Poona. Jasvant Rao himself was badly wounded in three places, while charging Dawes' guns side by side with Harding ; and directly the charge was over, his first thought was for his English comrade. Rejecting for the moment all treatment of his own wounds, he hurried to Harding's side and listened to his dying request that arrangements might be made to bury him by the side of his fellow-countrymen in the Residency at Poona. Jasvant Rao scrupulously fulfilled the request.

Tone has much to say about the Marâthâ Government, which he compares with the "circles" of Germany and describes as a military republic, composed of chiefs independent of one another, but together acknowledging the supremacy of the Peshwa. As pointed out by Dr. Surendranath Sen in a recent work on the *Administrative System of the Marathas*, the description of the Marâthâ State as a military republic is only true in the sense that the private soldier, if possessed of ability, could expect to become a Sardar of the Empire. The mutual confidence which was vital to the maintenance of such a "republic" was wholly lacking, and this fundamental distrust and hostility rendered incapable of realization any comprehensive policy of national patriotism such as had once inspired Sivâjî. Tone himself put his finger unerringly upon one of the weakest features in the political and administrative system, when he described how the territories of the various chiefs were so blended and interspersed that it was not uncommon for a *pargana*, or even a single town, to belong to two or three different leaders. "A disposition so chequered," he remarks, "strikes me as having a tendency to weaken the combined strength of the whole : but whether this be the effect of policy or accident I confess I cannot determine." Grant Duff, who certainly made use of Tone's account, suggests that this arrangement was purposely adopted as a means of preserving intercourse and union among the principal Marâthâ officers ; but it seems more likely that it owes its existence to the subtle mind of Bâlâjî Vishvanâth, who realised that by dividing the revenue-collections of a single district among several Marâthâ chiefs, he could introduce endless complications in the revenue-accounts, and thus increase the power of his Brahman caste-fellows, who alone had sufficient intelligence and knowledge to deal with such accounts. It is fairly certain that about the date when Tone wrote his letter to Malcolm nobody except the Brahmans rightly knew what was due or to whom it was due.

The predatory character of the Marâthâ empire, upon which Professor Jadunath Sarkar has laid stress in his *Shivaji and His Times*, was plainly apparent to the Irish soldier of fortune, who remarked that "the Empire always considers itself as in a state of war." "This eternal warfare is naturally the cause of an enormous expense : to supply which the Mahrattas have many modes of Finance, but the most prevailing one is that of anticipating their landed revenues. These mortgages on the territorial income are negotiated by wealthy Soucars (between whom and the Minister there always exists a proper understanding) and frequently at a discount of 30 per cent. and then paid in the most depreciated specie. This ruinous method of raising the supplies springs entirely from the unstable and unsettled state of the country, which makes the Government prefer an actual certain sum in their hands though at the most enormous usury, to the possible receipt of a precarious revenue, at the expiration of three or four years, to which extent they are frequently anticipated." The salient fact is that the current expenses of the Marâthâ State were always in excess of its pecuniary resources, the chief items of which were the revenue from the proprietary right to the soil, the *chauth* paid by the Nizam, and the plunder raised by *mulkgiri*.

The condition of the peasantry under the Peshwas has been discussed by several writers, the latest of whom, Dr. S. N. Sen, finds that the Peshwas made sustained efforts to improve cultivation, made grants for irrigation works, offered special terms for the reclamation of waste lands, and advanced loans (*tagai*) on easy terms to the cultivator, to save him from the oppression of the money-lender. "The Marâthâ peasant," writes this authority, "was certainly better off than his Irish brother, and he had practically gained the fixity of tenure and a fair rent for which the Irish were vainly crying even in the first decade of the nineteenth century." This picture differs very considerably from that drawn by Tone at the close of the eighteenth century. He describes the bulk of the people as "almost totally without property," adding that "there is not on record an example of any government so little calculated to give protection to the subject as the fluctuating and unsteady system of the Mahrattas ; an administration formed of rapacity, corruption and inability. To this may be ascribed the accumulated misery of the people : oppression, poverty and famine, which last appears the appropriated curse of this country." He gives a terrible description of the effects of famine in the Deccan, and declares that it was a common occurrence in such seasons for large cities to lose three-fourths of their inhabitants, and for whole districts to be deprived of their population and remain for years a jungle. And yet, as he writes, "this disaster has never produced a rebellion against the Government that for the most part occasions it." He makes some pertinent reflections on the possibility of irrigation :—"In the hands of a European what canals, what ducts would not be cut to promote a general distribution of water ! . . . . In one word, presupposing economy on the side of the Government and industry on the part of the inhabitants, a famine might be a scourge unknown to this country." But how is one to reconcile the account given by Tone, which is obviously the outcome of personal experience, with the brighter picture supplied by the modern writer ? The latter solves the difficulty by ascribing all the evils which Tone recorded to the malignant maladministration of the last Peshwa, Bâji Rao II. For, according to Dr. Sen, "he (Bâji Rao) reintroduced the old Muhammadan system of revenue-farming abolished by Shivâjî so long ago. Mahâls and Mâmlats were sold to the highest bidder, and the Peshwa's favourites were induced to bid high. The result was that districts changed hands every year, and Mâmlatdars no longer felt any interest in the welfare of the rayats. If the Pâtil refused to assist the revenue-farmers, collection was made without his agency. So even the excellent village-

system of Mahârâshtra failed to be a remedy against the misrule of a wicked man." Doubtless the acute distress which Tone witnessed was largely due to the corruption and incapacity of the last Peshwa's administration : but it is doubtful whether the country could ever have secured real prosperity under a government which was forced to be constantly at war. in order to preserve its existence. Even under the best of the Peshwas, such as Mâdhav Rao I, the Marâthâ government lived by predatory warfare. and Professor Jadunath Sarkar is unquestionably correct in his opinion that. despite the liberal policy of individual Peshwas, the mass of the people could never flourish or count upon the security necessary to their welfare under a government which commenced wholesale marauding operations, as a matter of course, at the close of every monsoon.

Tone gives some interesting sidelights on the military free-booting and on the composition of the Marâthâ army, in which he himself served. On the festival of the *Dasahra* ' the *jhoonda* or great ensign of the Prince (*i.e.*, Peshwa) is hoisted ; the royal tents are pitched : and a camp immediately formed. The operations of the ensuing year are now determined on. whether to act against an open enemy, to collect the permanent revenue or *chauth*, or to go on *mulkgiri*. The countries subjected to these depredations are those of the Jaipur Râja. the Marwarry [*i.e.*, Marwar] and the north end of the peninsula of Gujerat. near the gulf of Cutch. The remainder of Hindustan is now (*i.e.*, in 1797) entirely subjugated and forms a part of the Empire." The *mulkgiri* or "kingdom-seizing" expeditions were originally adopted by Sivâjî from the Muhammadans, who regarded them as a legitimate source of income. "The coincidence between Sivâjî's foreign policy and that of a Quranic sovereign," writes Professor Jadunath Sarkar, "is so complete that both the history of Shivâjî by his courtier, Krishnâji Anant, and the Persian official history of Bijapur use exactly the same word, *Mulk-giri*, to describe such raids into neighbouring countries as a regular political ideal. The only difference was that in theory at least an orthodox Muslim king was bound to spare the other Muslim states in his path, and not to spoil or shed the blood of true believers, while Shivâjî (as well as the Peshwas after him) carried on his *Mulk-giri* into all neighbouring States, Hindu no less than Islamic, and squeezed rich Hindus as mercilessly as he did Muhammadans."

To revert to Tone, he states that when the Peshwa took the field in command of the united force of the whole Marâthâ Confederacy, the army was divided into the following three main bodies :—

"1. Cherry Fodge or Light Troops ; that is to say. the advance army including all the infantry, under the orders of the holder of the *Jerry Put*. though every chief commands his own distinct army.

2. Beech Lashkar, a reserve unencumbered with unnecessary equipage and artillery.

3. Boonga or rear-army, commanded by the Peshwa, which was in charge of the grand park or Jensa, and all the baggage of the whole army."

According to Yule and Burnell, the phrase "cherry fodge" is a corruption of the Hindustani *chari-fauj*, *chari* signifying "movable," "locomotive," so that the whole phrase would mean "flying brigade." Crooke has suggested that "cherry" may perhaps be *chaṛhi*, for *chaṛhni*, in the sense of "preparation for battle." Whatever be the true explanation. the "cherry fouj" usually meant a detachment, lightly equipped. with little artillery, which was sent out on raiding expeditions into the territories of other chiefs. The "Beech Lashkar" is the central division (*bîcch lashkar*), while the "Bhoonga" may perhaps signify the heavy brigade. from the Marâthî word *bhonga*, "clumsy or unwieldy."

The cavalry, which always formed the chief part of the Marâthâ army, was divided into four classes, which Tone enumerates as follows :—

1. Kassey Pagah [*i.e.*, *Khasi paga*] or household cavalry. Always a well-appointed body, mounted on excellent horses belonging to the government. The monthly pay of a trooper or Baurgeer [*bârgîr*] was Rs. 8.
2. Silladaur [*silâh-dâr*] cavalry, who contract with the government to supply a certain number of horse on certain terms, generally about Rs. 35 per month, including the trooper's pay.
3. Volunteers, bringing their own horses and accoutrements. Their pay ranged from Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 a month, according to the value of their horse.
4. Pindarins [*i.e.*, *Pindhâris*], mere marauders, who serve without pay and subsist only by plunder, of which they give a fourth part to the Government. "These are so very licentious a body that they are not employed but in one or two of the Mahratta services."

The Marâthâ cavalry, according to Tone, was always irregularly and poorly paid. The *Bârgîr* scarcely ever received cash, but was given a daily allowance of coarse flour and other ingredients from the bazar, which just enabled him to subsist. The *Silahdâr* was almost as badly off. His contract with the State provided for the allotment to him of a strip of jungle, in which to pasture his cattle. Here he and his family resided, and his sole occupation, when not on active service, was the multiplication of his troop by breeding out of his mares. The Marâthâ cavalry were mounted almost wholly on mares. When called up for service, the *Silâhdâr* had to give a muster. "Upon this occasion," says Tone, "the Brahman who takes it invariably has to have a bribe ; and indeed the *hâzri* is such that it could not pass by any fair or honourable means. Not only are wretched tattoos [ponies] substituted for horses, but animals are borrowed to fill up the complement. Heel-ropes and grain-bags are produced as belonging to animals supposed to be at grass : in short every mode is practised to impose on the Sirkar, which in return reimburses itself by irregular and bad payments : for it is always considered that if the Silladârs receive six months' arrears out of the year, they are exceedingly well paid." Such a system could not last. Dr. Sen remarks in his *Administrative System of the Marâthâs* that the Marâthâ soldier was paid partly in cash and partly in clothes, because the latter form of remuneration enabled the Government to dispose of a portion of the spoils of their *mulk-giri* expeditions. Even allowing for this, the soldier, whether belonging to the infantry or cavalry, was usually so irregularly and poorly paid that only the prospect of loot and free subsistence in an enemy's country can have induced him to undergo the hardships and privations of a military life.

In Tone's day the infantry contained practically no Marâthâs, being composed almost entirely of Râjputs and those whom Tone styles "Purvias," [*i.e.*, *Purbiyas*,] "Easterners," or men from Oudh, Benares and Behar. "They are all soldiers of fortune" he writes, "and are called "Purdasies" [*pardesis*] or strangers." In Sivâjî's time the Marâthâs, as a fighting class, included many who were not Marâthâs by race, but who were bound together by the bond of country and language . and as the Marâthâ power spread, its army tended to become more professional and less national, and the Marâthâs proper became almost wholly cavalry-men. Later still, as Tone's evidence proves, the Marâthâ infantry was recruited chiefly from Upper India.

The predilection of the Marâthâs for the mounted arm necessarily involved a very thorough knowledge on their part of the care of horses and horse-breeding. A flourishing horse-trade from Turkestan to India commenced soon after the Muhammadan invasion of

India, and Marco Polo refers to the large trade in horses from Arabia and Persia to South India. The imported animals, however, did not flourish, as they were unused to the climate, and the people did not understand how to manage them : and it was not till the rise of the Bâhmanî Sultanate and the Vijayanagar Empire that further efforts were made to import foreign horses. With the appearance of the Marâthâs as a political power, the trade again improved and many horses were imported into the Deccan from northern India. "There are no people in the world" writes Tone, "who understand the method of rearing and multiplying the breed of cattle, equal to the Mahrattas. It is by no means uncommon for a Sillahdaur [*silâhdâr*] to enter a service with one mare and in a few years to be able to muster a very respectable Pagah. They have many methods of rendering the animal prolific : they back their colts much earlier than we do and are consequently more valuable as they come sooner on the effective strength. I do not know, however, whether they attempt to improve the breed of their horses by crossing the strain as we practise in Europe. It is this persevering industry and consummate knowledge which is the true cause of the immense bodies of cavalry that the Mahratta States can bring into the field."

Tone adds that a great number of horses were brought annually from Kandahar and Tibet and sold at fairs in various parts of India, but that these formed a very small proportion of the gross strength of the Marâthâ armies. The Marâthâ, in fact, depended almost wholly upon the indigenous Deccan horse and managed to bring it to a high state of perfection. Colonel Broughton, who saw this breed in Sindia's camp, describes them as "seldom above fourteen and a half hands high, and the most valuable ones are often much less. They are short in the barrel and neck ; have small, well-shaped heads, and slim, though remarkably well-formed limbs ; they have generous tempers, and are full of spirit ; and are said to be capable of undergoing more fatigue and hard fare than any horse in India. The sum of three and even four thousand rupees is often paid for a *Dukhunee* whose pedigree is well-known : and so fond are the Marathas of these beautiful and valuable favourites, that, when they can afford it, they will feed them on wheaten cakes, boiled rice, sugar, butter and other similar dainties." It was on such ponies as these of the Deccan that the Pindhâris made their extraordinary rides across India. No other breed could have stood the strain.

In describing the commissariat arrangements of a Marâthâ army on the march, Tone gives some interesting information about the Vanjâris. "The Vanjarees or itinerary grain-merchants furnish large quantities (of grain) which they bring on bullocks from an immense distance. These are a very peculiar race and appear a marked and discriminated people from any other I have seen in this country. Formerly they were considered so sacred that they passed in safety in the midst of contending armies : of late, however, this reverence for their character is much abated, and they have been frequently plundered, particularly by Tippoo. They are able at times to resist a marauding party. They do not depend entirely on the sale of grain for subsistence, but take back large returns of merchandize from the Deccan to Hindustan. At their leisure they weave a coarse kind of hempen cloth called 'Tartpurtoo,' which is used for grain-bags and camel-cloths called *salutas*." As regards the origin and identity of the Vanjâris, Mr. Enthoven, in his article on the Lamanis or Vanjâris, gives the result of the most recent modern research. "An examination of the endogamous divisions of the tribe," he writes, "tends to establish the conclusion that though in origin the tribe may have been an aboriginal section of the population with a distinct identity, named from its occupation of carrying supplies on bullocks, it has since been so overlain with additions from Râjputs, Marâthâs, Mahârs, and a number of other well-known tribes

and castes, that it can only be described as a miscellaneous collection of the flotsam and jetsam of humanity that would be drawn into the wake of a large military expedition, of no distinctive type, though the tribe preserves for the most part a distinctive costume to this day." The coarse cloth to which Tone refers is clearly sackcloth, the first half of the word being the Hindustani *tât* (Skt. *tratra*), and is identical with the modern "gunny." It is not known whether the Vanjâris of to-day still make this cloth, though Mr. Enthoven mentions among their modern occupations the spinning of coarse hemp *tag*.

After concluding his account of the Marâthâ military administration, Tone describes the *serâis, dharamshâlas*, and other features of the country, likely to be of use to travellers. "In every village," he remarks, "there are three persons maintained at the public expense, whose services every traveller has a right to demand." The first of these is "the Ishkaur [*i.e.*, *Yeskar* or village door-keeper] or chief of the low-caste people, whose duty it is to furnish baggage-coolies. If no Dher or Parwari can be found at once, he resorts to the Sonar: if none of these are ready, he goes through all the order, and if no one will take up the baggage, the Patel must carry it himself. I have frequently known very high caste Brahmans pressed upon this service, though it is remarkable they never presume to compel a Musalman, however mean and indigent he may be. These Bigaris are exchanged at the next village, where they receive a certain quantity of coarse flour from the Patel, but no payment is ever required."

Tone, without knowing it, is here referring to the old village organization—the *Bârâ Balute* and *Bârâ Alute*, described in some detail by Grant Duff. The *Yeskar* or *Tarâl* was always a Mhâr, whose duty it was to remain in the village and never to quit its boundary. "He is at the constant call of the Patell," writes Grant Duff, "but his particular duty is to attend strangers, and take care of all travellers from the moment of their entering the village: of which, if walled, the Tural is porter. He furnishes all necessary information, as well as supplies to strangers, and is often extremely useful to them." Out of the original twenty-four recognized village servants, who were assigned definite shares of the village crops and other perquisites and rights in return for their professional services, Tone mentions only the *Yeskar*, the *Bhil* and the "Kooley" (*Koli*). He speaks of two or three Bhils being attached to every village at the government expense, meaning probably Râmosis, in regard to the majority of Deccan villages: but he gives no information as to the precise service they were expected to perform. Grant Duff, however, states that they acted chiefly as watchmen, or, when the country was settled and free from "alarums and excursions," as useful auxiliaries of the village police in the person of the Pâtel. The Koli is declared by Tone to be "of so high a caste that every other Hindu can eat what they cook. If you like, the Kooley will dress your victuals, bring you what you want from the bazar, and for all this no compensation is expected." This at first sight appears somewhat odd, though the fact that Grant Duff mentions the Koli among the *Bârâ Alute* as the recognized water-carrier of the village shows that his position in the scale of caste cannot have been very low. Mr. Enthoven in an article on the Malhâr Kolis in his *Tribes and Castes of Bombay* fully corroborates Tone's account, and quotes Mackintosh's statement that this section, which is also called *Panbhari* or water-filling Kolis, is "one of the purest and most respectable of all the Koli tribes." "They are also called *Chumlis* from the cloth-fenders they wear on their heads as water-pot rests, and Kunum Kolis, because according to Mackintosh they eat and associate with Kunbis . . . . As the name *Panbhari* shows, their usual calling is to supply villagers and strangers with water and to clean out the village rest-house and office. Near Pandharpur many Malhâr Kolis are *yeskars* or village door-keepers, and in Khandesh and Ahmadnagar a few are husbandmen.

During Marâthâ rule, to the south of Poona, Malhâr Kolis were the hereditary guardians of the hill-forts of Purandhar, Sinhgad, Torna and Râjgad. According to Mr. A. M. T. Jackson. Malhâr Kolis in the Thâna District frequently become Marâthâ Kunbis, and the process has been recognized in parts of the Poona District."

Tone in his remarks on the "Kooley" is clearly referring to the Malhâr branch of the tribe, and although his view of their position may be a trifle exaggerated, it is quite clear that in his day they ranked, as they still do, above other branches of the tribe, and were regarded as quite eligible for inclusion in the Marâthâ agricultural caste.

After a brief survey of the weaknesses of the Marâthâ State, Tone concludes with the following words, "I certainly most sincerely deprecate a war between the British and Maratha power : but independent of natural predilection, I can see nothing in the prospect but which promises the most certain hopes of ultimate success." These words were written in 1797. Eighteen years later the Peshwa, in whose army Tone had served, surrendered himself, a hunted fugitive, to Sir John Malcolm, after a series of operations by British troops which were crowned with the success foreseen by the Irish soldier. Taken as a whole, Tone's account of the Marâthâs fully deserves the epithets "accurate and elegant," which were once applied to it, and it is somewhat surprising that one who had presumably undergone no lengthy course of education, and from an early age had led a roving and adventurous life, should have been able to pen so useful and well-written a document. One wishes he could have lived longer and written more about the people among whom he spent the best years of his life. As it is, his letter to Malcolm forms an agreeable pendant to the long, and occasionally tedious, *chef d'œuvre* of Grant Duff.

BHARTṚ-PRAPAÑCA : AN OLD VEDANTIN

BY PROF. M. HIRIYANNA, M.A.

IT is strange that the name of this old *Vedântin* should now be all but forgotten,[1] though references to him are fairly plentiful in Indian philosophical literature ; and the strangeness of it will appear all the greater when we remember that *Brahman* or the Absolute, as conceived by him, is of a type[2] that has commended itself to some of the most profound philosophers. Like so many other old Indian thinkers, Bhartṛ-Prapañca[3] appears not as the author of an independent system but as an interpreter of the *Upaniṣads*. We have not so far recovered any of the works of this writer and probably none has survived to the present day. But we know for certain that he wrote a commentary on the *Bṛhadâraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. Śaṅkara has many references to it in his own *bhâṣya* on that *Upaniṣad*, and the fact is besides specifically mentioned by Ânanda-jñâna in his gloss on that *bhâṣya*. From what is stated by the latter, we gather that *B.* commented upon the *Mâdhyandina* recension of the *Bṛhadâraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* and not on the *Kâṇva*, as Śaṅkara did : and that *B.*'s commentary was even more voluminous than Śaṅkara's.[4] It seems from another statement

1 The only modern works in which I have found references to Bhartṛ-prapañca are K. C. Bhaṭṭâcârya's *Studies in Vedantism*, p. 25 ; Guha's *Jivâtman in the Brahma-Sûtras*, pp. 24-5 and 227—both Calcutta University publications ; and T. M. Tripâṭhi's Introduction to *Tarka-Saṅgraha* (Gaekwad Oriental Series III), pp. xv-xvi.

2 Brahman, according to Bhartṛ-prapañca is, as will be seen, *saprapañca*—*Cf. Tîkâ* on *Vârtika*, p. 1123, st. 67—not robbed of its manifestations but possessing all of them. The conception resembles that of the 'concrete universal' in modern philosophy.

3 Hereafter referred to as *B.*

4 See p. 2, *Ânandâśrama Series* : second edition (the one that is referred to throughout this article) : *Uṣâ veti Etena cikîrṣitâyâvṛtter—Bhartṛ-prapañca—bhâṣyeṇâgatârthatvamuktam | Taddhi dvayâ hetyâd Mâdhyandina-śrutimadhikṛtya pravṛttam | Iyam punaḥ uṣâ vâ aśvasyetyâdi-kâṇva | śrutimâśrityeti | . . . . Bhartṛ-prapañca-bhâṣyâdviśeṣântaramatha alpa-grantheti ||.*

2

of Ânanda-jñâna.[5] that *B.* commented upon the *Îśôpaniṣad* also. From a different source[6] we gather that he possibly expounded the *Vedânta-sûtras*: and, if we may trust Gopâla-Yatîndra's gloss on the *Kaṭhôpaniṣad*,[7] *B.* must have commented upon that *Upaniṣad* as well. Since we now have none of these commentaries, nor any other work written by *B.*, it is difficult to say what precisely his view of the teaching of the *Upaniṣads* was; but in the many references to it in Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Bṛhadâraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* and Surêśvara's full and masterly *Vârtika*[8] on the same, we get some clues which we propose here to utilise for a tentative reconstruction of *B.*'s doctrine in its broad outline, contrasting it at the same time for the sake of clearness with Śaṅkara's *Advaita*.[9]

I.

B. maintained like Śaṅkara that monism was the ultimate teaching of the *Upaniṣads*. A conspicuous feature of the latter's doctrine is the distinction between a *para* or higher and an *apara* or lower *Brahman*. *B.* also appears to have recognised this distinction[10], but while Śaṅkara explains the lower *Brahman* as an appearance (*vivarta*) of the higher and therefore not of the same order of reality, *B.* regards them both as real in the same sense.[11] This is a difference of much philosophical significance and to it, practically all the other important divergences between the two teachings are to be traced. According to Śaṅkara, the two *Brahmans* form, as it is put, a non-duality (*a-dvaita*). The relation between them (*tádâtmya*) is unreal, it being a relation between things of different orders of being. In *B.*'s doctrine on the other hand the two things related being equally real, the relation also is real. But the things are not altogether disparate, so that the relation is not one of entire distinction (*bheda*) as between a 'pot' and a 'piece of cloth.' It is rather *bhedâbheda* and the ultimate Reality may therefore be described as an identity in difference.[12] We might illustrate what is meant by this term—*bhedâbheda*—by the well-known example of 'the snake

[5] See *Tîkâ* on *Vârtika*, p. 771, st. 1717—*Sútropástyá kámádi-dhvastiḥ phalam . . . . vidyâm câvidyâm cetyâdâvuktam.* See also *Ibid*, p. 779, st. 1764 ff. The *Bṛ. Up.* in the *Kânva* recension contains *Íśa Up.* 9 as IV, iv, 10; the *Mâdhyandina* recension substitutes *Íśa Up.* 12 for it; but the *mantra*, *Vidyâmca* .... is in neither. It may be added that the *Íśa Up.* forms an earlier section of the same Veda to which the *Bṛ. Up.* also belongs.

[6] Compare *Siddhi-traya* (ch. 1) by Yâmuna-muni reputed to be the *parama-guru* of Râmânuja; *Yadyapi bhagavatâ Bâdarâyaṇenaitadarthânyeva sûtrâṇi praṇîtâni . . . tathâpyâcârya-Taṅka-Bhartṛ-prapañca—Bhartṛ-mitrá—Bhartṛ-hari—Srivatsâṅka—Bhâskarâdi—viracita—sitâsita—vividha—nibandhana—sraddhâ—vipralabdha—buddhayo na yathâvadanyathâ ca pratipadyanta iti tat-pratipattaye yuktaḥ prakaraṇa—prakramaḥ.*

[7] *Ânandâśrama Series*: second edn., p. 3.

[8] Referred to as *Vârtika* in this article.

[9] *B.*'s commentary on the *Bṛ. Up.* seems to have been known at least in parts not only to Śaṅkara and Surêśvara but also to Ânanda-jñâna; for there are in the latter's gloss on the *Bṛ. Up. Bhâṣya* many passages which are undoubted extracts from it. *Cf. e.g.*, *Tîkâ* on *Vârtika*, st. 1467 (p. 724), st. 1693-5 (pp. 767-8). It may also be noted that Sureśvara mentions several points in *B*'s interpretation not referred to by Śaṅkara. See *e.g.*, *Vârtika*, p. 1155, *Tîkâ* on st. 46.

[10] See Śaṅkara on *Bṛ. Up.* I, iv, 10 (p. 151): *Ato dvaitaikatvâpara—brahma—vidyayâ karma-sahitayâ para-brahma—bhâvamupasampannaḥ . . . . para-brahma—bhâvî.* See also *Tîkâ* on *Vârtika*, p. 760, st. 1659. The description of the *antarâlâvasthâ* (of *B*'s doctrine) by Ânanda-jñâna in his *Tîkâ* on Śaṅkara's com. on *Bṛ. Up.* (I. iv, 15), (p. 192) also implies the same distinction.

[11] See *Tîkâ* on *Vârtika*, p. 1935, st. 36, and p. 1957, st. 48.

[12] See *e.g.*, *Vârtika*, p. 876, st. 46 ff.

and its coils, hood, etc.,' or the 'sun and its rays' alluded to in the *Vedânta-sûtras.*[13] This relation may however exist, as indicated by these very illustrations, between several types of things. Four such are mentioned in the works we are now considering:[14]

1. *Kâraṇa* and *kârya*: *i.e.*, the material cause and the effect, as for example, 'clay' and 'pot.' The *apara-brahman* with all its variety springs into being from the *para* and eventually returns to it, so that the two are neither altogether distinct, nor quite the same.

2. *Avasthâvat* and *avasthâḥ*: *i.e.*, Substance and its modes: as for example, the unagitated and the agitated ocean. The *apara-brahman* would accordingly represent a heterogeneous transformation of the homogeneous *para-brahman*. The difference between this and the previous view is to be explained by the well-known difference between the conceptions of 'creation' and 'evolution.'

3. *Amśin* and *amśa*: *i.e.*, whole and part, as for example a 'tree' and its 'branches,' 'leaves,' etc. The *para-brahman* would thus be the whole of which the parts are to be found in the variety constituting the *apara-brahman*.

4. *Sâmânya* and *viśeṣa*: *i.e.*, the universal and the corresponding particulars, as for instance 'cow-ness' and the several individual 'cows.' According to this view, the *para-brahman* would be the basic or inmost principle revealing itself in all existent things—the particulars;[15] and the *apara-brahman*, these existent things themselves.

It is difficult to determine which of these views *B.* specifically had in his mind when he formulated the relation of *bhedâbheda* between the *para* and the *apara-brahmans*. To judge from what Śaṅkara says in his commentary on the *Br. Up.*[16] it would seem that these views were maintained by different thinkers. But according to Ânanda-jñâna's more explicit statement in his gloss on the *Vârtika*,[17] all the four views were acceptable to *B.* Whichever of these statements may represent the actual fact, the view most commonly associated with *B.* is (2) *viz.*, that of *avasthâḥ* and *avasthâvat* and he seems to have reduced the variety of the universe into eight *avasthâs* or 'modes' of *Brahman*, *viz.*, (1) *antaryâmin*, (2) *sâkṣin*, (3) *avyâkṛta*, (4) *sûtra*, (5) *virâj*, (6) *devatâ*, (7) *jâti* and (8) *piṇḍa*.[18] We shall say a few words about each of these following *B.*, except in one or two cases where, as it is not possible to get at his views definitely, we have to be content with the statement of the general *Upaniṣadic* position.

1. *Antaryâmin:* This is the spiritual principle controlling everything from within as described in *Br. Up.*, III, vii, and is also sometimes termed *Îśvara* on that account.[19] It is

[13] III, ii, 27-8. The relation considered here is between *Brahman* and the *jîva*. In *B.'s* doctrine, it holds not only between these two but, also between *Brahman* and the physical universe. See Śaṅkara on *Br. Up.*, V, i, 1 (p. 731).

[14] See *e.g.*, *Vârtika*, pp. 623-4, st. 948-50, and *Tîkâ* on st. 952. The *Pañca-pâdikâ—Vivaraṇa* mentions five types of things instead of four (p. 259).

[15] According to *Vârtika*, p. 573, st. 695, and p. 625, st. 954, these particulars would include not only the individuals (*antya-viśeṣas*) but also what the *Vaiśeṣikas* would describe as *apara-sâmânyas*, so that the whole is not a mere mass of unrelated particulars but an ordered system.

[16] III, viii, 12 (p. 492). Śaṅkara does not mention here all the four views but, according to the commentary, they are all meant. More than one form of the *bhedâbheda* doctrine is known to Indian Philosophy. Compare, *e.g.*, *Sruta-prakâśikâ* on Râmânuja's commentary on the *Vedânta-sûtras*, I, i, 4: *Acid-brahmaṇorbhedâbhedaḥ svâbhâvika iti Bhâskara—Yâdavayorapyabhimatam | Cidbrahmaṇostu bhedâbhedau svâbhâvikâviti Yâdava-mata-vyâvṛttyarthamâha tatreti |*

[17] *Tîkâ* on *Vârtika* (p. 624), st. 949-950: *kvaciditylubhayatra tadîya-grantha-deśoktiḥ*.

[18] See *e.g.*, *Tîkâ* on *Vârtika*, (p. 643), st. 1043.

[19] *Cf. Vârtika*, p. 532, st. 487.

not *Brahman* in its pure state, but *Brahman* with its homogeneity somewhat disturbed preparatory to the creation that is to proceed from it.[20]

2. *Sâkṣin :* This is the individual soul which is regarded as another and a much more heterogeneous modification of *Brahman*.[21] It is otherwise termed *kṣetrajña* ('the conscious principle in the body') or *vijñânamaya* ('transformation of *vijñâna* or *Brahman*')[22]. The *sâkṣins* are either cosmic or individual according as they have a universal or a particular function to discharge. *Hiraṇya-garbha* and the deities like *Âditya* are cosmic ;[23] the rest, individual.[24].

3. *Avyâkṛta :* This is the whole of the physical universe in its subtle or causal form.[25] It may be viewed as the adjunct of the *antaryâmin*. Together, they constitute the first transformation of *Brahman* and the distinction between the two is sometimes overlooked.[26]

4-6. Of the next three 'modes,' the first or *sûtra* springs from the *avyâkṛta* and is the adjunct of *Hiraṇya-garbha*, the highest cosmic soul. From this again the gross material, constituting the visible universe, proceeds. That is *virâj*.[27] It is well known that this cosmic soul is often described in the *Upaniṣads* as having for its 'sense-organs' various *devatâs* through which its activity, which is the same as the life of the world, goes on. These *devatâs*, because they correspond to our *indriyas*, are sometimes so termed.[28]

7-8. Of the last two—*jâti* and *piṇḍa*—the meaning of the second is clear.[29] It stands for the individual bodies, such as the human, from which as material cause, no subsequent effects are produced. The meaning of the first term is not quite so certain. It cannot be however understood here in its *Nyâya-Vaiśeṣika* sense, as there can be no *enduring* universals in monistic *Vedânta*. It may stand for *âkṛti*, a familiar conception in ancient Indian philosophy,[30] and denote types as distinguished from individuals. These numerous types and the still more numerous individuals are all the creation of the *virâj*.[31] In other words, we have here what is known as the *vyaṣṭi-sṛṣṭi* or 'secondary creation' in its double aspect of *sâmânya* and *viśeṣa*.

Thus on the whole *Brahman* may be said to evolve in two distinct lines—one (1—2) the spiritual and the other, (3—8) the material which constitutes either the adjunct or the environment of the spiritual.[32]

20 See Śaṅkara on *Bṛ. Up.*, III, viii, 12 (p. 492). 21 *Ibid.*

22 See *e.g.*, *Vârtika*, p. 1000, st. 49. and Śaṅkara on *Bṛ. Up.*, IV, iii. 7 (p. 560), and *Vârtika* on the same (st. 318-23).

23 See *Vârtika*, p. 1007, st. 91. Compare *Tîkâ* on *Vârtika*, p. 451, st. 121, p. 956, st. 416.

24 This is on the supposition that *sâkṣins* are many, and it is the implication of statements like that found in st. 100 of the *Vârtika* (p. 1009). But to judge from the context in which *B.* is mentioned in a somewhat later work, (*Vedânta-Tattva-Viveka* by Nṛsimhâśramin, p. 38, Benares edition) he seems to have believed in only a single *jîva*, not however in a sense which would make his doctrine solipsistic, but in the sense that the one *jîva simultaneously* expresses itself through all the bodies in existence, just as in *aneka-jîva-vâda* one and the same *jîva* is supposed to manifest itself through several bodies *successively* (*i.e.*, in successive births). For a similar view among the followers of Śaṅkara, see *Siddhânta-leśa saṅgraha* (Kumbhakoṇam edition), pages 107-8

25 See *Tîkâ* on *Vârtika*, II, iii, st. 91-2. 26 See *Tîkâ* on *Vârtika*, p. 1295, st. 29-30.

27 See *Bṛ. Up.*, III, vii. 2, and *Vârtika-Sâra* by Vidyâraṇya (Benares edition), p. 743, st. 5, where *virâj* is referred to as *aṇḍa*. *Cf.* also the description of these and the next two as *mahâbhûta-saṃsthâna-bheda* in the *Tîkâ* on Śaṅkara's commentary on *Bṛ. Up.*, III, viii. 12 (p. 492).

28 *Cf.* *Tîkâ* on *Vârtika*, p. 536, st. 511. 29 *Cf. Ibid.*, *Tîkâ* on p. 447, st. 98.

30 See *e.g.*, *Nyâya-sûtra*, II, ii, 63. Râmânuja for instance understands the term in this sense ; *cf.* *Śribhâṣya*, p. 32 (Bombay Sanskrit Series).

31 *Cf.* *Vârtika*, p. 450, st. 117, and p. 432, st. 21 ; *cf.* also Vidyâraṇya's *Vârtika-sâra*, p. 209, st. 149.

32 See *Vârtika*, p. 1007, st. 91

These eight forms together with *Brahman* according to *B.*, may be divided into three *râśis*,[33] in which we have the threefold subject-matter of all religion and philosophy, *viz.*, God, Soul and Matter.

1. *Paramâtma-râśi* : This is the absolute *Brahman* and we have probably to include under this head the *antaryâmin* also, since it can be brought under neither of the remaining two *raśis*.

2. *Mûrtâmûrta-râśi* : This comprises the six material forms beginning with the *avyâkṛta*. Its designation is derived from *Br. Up.*, II, iii, where *mûrta* and *amûrta* are described as the two 'phases' of *Brahman*. According to Śaṅkara, the term *mûrta* here refers to *prithivî*, *ap* and *têjas* and the term *amûrta* to the remaining two—*âkâśa* and *vâyu*. *B.* understands these terms somewhat differently : *amûrta* means for him the *avyâkṛta*, the source of the material world and *mûrta*, the last of the *bhûtas* to evolve from it, *viz.*, *prithivî*, the intermediate 'elements' being describable secondarily as either *mûrta* or *amûrta*.[34]

3 *Jîva-râśi* :[35] According to Śaṅkara, this does not form an independent category for the *jîva* according to him is only *Brahman* in disguise and is therefore already included in (1). But *B.* regards it as a real transformation of *Brahman* and therefore counts it as a third *râśi*. The determining factor of the *jîva* is its beginningless *vâsanâs*.[36] These *vâsanâs* are the characteristics, as in the *Sâṁkhya*, of the internal organ (*antaḥkaraṇa*) which is evolved out of the *avyâkṛta* and should therefore belong to (2). *B.* recognises this : but at the same time he considers that they are transmitted to the *jîva* with which the *antaḥkaraṇa* is associated and thereby transform it into a 'knower' and 'enjoyer.' The transference to the soul of what really belongs to Matter is accounted for on the analogy of fragrance which, though actually belonging to a flower, may be distilled into oil, for example.[37] The *jîva* thus is a real, though temporary, transformation of *Brahman* and is not the result purely of a misconception as in Śaṅkara's *Advaita*. *B.* also recognises *avidyâ* like Śaṅkara : but it accounts only for the lapse of *Brahman* into the *jîva*-condition of finitude and not also for its worldly life or *saṁsâra*.[38] Though springing from *Brahman*, *avidyâ* does not affect the whole of it but only a part which thereby comes to be cut off, as it were, from *Brahman* and forgets its identity with it. *Avidyâ* has accordingly its abode in the *jîva* and not in *Brahman*. The *jîva* is thus the result of two conditions—one, *avidyâ* which delimits it (*pari-cchetrî*) and the other, *vâsanâ* which modifies it (*vikartrî*).[39] The second condition is sometimes stated as *âsaṅga*[40] or 'attachment' since the *vâsanâs* are eventually traceable to it.

II.

It seems necessary to differentiate in some sense or other between common and metaphysical knowledge ; otherwise there would be no justification for any philosophic inquiry at all. Hence it becomes a matter of importance for a metaphysician to define the relation between these two kinds of knowledge. According to Śaṅkara, both are valid, but while common knowledge is so only for the purposes of everyday-life, the other, as known

33 Śaṅkara on *Br. Up.*, II, iii (p. 328). 34 See *Vârtika*, II, iii, 72—80.

35 This *râśi*, though described in somewhat different terms by Śaṅkara and Surêśvara is the *jîva* which word is explicitly used by Vidyâraṇya in his *Vârtika-sâra*, p. 563 (Benares edition).

36 *I.e.*, the traces of previous *karma* and *jñâna*. See *Br. Up.*, IV, iv, 2, and the reference in note 33 above.

37 See *Vârtika*, p. 1012, st. 117-8. The word *vâsanâ* indeed means 'perfuming.'

38 See *Vârtika*, p. 1154, st. 42, and p. 1156, st. 53.

39 See *Ibid.*, pp. 1156-7, st. 54-55. Compare *Tikâ* on *Vârtika*, p. 1001, st. 53—*avidyâ-karma-pûrva-prajñâ-pariṣkṛtaḥ*.

40 *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 1156, st. 51, and p. 1163, st. 89. Śaṅkara traces 'attachment' itself to *avidyâ*.

through the scripture, is absolutely valid.[41] Empirical knowledge thus stands on a lower footing than metaphysical knowledge. It is provisional and true only in a particular 'universe,' so to speak. Any discrepancy between the two is to be explained by reference to the distinctive spheres to which they belong.[42] All empirical knowledge, for instance, presupposes variety but the scripture teaches unity; yet there is really no conflict between them, for empirical knowledge while it involves a reference to duality does not also vouch for its validity.[43] The view which *B.* took of this matter was altogether different. To him both empirical and revealed knowledge are equally valid and in exactly the same sense. Perception not only gives diversity but also validates it; for nothing that is properly ascertained by a *pramâṇa* can ever be otherwise than true.[44] Moreover, the scripture itself confirms the truth of diversity in such of its portions as describe Creation.[45] And it very properly emphasises in its purely metaphysical portions the unity underlying it which we commonly miss. *B.* accordingly concluded that *Brahman*, the ultimate Reality, should exhibit both the features and be a unity-in-diversity (*dvaitâdvaita*).[46] This view is termed *pramâṇa-samuccaya* by Ânanda-jñâna in one place.[47] Śaṅkara explains the reference to variety in the *Upaniṣads* as a mere *anuvâda* of what is empirically known and so, as carrying no new authority with it. Thus he restricts the scope of the scripture, as an independent and primary *pramâṇa*, to the teaching of unity alone.

III.

As the doctrine of unity is the specific teaching of the *Upaniṣads*, it is not only perceptual knowledge that is provisionally true, according to Śaṅkara, but also the subject-matter of the *karma-kâṇḍa* of the Veda. Hence one that desires to realise *Brahman* should rise above the notions of obligation implied in that *kâṇḍa* and renounce the world completely. *B.* follows here the same course as before and tries to co-ordinate the teachings of both the *kâṇḍas* recommending the combination of *jñâna* with *karma* for attaining *mokṣa*.[48] In other words, *pramâṇa-samuccaya* on the theoretical side has for him its counterpart of *jñâna-karma-samuccaya* on the practical. Just as in the former case, neither Perception nor Revelation is alone to be taken as valid but both, so here also both *karma* and *jñâna* should be regarded as the means of *mokṣa*, for both alike are prescribed in the scripture. Śaṅkara too does not discard *karma*; but, as is well known, he is not a *samuccaya-vâdin*. *Karma*, according to him is only indirectly or remotely useful in securing *mokṣa*. It is the means of *jñâna* which brings about *mokṣa*, unaided.

According to all *Vedântins*, *virakti* or 'detachment' is necessary before one qualifies for *mokṣa*. But while Śaṅkara looks to *doṣa-darśana* in the objects of our desire as its means, *B.* considers that result as possible only through *bhoga*. It is only by learning, through actual experience, the real worth of all things that in one way or another minister to our desires that we can grow indifferent to them. This view is based upon a very ancient Indian

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41 See *e.g.*, *Vârtika*, p. 249, st. 917 ff. Compare also *Vedânta-paribhâṣâ*, ch. vii.

42 See Śaṅkara on *Br. Up.* II, i. 20 (p. 296): *Pramâṇântarâviṣayameva hi pramâṇântaram jñâpayati.* See also *Tîka* on Śaṅkara's commentary on *Br. Up.* I, iv. 7 (p. 121): *Pratyakṣâdînâmanâtma-viṣayatvaccâgamasya bhinna-viṣayakatayâ nânayormitho virodhaḥ.*

43 See *Vârtika*, p. 265, st. 986, pp. 1962-4, st. 84-94.

44 See *Vârtika*, *Tîka* on st. 36 (p. 1955): *Svânubhavâddvaitasyâdvaitasya śruti-vaśât (prâmâṇyam)*

45 See *Vârtika*, p. 1954, st. 32.

46 *Vârtika*, V, i, st. 30-36.

47 *Ibid.*, *Tîka* on st. 913 (p. 248). This should not be confounded with *pramâṇa-samplava*, such for example as is described by Vâtsyâyana in his commentary on *Nyâyâ-Sûtras*, I, i, 3.

48 See *Vârtika*, pp. 768-9, st. 1700-1. Consult generally on this subject of *samuccaya*, *Vârtika*, I, iv. 1702 ff., III, ii, 41 ff. and IV, iv, 719 ff.

theory known as *kâma-pradhvaṁsa-vâda*.[49] The gradual exhaustion of *all* worldly enjoyment is obviously impossible; but there is another course open to us according to the *Upaniṣads* and that is by attaining to *Sûtra-hood* and in that state participating in universal life. Nobody, according to *B.*, can acquire genuine *virakti* who has not reached this state.[50] Hence the first aim of a person that is desirous of liberation is to strive to reach this stage, by identifying himself, through *upâsana* as taught in the *Upaniṣads*, with the *Sûtra* or *Hiraṇya-garbha* and carrying on simultaneously the *nitya-karmas* enjoined in the scripture.[51] This is the first kind of *samuccaya*. It leads to *apavarga*[52] or 'escape from *saṁsâra*,' which *B.* viewed as distinct from *mokṣa* though on the way to it. The soul that has so far succeeded will not be born again, for it has given up all narrow attachment, and its condition then is described as *antarâlâvasthâ*, (*i.e.*, a condition intermediate between *saṁsâra* and *mokṣa*). It is there free from all the ills of life. Though the baleful influences of attachment (*âsaṅga*), one of its two limiting factors, have then been overcome, the *jîva* has not yet realised its true nature, for *avidyâ*, the other factor, persists separating it from *Brahman*.[53] For accomplishing this further end of overcoming *avidyâ*, *samuccaya* again is necessary. The precise nature of this second *samuccaya*, however, is unfortunately not quite clear. One element in it is certain. The *jîva* has so far identified itself with only *Hiraṇya-garbha*, a part of *Brahman*; and it has now to realise it *as* a part thereof. In other words the oneness of the *jîva* with *Brahman*—not merely with *Hiraṇya-garbha*—is to be known, as taught in *Aham brahma asmi*. This knowledge is *vidyâ*. But it is not regarded as sufficient by itself to destroy *avidyâ* and is required to be combined with meditation upon the *sûtra* once again.[54] The object of this second element in the *samuccaya* is not manifest. It is introduced probably because it is thought that the knowledge of *Aham brahma asmi*, while it may lead to the conviction that all spirit is one, leaves out of account the entire physical universe. Hence also probably the statement that the meditation now on the *sûtra* (*i.e.*, the adjunct of *Hiraṇya-garbha*) should be, not merely as a *finite effect* as in the previous stage, but as one with the infinite *Brahman*, its cause.[55] It seems that *karma* also has to be performed here as in the case of the previous *samuccaya* but in a totally different spirit—not as a means to an end, but, like all else, as one with *Brahman*.[56] The doer, the deed, its means and its end are all *Brahman*, for *Brahman* is the sole reality. Thus for *apavarga* as well as for *mokṣa*, *samuccaya* is necessary according to *B*.

IV.

A distinguishing feature of Śaṅkara's doctrine is that self-realization is attained *directly* through revealed texts like *Tat tvam asi*, for he believes that verbal statements also may yield immediate knowledge[57]. According to *B.*[58] and also according to all other Indian logicians, verbal statements, whether revealed or not, can never lead to immediate knowledge. Thus from the formula *Tat tvam asi* only mediate knowledge is possible; but it is not adequate

[49] See for an account of this theory, *Vârtika*, p. 106, st. 343 ff. See also *Manu-smṛti*, ii, 94, which clearly contains a criticism of it. It is necessary to add that this was formulated not purely as an ethico-psychological theory but in the course of reconciling the teaching of the *karma-kâṇḍa* with that of the *jñâna-kâṇḍa*.

[50] See *Vârtika*, p. 778, st. 1761.

[51] See Śaṅkara on *Bṛ. Up.*, I. iv, 10 (p. 151), also *Vârtika*, p. 659, st. 1128-9, and *Bṛ. Up.* I, i and ii.

[52] *Cf.* Śaṅkara on *Bṛ. Up.* III, ii. 13 (p. 416) : *apavargâkhyâmantarâlâvastham*.

[53] Śaṅkara on *Bṛ. Up.* III, ii, 13 (p. 416) *Vârtika*, p. 770, st. 1713, p. 1154, st. 42

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 770, st. 1709.

[55] *Cf. Vârtika*, p. 769, st. 1703

[56] See *e.g.*, *Vârtika*, p. 179, st. 1706-7, *cf.* Bhagavadgîta, iv. 24.

[57] See *e.g.*, *Vârtika*, p. 64, st. 206

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 1837, st. 708.

to destroy our *immediate* belief in the truth of mere diversity, until it also has been transformed into immediate knowledge. The means of doing this is constant meditation (termed *prasaṁkhyâna, bhâvanâ, dhyâna*, etc.)[59] upon it. It is only when one successfully carries out this meditation that one can realise the self. While *B.* like Śaṅkara admits the aid of the scripture as essential for knowing the ultimate truth, he considers that that scriptural knowledge has to be supplemented by meditation. It is the result of such meditation that we have to understand from the *Vidya* of the second *samuccaya* referred to above and not a mere intellectual apprehension of the truth of *Aham brahma asmi* or *Tat tvam asi*. If *bhâvanâ* is thus necessary for securing *mokṣa* and if the need for it, which is a *kriyâ*, *i.e.*, something to be done, is known only through the scripture, the two *kâṇḍas* of the Veda are drawn together more closely here than in Śaṅkara's *Advaita*. As in the *karma-kâṇḍa* we find injunctions about sacrificial acts, so in the *Upaniṣads*, we find, according to *B.* injunctions about meditative acts Śaṅkara makes a vital distinction between *jñâna* and *bhâvanâ* or *upâsana*; and while he regards the latter as *kriyâ* and admits '*vidhi*' in respect of it, he uncompromisingly denies that the former is either a *kriyâ* or requires a *vidhi*[60]. A consequence of this difference of view is that statements like *Tat tvam asi* which are of the first importance in Śaṅkara's *Advaita* are useful in *B.'s* doctrine only as supplying the theme for meditation and statements like *Âtmânameva lokam-upâsîta*[61] take precedence of them.

V

So far we have recounted the more important doctrines of *B.* as they can be gathered chiefly from the writings of Śaṅkara and commentaries on them. There, however, remains an important point to be mentioned yet. Surêśvara in more than one place in his *Vârtika* tries to explain *B.'s* view-point as *in effect* the same as Śaṅkara's and represents *B.* as a *vivarta-vâdin* instead of a *pariṇâma-vâdin*[62]. Whatever of the latter view we find in *B.* is to be explained, according to Surêśvara, as only a provisional solution of the ultimate philosophical problem, exactly as it is the case in Śaṅkara's *Advaita*. It seems strange that if *B.* did teach such a doctrine, Śaṅkara should have subjected it to so severe and so frequent a criticism. Surêśvara is not unaware of this objection, and, raising it in his *Vârtika*,[63] answers it by saying that what Śaṅkara intended to controvert was not *B.'s* view but rather his view as expounded by some of his followers. Generally speaking, however, Śaṅkara's criticism appears to be directed against *B.* himself. However that may be, one point becomes clear from this, *viz.*, that *B.* was long anterior to Śaṅkara and Surêśvara: for *B.'s* teaching by then had been, in certain respects, forgotten.[64] Another fact of importance is that Surêśvara thought it worth his while to cite *B.* in his favour. Whatever *B.* might have taught, it is clear that his name carried weight with the *Vedantins* at the time: and the expounders of *Vedanta* found it useful to quote his authority in support of their own views. This attitude of regard on the part of Surêśvara bears out the relative antiquity of *B.* With the information available, it seems we may also determine the superior limit of his date. In the very beginning of passage 10 of *Bṛ. Up.* (I, iv), the word *brahma* occurs and Śaṅkara in his commentary notices two interpretations of this word, both of which he discards before giving his own explanation of it. Ânanda-jñâna

59 *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 623. st. 948; p. 1837, st. 706 ff. See also Saṅkara on *Bṛ. Up.* (p. 190).

60 See *e.g.*, Śaṅkara on *Vedânta-sûtrâs*, I, i, 4.

61 *Bṛ. Up.*, I, iv, 15.

62 See *e.g.*, *Tîkâ* on *Vartika*, p. 666, st. 1164.

63 See *Vârtika* p. 666, st. 1165.

64 In note 9 above, it was stated that *B.'s* commentary was in all probability known to Surêśvara and even to Ânanda-jñâna. This need not clash with the present statement that *B's* doctrine, in some of its details, was differently understood by different interpreters at the time. Witness variations of view among the followers of Śaṅkara regarding his teaching.

in his gloss refers the first of these to the *Vṛtti-kara*, and the other to *B.*[65] In his gloss on the corresponding passage in the *Vârtika*,[66] he makes the *Vṛtti-kâra's* view the *pûrva-pakṣa* or *prima facie* view leading to *B.'s* interpretation. If it thus involves a reference to the view of the *Vṛtti-kâra*, it follows that *B.* should have flourished after him.[67]

This is perhaps the best place to allude to a point of some biographical interest touching *B.* He seems to have been a devotee of *Agni-vaiśvânara*[68] and Surêśvara has more than once a gibe at him in reference to it.[69] But it is not clear what exactly is the significance of this allusion. It may be that it refers to what was a noticeable feature of *B.'s* creed in life; for his doctrine, as we know, lays stress on the importance of *Hiraṇya-garbha*,—identifiable with *Agni*,[70]—in the penultimate stage of a *Vedantin's* training. Further since Surêśvara pointedly draws attention to a *vara* or 'boon' received by *B.* through the *prasâda* or 'grace' of *Agni*,[71] we may also probably conclude that *B.* recognised in some form the doctrine of *bhakti*—a doctrine which does not find any considerable place in Śaṅkara's *Advaita*.

VI.

The resemblance between the *Sâṁkhya* and the doctrine of *B.* is noteworthy. There is, of course, this important distinction that while *B.'s Vedânta* is monistic and idealistic, the *Sâṁkhya* is dualistic and realistic. Barring this distinction, there is a general similarity in the philosophic standpoint of the two. Both are theories of *pariṇâma*, though in the *Sâṁkhya*, it is the *Prakṛti* that evolves, and here it is *Brahman*. In the process of evolution, according to both, the ultimate reality becomes differentiated into the manifold things of experience which are both identical with and different from it. The parallelism extends beyond this general standpoint to details also :—

1. Though the conception of the *antaryâmin* can have no place in atheistic *Sâṁkhya*, it has something more or less corresponding to it in the sister system of *Yoga*.[72] The *sâkṣins* of *B.* are practically the *Puruṣas* of the *Sâṁkhya* and the *avyâkṛta*, its *Prakṛti*. The *sûtra* again may be identified with *mahat*[73] since, as *buddhi*, it is the pre-eminent element in the *liṅga-śarîra*, though for a complete equivalent of it we shall have to take along with it the eleven *indriyas* (*devatâs*)[74] and the five *tanmâtras*. When the gross elements emerge from the last, we have the *virâj*—the visible vesture of the cosmic soul. This comparison, it will be noticed, breaks down in the case of two of the eight *avasthâs* recognised by *B.*, and only one out of the twenty-five principles known to the *Sâṁkhya*. The lack of anything corresponding to *jâti* and *piṇḍa* in the *Sâṁkhya* system is significant. It has in all probability to be explained by the supposition that, while *B.'s* scheme includes not only the *samaṣṭi-sṛṣṭi* but also the *vyaṣṭi-sṛṣṭi*, the *Sâṁkhya* concerns itself only with one of them. This deficiency

65 See *Tîkâ* on *Bṛ. Up. Bhâṣya* (p. 152). 66 p. 671, st. 1189.

67 The suggestion of T. M. Tripâthi in his Introduction (p. xv) that *B.* is the *Vṛtti-kara* is thus beside the mark. (See note 1 above.)

68 This is merely the personification of *tejas*—the first creation, *Ch. Up.*, VI, ii, 3.

69 *Cf.*, for example, *Vârtika*, I, iv, 490, 700, 701, etc. 70 See *Bṛ. Up.*, I, i and ii, as also I, iv, 15.

71 See *Vârtika*, p. 1164, st. 98, p. 1236, st. 136. Compare generally in this connection the speculations contained in the *Agni-rahasya* (*Satapatha Br.* X), wherein also occurs the name of Śâṇḍilya associated from very early times with the doctrine of *bhakti*.

72 *Cf.* *Vârtika*, p. 1286, st. 38.

73 The *Mâṭhara-vṛtti*, for instance, equates *mahat* with *Hiraṇya-garbha*. See under *Kârikâ* 22, Benares edition.

74 See *Sâṁkhya pravacana-bhâṣya*, II, 18.

in the *Sâṁkhya* scheme throws light on what has always been a matter of some perplexity to scholars, *viz.*, whether its *tattvas* are cosmic or individual.[75] The comparison here instituted suggests that the whole of the *Sâṁkhya* scheme is in reality cosmic only and that the adjuncts of the individual *Puruṣas*—their subtle and gross bodies—are further *pariṇâmas* as *jâti* and *piṇḍa* are from *virâj*. If this conjecture is right, it will be easy to see that the dropping of the idea of the cosmic soul, at some stage, transformed an originally cosmic scheme of *tattvas*[76] into one having reference to individuals only and the introduction into the evolutionary series of *ahaṁ-kâra*,[77] to which nothing corresponds in *B.'s* doctrine, led to the definite emergence of classical *Sâṁkhya*. The word *mahat* with its cosmic significance though often replaced by *buddhi*—the adjunct of an individual—is still there to disclose the course of this transformation.

2. A familiar point in the *Sâṁkhya* doctrine is what is known as *prakṛti-laya*[78], which is the designation for the condition reached by one that has succeeded in realising the nature of *Prakṛti* but has not distinguished it from *Puruṣa*. In this condition the *Puruṣa* has neither pain nor pleasure, and so far, it agrees with what *B.* terms *antarâlâvasthâ*, to which allusion has been made already. There may be points of difference between the two, but the coincidence is still striking.

3. Both according to the *Sâṁkhya* and the doctrine of *B.* the knowledge of the ultimate truth—acquired in the one case mainly through Reason and in the other mainly through Revelation—is only mediate ; and this knowledge, being, as already stated, not adequate to remove the wrong convictions on which our empirical activity is founded, has in both cases to be transformed into immediate knowledge through meditation.[79]

4. The *Sâṁkhya* describes the evolution of *Prakṛti* as designed to bring about *bhoga* or *apavarga*. The emphasis laid upon *bhoga* as a preliminary to *apavarga* may suggest a kinship with the *kâma-pradhvaṁsa-vâda* as in the case of *B.'s* doctrine. But in the form in which the *Sâṁkhya-Yoga* teaching has come down to us, *virakti* is explicitly traced, as in Śaṅkara's *Advaita*, to *doṣa-darśana* in the objects of our desire.[80] Hence we cannot point to this as another feature common to the two doctrines we are considering. But it probably suggests some original connection of the *Sâṁkhya* with the theory of *kama-pradhvaṁsa*.

We may conclude by drawing attention to the confirmation which this inquiry brings to the conclusion already reached by some like Deussen, that the *Sâṁkhya* is an off-shoot of the teaching of the *Upaniṣads*. We may assume that there was from very early times a dualistic interpretation of those works like the monistic one. This view also by the way satisfactorily accounts for the comparatively large number of references to the *Sâṁkhya* in the *Sûtras* of *Bâdarâyaṇa*. It would perhaps be not far from correct to say that one of the foremost aims—albeit a negative one—of *Bâdarâyaṇa* in composing the *Vedânta-Sûtras* was to refute the view that the realistic and dualistic *Sâṁkhya* was the teaching of the *Upaniṣads*.

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75 See, for example, Max Muller's *Six Systems*, pp. 246-7 : Deussen : *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, pp. 242 ff.

76 See *Sâṁkhya-pravacana-bhaṣya*, iii, 9-10.

77 *Cf.* Deussen : *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, p. 245.

78 See *Kârikâ*, 45. *Sâṁkhya-pravacana*, ii, 51.

79 See *Sâmkhya-Kârika*, 64

80 See *Sâṁkhya-pravacana-bhâṣya*, iv. 27-8, and *Yoga-sûtra Bhâṣya*, ii, 15.

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES AND CUSTOMS OF THE PARSEES, by JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., PH.D., C.I.E., British India Press, Mazagon, Bombay, 1922.

This is a valuable work on Zoroastrian ceremonies and customs, which will serve as an authoritative work of reference, not only to the Parsis themselves, but also to European scholars engaged in the study of Avesta and Pahlavi texts. The author states that the book is the outcome of the work on Parsi ceremonies and customs, which he undertook for Dr. Hastings' monumental *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, and that, in consideration of the numerous points which arise from time to time for decision both in the sphere of historical research and in the domain of the law, he has omitted no detail of value and has made the book as exhaustive as possible. The whole subject has been divided into five principle heads, *viz.*, Socio-religious ceremonies, Purification ceremonies, Initiation, Consecration, and Liturgical ceremonies. It is needless to remark that the book is a mine of information, based upon the careful researches of a lifetime and presented with all the authority attaching to one who is a past master of Iranian lore. It is furnished with an ample index.

S. M. EDWARDES.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY IN INDIA, 1920-21, by SIR JOHN MARSHALL, Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1923.

This annual review of the work of the Archæological Survey of India marks the commencement of a new epoch in the history of the Department. For under the constitutional reforms inaugurated in 1920-21, the entire cost of the Department and of all its activities is to be borne by the Central Government, and, although the Local Governments still remain in executive control of the provincial staffs, they act in this respect as the agents of the Imperial Government. Moreover, the officers of the department are now to confine their attention to those monuments only which have been declared "protected", and which have been accepted as a central charge by the Government of India. As these monuments number in all 2,500, the average number in charge of each of the eight Superintendents of Archæology will be roughly 312,—a by no means inconsiderable burden.

Under the main head of Conservation, the Director-General reports that the restoration of the *dalans* or cloisters which originally bounded the enclosure of the Taj Mahal is rapidly nearing completion, and the photographs in Plate I at the end of the Report show how greatly the appearance of the enclosure has thereby been improved. The tomb of Akbar at Sikandarah has likewise been improved by the restoration of the eastern one of the four great causeways, and Sir John Marshall expresses his regret, which will be shared by many, that owing to extensive dilapidation and lack of funds the northern causeway cannot be similarly treated. Important work was also carried out on the tomb of Asaf Khan, Jahangir's Prime Minister, and on the domed ceiling of the crypt of Jahangir's tomb, and on several other important historical relics in the Panjab, United Provinces, and Bengal. In the Rajgir valley in Bihar an effort was made "to preserve certain curious and as yet undecipherable inscriptions in the so-called Shell Character, which occur on a rocky pathway running through the vale," while in the Southern Circle special attention was paid to the Krishnagiri Fort in Salem District, which, situated on a bare and lofty mass of gneiss, twice repulsed British attempts to take it by storm. It was only on the ratification of the treaty of Seringapatam that the fort passed into British hands, and a garrison was established, which was maintained "until its final abandonment, owing to an accident, in 1801, when Captain Henry Smith and many of the garrison were destroyed by the blowing up of the magazine."

The repair of the famous Ajanta frescoes was an achievement of more than common interest. Under the auspices and at the expense of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, two Italian experts, Professor Cecconi and Count Orsini, were engaged to execute the necessary repairs; and despite the difficulties of the problem, the patience and skill of the restaurateurs have succeeded in re-affixing the paintings to the rock in a manner likely to endure for some centuries to come. Another useful achievement was the restoration of the ancient staircase leading up to the main *stupa* at Jamalgarhi in the Frontier Circle.

Exploration was carried out at Harappa in the Panjab and resulted in the discovery, *inter alia*, of two seals, which, like the seal originally published by Cunningham, exhibit the device of a bull without the hump and "legends in the same inscrutable script, to which we have as yet no manner of clue." Further excavation, together with other relics thus brought to light, indicate that the Harappa seals and their pictographic legends belong to the pre-Mauryan epoch. At Taxila, which under Sir John Marshall's guidance has already yielded so many important data, exploration was resumed at the city of Sirkap and at the earlier city on the Bhir Mound. Previous excavations at the latter site had already revealed three distinct strata of buildings, to which must now be added a fourth and still later stratum, containing a few scattered remains, which Sir John Marshall assigns to the 3rd or 4th century B.C. The stratum next below it, which contains the

majority of the buildings already excavated. must be placed in the 4th or 5th century B.C. Sir John Marshall discusses also the character and purpose of the curious "pillars" and narrow "wells." which are salient features of the Bhir Mound, and leaves no room for doubt that the "wells" were soak-pits for the disposal of sullage. The use of the "pillars" still remains undetermined. One of the "wells" was packed with earthern vessels of all shapes and sizes, all upside down and obviously laid there with some care, precisely as earthenware vessels. kerosene tins etc., are used in modern soak-pits, to prevent the pit from collapsing, while at the same time permitting the sullage to soak in without hindrance. Plates XV to XVII at the end of the Report give excellent illustrations of some of the smaller relics found in the buildings of the Bhir Mound.

Two very important sculptures were discovered near Muttra, United Provinces. One of these. 6 feet in height, represents a Kushan King, seated on a throne, and is in perfect preservation, including head and headdress. in contrast to the other known statues of that dynasty. . The dress resembles that in the statue of Wima Kadphises, and the headdress is the high conical cap, evidently of Central or West Asiatic origin. which appears on several heads at Muttra and in certain early Indian bas-reliefs. It is hoped that further examination of this statue may reveal an epigraph of the royal name on the pedestal. The other statue is that of a female. carved in the round and now worshipped as Manasa Devi in a modern temple. Between the feet of the statue is an inscription in Brahmi characters, identical in part with the inscription on the Parkham statue. The reading and interpretation have not yet been clearly determined, but are likely to prove of the highest historical interest. In the Bogra District an interesting ruin was closely surveyed at Mahasthangarh. which Cunningham identified with the ancient city of Paundra-vardhana, and was found to show traces of walls constructed of bricks measuring between 10 and 15 inches. and therefore to be of great antiquity. Proper excavation of the site, as soon as funds are available, will very likely yield important results. At Nalanda the most important find of the year was a large copper-plate inscribed on both sides with a long and important record of King Devapaladeva, the third representative of the famous Pala dynasty of Eastern India. The record contains certain lines glorifying "the ambassador Bala-Varma and his liege-lord Sri Balaputradeva, king of Suvarnadvipa," which Pandit Hirananda Shastri identifies with the modern Sumatra. This identification is strengthened by the fact that Balaputradeva is styled grandson of the king of Yavabhumi. which is evidently Java; and "as" in the words of Sir John Marshall, "the epigraph shows that King Devapaladeva granted these villages and apparently built this monastery of Nalanda at the instance of this king of Sumatra, interesting political questions of the 9th century are involved. which Pandit Hirananda Shastri promises to work out in a separate contribution to the *Epigraphia Indica* in due course."

The Report contains most interesting sections on important exploratory work carried out in Arakan and on discoveries made in several Indian States, while the gist of several hitherto unpublished inscriptions is furnished in the epigraphical sections. Among the latter may be noted a new inscription of Kanishka's reign. dated in the Kushan year 23, which, when read with the Mathura Yupa inscription of Vasishka. further shortens the interval hitherto known to exist between these two kings, who came to the throne one after another. Another new record of King Karna of the Chedi dynasty of Dahala enables the first regnal year of that king to be definitely fixed at A.D. 1052-53. There are many other points of the highest interest in this valuable Report, which should find its way into the hands of every student of Indian history and antiquities, and one can only hope that the activities of Sir John Marshall's Department will be as valuable under the new arrangements introduced with the political reforms as they have been during the past fifteen years. The Report is, as usual, embellished with good photographic plates.

S. M. Edwardes.

A History of Ancient and Modern Festivals of the Aryans by Ṛgvedi.

A most interesting book, especially to the student of comparative religion and ancient history. A very readable book, written in choice Gujarati, and in which the flow of the narrative is not unduly arrested by the introduction of Sanskritisms. There are, however, numerous printer's errors. And lastly, a very opportune book, if, as noted in the preface, the hesitancy of the 5th standard boy as regards the sequence of Daśerâ and Divâḷî be characteristic of the general want of knowledge of the rising Hindu generation concerning their festivals and the origin and meaning of those festivals. Much as if an English boy were doubtful whether Easter preceded or followed Whitsuntide.

The author, in his preface, classifies Hindu festivals in respect of their origin as (1) seasonal; (2) historical; (3) domestic. But in the body of the book the detailed description of each festival proceeds in its monthly sequence, commencing with the month of Chaitra (March-April), and its place in the prefatory classification is duly discussed and determined.

Our author treats of forty-three festivals in all. He states for each the method of observance and the rites prescribed by the *Śâstras* on the one hand, and the present-day vogue on the other hand. Divergent practices, prevailing in different

parts of India, are duly set out. Historical references are then given, myths and legends are discussed and inferences drawn as regards the origin and development in process of time of a festival, or a change in its character and observance. A most important part of the book consists of those sections in which the author sets forth the moral to be drawn from the valorous deeds and the righteous actions of the central figures of worship, and makes suggestions as to the use to which such festivals might be put to the public advantage. Thus, in dealing with the Râmanavamî, the festival, according to the author's views, of the deified prince Râma, whose exploits are celebrated in the *Râmâyaṇa* epic, Râma's prowess as a warrior and right conduct as a man, Sîtâ's fortitude and chastity and Janaka's wisdom and polity are dwelt on. Or, in treating of the Mahâ Ekâdaśî festival, he advocates the holding of exhibitions and public meetings, the establishment of museums and libraries, the provision of play-grounds, where cricket, football and other games could be played, cinematograph representations of the deeds of the deified heroes and holy men of the past, and so forth, in connexion with this and other festivals. Thus will the national spirit, he says, be fostered, the national material wealth be increased and attention be directed to the deeds of glory and piety of the Past.

The author has approached his task with a broad mind. He claims to take up no particular doctrinal standpoint of Hinduism, and he invites criticism, apparently with special reference to the historical portion of his work, in the compilation of which his intimate knowledge of Vedic and Puranic lore has stood him in good stead.

As instances of his liberal views the following may be cited. He describes Viṣṇu and Indra as Aryan warriors, who took an active part in the conquest of India, who were first revered as ancestors and subsequently became deified. He writes : "Kṛṣṇa was born, lived and died, as other men came to life, lived their lives and passed away." Vâmana, he thinks, was no dwarf, but a very clever Aryan, who with his followers encroached on the dominion of the Daitya King Bali and finally drove him out of the land. Hanumâna he takes to have been a non-Aryan warrior chief, who in the lapse of time attained to Godhood. And so on, and so on.

That this treatment represents a great advance over the narrow-mindedness of Hindu Orthodoxy, we will all admit. When, however, we forsake the safe oasis of the divine origin of the gods, we are cast out into the arid wastes of Mythology with its mirages of History. We may, if we be fortunate, arrive at some other pleasant and stable foot-hold, or we may not. The ancient history of India knows not chronology and is for the most part inextricably interwoven with myth and legend. The author suggests that an attempt be made to unravel the mystery, but if the chronological key be missing, we can only peep through the rents and holes of the door which veils the Past. At most we must be satisfied with plausible inferences, and we are never certain that even the small substratum of facts, which appears to underlie the incubus of myth and legend, may not have been altered in the telling to lend colour to the mythical and legendary matter. Take Viṣṇu and Indra. The author considers that they were Aryan warriors of the Deva clan or clans, who first fought with their kinsmen, the Daityas or Indo-Iranians or Persians and then colonized the Panjab. The very origin of the Daityas, the descendants of Diti, one of the thirteen daughters of Dakṣa, is enveloped in myth. These thirteen fair maidens married the equally mythical or remotely semi-historical Kaśyapa, and some of them, according to some *Purâṇas*, were the ancestresses of beasts as well as of men. If we concede, as perhaps we may, that the Aditya-Devas fought with the Daityas, we have still very slender ground for holding that the god Viṣṇu, who subsequently superseded Indra as the chief Aryan god, was the warrior who led the Aryans into India. There were probably many Viṣṇus, as there were, as the author admits, many Indras. That Viṣṇu again was instrumental in the advance eastwards, from a consideration of the mere fact that he is called Sârangpâṇi ('armed with a bow'), while poor Indra had only his club (*vajra*) for close combat, is interesting, but hardly convincing. It must further be noted that Indra is a very ancient Aryan god. His name is found along with those of Mitra, Varuṇa and the Nâsatyas in the Boghaz-Këui tablets of 1400 B.C. in Anatolia. As Mr. Pargiter, on credible grounds, fixes the presence of Aryan Kings in India as long ago as 2100 B.C., it seems to follow that the original Indra could not have led the Aryans into India. He must have existed as a god or deified hero before 2100 B.C. in Anatolia for his memory to have been retained by those Aryans, who stayed on in the Anatolian home, while the bulk of the horde passed on through Persia to India. Incidentally it may be remarked that the derivation of Sura from Surâ, the Soma-juice, is, to say the least of it, doubtful. That the oldest part of the Veda speaks of the Devas or Aryan gods (? deified ancestors) as Asuras, and that the Equation *a-sura* = non-'sura' is one of later date. The Indo-Iranian gods or deified heroes no doubt were termed *ahuras* (= *asuras*). Subsequently when the Indian Asuras split up into tribes and came to be known by their tribal names, *Asura* became a term of reproach, reminiscent of the hated Indo-Iranians, and was applied in that sense to non-Aryans.

The book under review claims to be an account of the festivals of the "Aryans". It would have been as well to define more clearly the term "Aryan". Perhaps the author applies the term to Aryans proper *and* their mixed progeny, and uses the term "non-Aryan" for those pre-Aryan and present-existing races, which were not conquered by the Indo-Aryan. It must always be remembered that the ethnological (and more especially the craniological) evidence shows that Aryan penetration of India was strongest in the Panjab, that a mixed Aryo-Dravidian race arose in the Ganges Delta, that the semi-Dravidian, semi-Mongolian East (Bengal) received a sparse Aryan infiltration, and that southwards, Aryan colonization reached its furthest limits in the Deccan plateau. It is probable therefore on *prima facie* grounds that non-Aryan religious cults continued to flourish in the East and South, that they influenced Aryan belief, especially in the Gangetic Delta, as well as that they were influenced by them, and that in seeking to elucidate the evolution of Śiva from the Vedic Rudra, or the vermilion-daubed Hanumân-stone of Maharâṣṭra from the man-ape of the *Râmâyaṇa*, we must take due account of the interaction of these conflicting religious standpoints. We should not, it is submitted, neglect the vestiges of animal and fetish worship where they are apparent, and seek to give an "Aryan" gloss to what were clearly non-Aryan practices assimilated into the high-developed philosophical creed of Brahman Pandits. Thus, while the author admits that phallic worship was grafted on to Śaivism, we have no clear exposition of the non-Aryan character of the rapid growth of Pârvati, the gentle 'Maid of the Mountain,' into the fierce, tiger-riding Durgâ, or the terrible Kâḷî, to whom human sacrifice was dear. We may suspect here that orthodox Brahmanism compromised with local and non-Aryan sects, as it does at the present day, and that it has added a theological tinge to horrible and revolting savagery.

Nor is the evolution of Śiva from a mere epithet, or epithets, satisfactorily accounted for. That Rudra, a storm god, or a god presiding over cattle and medicinal herbs, is called Śiva (auspicious) in the Ṛg Veda is true enough. But Rudra was an entirely subordinate Vedic Deity, and the hymns to him are few. A god similar to Rudra may have been worshipped by "thieves, robbers and mountaineers generally," but he could hardly have been the Vedic Rudra, as the author asserts. The author says that they conceived of their god as garlanded with skulls, inhabiting cemeteries and clothed in deer-skins. Śaivism appears to be a medley of non-Aryan cults, to which a Brahmanical linking up with the Vedic Rudra, who served as a prototype of the god, and the elaboration of Puranic legends, gave a more or less composite appearance. Yet when all is said and done, phallic worship still remains the most prominent form in which the god is publicly and privately propitiated, and it is in that worship, against which the Vedic Aryans strove and prayed to their gods not to allow the followers of the *Śiśna deva* to interrupt their sacrifices, that we should probably seek for the effective and principal origin of the Śaiva cult.

The author has, in treating of the Mahâ Ekâdaśî, given a very interesting account of the development of Vaishnavism, which may be summed up as follows: Viṣṇu in Vedic times was a sun god, but inferior in power to Indra, Varuṇa, Savitar and Agni. The *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa* has it that Indra cut off Viṣṇu's head. The *Purâṇas* added fables about Viṣṇu's three strides (in the Vâmana incarnation) and adopted the ethical thesis that Viṣṇu became repeatedly incarnate to punish the wicked. Nara and Nârayaṇa were two Ṛsis, who performed severe penances. The Vâsudeva creed was current in India in Patañjali's and Pânini's time, before Brahmâ, Viṣṇu and Śiva were canonized. When Śrî Kṛṣṇa recited the Gîtâ, Vâsudeva, Nârayaṇa and Viṣṇu were not considered to be one and the same god. In process of time Kṛṣṇa himself was deified and came to be considered as Bhagvâna, Vâsudeva and Viṣṇu. The Bhâgvata or Vâsudeva creed developed into philosophical Hinduism, through the Advaita and Dvaita phases (Śankarâchârya, Râmânuja, Râmânanda, Madhavâchârya) up to the 15th century Chaitanya (a Kṛṣṇa *bhakat*), who is nowadays considered to be an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa; Vaishnavism attained its highest pinnacle as a practical creed in the theism of the *bhakti* school. To turn now to the seasonal festivals. Several are held in Chaitra, which marks the commencement of Spring. There is the Sanvatsara Pratipadâ, when the village is beflagged, choice foods are partaken of and in some places children are presented with new clothes. House-to-house parties are given, the poor are fed, and the day is spent in general jollity and mirth.

Another important seasonal festival, coming down from post-Vedic times and connected with the worship of Varuṇa as Neptune, is the Nâraḷi Purnimâ, when cocoanuts are thrown into the ocean in the month of August as a propitiatory rite. In ancient times sea-voyages were not forbidden. Witness the colonization of Sumatra and Java by Indians. The author says that the moral to be drawn from the observance of the festival is, that not by adopting "the condition of frogs cooped up in a well" will India progress. "Take," says he, "from our ancestors attachment to the truth, kindness to all creatures, love, unselfishness, spiritual conduct, and attachment to wisdom: from the new, courage, zeal, enterprise and industriousness."

The Daśerâ in October is another important seasonal festival. The author adopts the view

that it was in its inception a Harvest Home festival, and that subsequently it became a horse festival of the Rajputs. In Northern India dramatic representations of the sack of Lankâ are held. In the Deccan the cattle and horses are garlanded and paraded. Before the *pax Britannica* came, the Daserâ marked the appropriate time for starting on wars and forays. It may, however. be noted that the horse was held in high esteem by the ancient Indo-Aryans, worshipped as Dadhikra was in Vedic times, and credited with miraculous powers. Witness Uchchaiśravas, Indra's horse. Aśvamedhas or horse sacrifices were celebrated by conquering monarchs, and worship of horses and weapons was prescribed in the *Śâstras.* It is possible that we have here the blending of two festivals into one, rather than the development of one out of the other.

A fourth important seasonal festival is the Divâḷî, of the origin and development of which our author gives a very lucid and interesting account. He shows that in its present-day aspect it embraces three ancient festivals—(1) the Pârvaṇa, or worship of ancestors; Yama, now worshipped and propitiated at the Divâḷî to avert untimely death, having been in pre-Vedic times the great ancestor and protector of men, who pointed the way to Heaven. This explains why lighted torches are now lit on the *amâsa* night of Divâḷî and lamps placed outside the house next morning. (2) Aśvayuji or the full moon day of the month of Aśvin. In ancient times sacrifices of butter and curds were made to Indra and his wife Sîtâ, the goddess of Agriculture. In Puranic times Lakṣmi, as the wife of Viṣṇu (who superseded Indra) took the place of Sîtâ, and later on Kṛṣṇa, as the incarnation of Viṣṇu, became connected in fable with the Divâḷî. Hence the explanation of the present-day worship of Lakṣmi at the Divâḷî, of the gambling which is carried on far into the night and of the worship of account books by bankers and traders. Reminiscent of Sîtâ and the agricultural phase of the festival is the worship of cows, the lighting up of the cow-pens and horse-stalls and the oblation of grain before partaking of the new harvest's yield. (3) Agrâyana, when in ancient times sacrifices were made to the goddess of the Seasons at the commencement of the year in Spring. In later times the Divâḷî marked the commencement of the New Year and is spent with great rejoicings as a Harvest Home. Hence the lighting-up of the roads and houses with lanterns which is a marked characteristic of the festival, can be explained as of tri-partite origin.

The last of the seasonal festivals to be noticed is the Hoḷi occurring in March. The author rejects as a Puranic fairy tale, the story of Kṛṣṇa's slaying of the ogress Putnâ, and the idea that the Hoḷi bonfire is symbolical of the burning of that lady. He takes the sensible view that the Hoḷi is a festival to mark the close of the cold season and the approach of Spring, which has its counterpart all over the world (*e.g.*, the Roman Lupercalia, etc., etc.). Of the domestic festivals or rites noticed by our author, several are observed by women alone, *e.g.*, the Vaṭa Sâvitrî. On this occasion the *ficus indica* is worshipped by married women to ensure long life to their husbands. The Sâvitrî of the pretty and affecting legend, connected with this rite. was the daughter of a king named Aśvapati. The significance of the fig tree worship connected with this story and of the fig leaves with which the houses are decked is ambiguous. Sâvitrî, it is stated, resided in the jungle in a hermit's *aśrama* when she had set forth in search of a husband. Can there be here a reminiscence of tree worship?

One important festival, the Nâga-pañchamî, is considered by our author to be merely religious in origin. He rejects the Puranic story of Kṛṣṇa and Kâliya (a Nâga chief); also the story of the Manipur cultivator who in ploughing his field killed the young snakes and had thus to do penance to the snakes. He notes, however, that in Bengal a snake-goddess named Mansâ, sister of Śeṣa (the world serpent) and the wife of a Ṛṣi, is portrayed as a golden-hued woman, surrounded by and standing on snakes. She is worshipped by an oblation of curds, milk, ghee and grain, and milk is placed under trees for snakes all and sundry to drink. He is aware that Nâga temples exist, especially in the South of India; that in Bihâr low caste women impersonate snakes and collect charity. He cannot say when the worship of snakes arose, but adds that 2500 years ago it was prevalent among the "Aryans" and that seven snake sacrifices were enjoined in ancient times for warding off harm from snakes. He thinks that snakes in olden times were accounted lords of wealth and protectors of the homestead, and that hence they came to be worshipped in material form.

But his statement that such worship arose out of a mistake made in confusing the allegory of the "5 breaths" of the *Śâstras* with the actual five-hooded cobra, looks like putting the cart before the horse. Have we not here in the *Śâstras* the theological gloss of the Brahman who had to accept the wide spread snake worship of the non-Aryan? Why does Viṣṇu recline on a snake, and how explain the snake-necklace of Śiva or the snake girdle of Gaṇapati? What of the *Yajurveda* and its songs to be sung at sacrifices to ingratiate snakes? The rites prescribed by the *Śâstras* themselves enjoin worship of an image or drawing of a snake and the feeding of it with an oblation of curds, milk, ghi and grain. The Nâgas of Puranic fable are spoken of as human in their actions. Takṣaka, the great "snake" king, Vâsuki and all

Kadru's brood, Vṛtra, the dragon slain by Indra, etc., etc. Ṛṣis married "snake" maidens and "snakes" took to themselves humans as wives.

The Nâgas were a powerful aboriginal race in Northern India, and were driven back by the Aryan conquest into the hills. Their descendants are alive at the present day. It is unlikely that man commenced to worship snakes, because they were struck with wonder at them as the creation of the Deity, as our author asserts. They were probably propitiated at first out of fear. Later on, when harmless snakes were seen to exist, they were worshipped as protectors of the homestead and cattle pen. This non-Aryan cult was adopted into Brahmanism and fable did the rest in associating the Aryan gods and their *avatâras* with snakes. We have here, in all probability, another instance of a compromise between a higher religion and animal worship, and possibly totemism. For the Nâga people may have called themselves after the snake, which they worshipped, much as the Red Indians are called "Bears", etc. The author's statement that the Dravidians in the South like the "Aryans" in the North worshipped snakes takes no account of the fact that there were "Dravidians" in the North, from whom the Aryan invaders or their mixed Aryo-Dravidian progeny adopted many non-Aryan beliefs and usages.

In conclusion, and before taking leave of our author, one or two points of general interest may be noticed. The author states that no religion other than the Hindu has recognized time as eternal. He claims that by representing Brahmâ's life by immense numbers, the Ṛṣis meant to indicate eternity. That may well be. But so did the Greeks when they postulated Chronos, old Father Time, as reigning before the Olympians, and the Christian religion maintains that God is from everlasting to everlasting.

Again, in his account of the Dolotsava, or festival when the idols of the gods are decked out and placed on swing-cots, the author asserts that idol worship was introduced into Brahmanism from the practices of the Buddhists, who made images of Buddha and set them up in their *Vihâras*. This statement is of doubtful authority. It is true that in process of time idol worship was introduced into Buddhism in its decline, say a century or so after Christ; much as Roman Catholicism sanctions the veneration of images of Christ and the Virgin Mary. But that pre-Buddhistic Hinduism had no idols is questionable. The second *maṇḍala* of the Ṛg Veda describes a painted image of Rudra and images of the Mâruts are referred to elsewhere in that Veda. In the old language there is a word (*sandris*) which properly denotes an image of the gods (Muir, *O.S.T.V.*, 453). Sun temples existed in the time of the *Mahâbhârata* and the *Râmâyaṇa*. The *Purâṇas* deal with the question of how the sun's image should be made. The *śâlagrâma* of Viṣṇu is mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata*. The *Vâyu*, one of the oldest *Purâṇas* and in its original rescension pre-Buddhistic, deals with *liṅga* worship, in which the *liṅgam*, the *yôni* and the bull Nandi were the outward and visible objects of adoration. In Patanjali's time *liṅga* worship took place in temples to Śiva. When man's mind once conceives of the Deity, or supernatural Power as possessing anthropomorphic form, or as indwelling in material objects, it is but a step for his hands to give to his thoughts material shapes as aids to his devotion or as charms to ward off evil or to induce benefits. Tree worship and animal worship prevailed among the non-Aryans, with whom the Aryan invaders came into conflict and with whom they eventually assimilated. When all the above is borne in mind it seems probable that image worship was not unknown to Brahmanism before Buddha. It may be conceded that the public worship of images became more general after the decay of Buddhism and the establishment of numerous public Hindu temples. But decadent Buddhism can hardly be charged with suggesting image worship to the Brahmans, who were already imbued with the idea and had practised it in *private* worship, while the non-Aryan had practised it in *public*.

W. DODERET.

THE ARAB CONQUESTS IN CENTRAL ASIA, by H. A. R. GIBB, School of Oriental Studies, London. Royal Asiatic Society (Forlong Bequest), 1923.

The effect of the War on literary studies is very plain still. Quite lately in reviewing a work on the *Glass Palace Chronicle* of Burma, I noticed that the extensive notes of the author had to be laid aside because the Society which published the text was financially unable to publish the notes also. So all the reader could get was the bare Chronicle unannotated. In this case exactly the same thing has happened. In order to get his text printed, the author has had to cut out the extensive references he had collected, so as to keep down the cost of publication and to meet the finances of another Society. Such a state of affairs is a matter for great regret. In this case, too, much besides the references has also had to be omitted, so that we have not even a map of a little known region.

The regret is all the greater, because the subject matter of the book deals with a period of which all the certain information possible is urgently required, since it covers the early Arab conquests in Central Asia—their doings in fact in the centuries immediately following the introduction of Islam. As it stands therefore, the book is merely the dry bones of history, but its importance to the student is clear from the contents list—the early raids, the conquests of Qutayba, the Turkish counterstroke and the reconquest of Transoxiana. I sympathise with the author in the difficulties he has found in securing a publisher for all the good and useful work he has done.

R. C. TEMPLE.

English.

232. In September 1617 the *Bee* (Captain John Hatch), one of a fleet under Captain Martin Pring in the service of the East India Company, captured two Interlopers (or unlicensed traders), *viz.*, the *Francis* (Captain Samuel Newse, sent out by Sir Robert Rich) and the *Lion* (Captain Thomas Jones, sent out by Philip Bernardoe of London), together with a great Surat ship belonging to the Mother of the Great Mughal, which they had chased and were preparing to plunder (Kerr, IX, 453, and Pring to the Company, dated Royal James, Swally Road, 12th November 1617, Ind. Off., O.C. 564).

233. On the 4th March 1618 the Reverend Patrick Copland wrote home that his ship the *Royal James* had taken two English pirates (evidently the *Francis* and the *Lion* just mentioned) in the act of chasing a junk off Gogo. On the 23rd February 1621 John Byrd wrote to the Company that the Commanders of the Company's ships had taken three rich China junks and had sold the booty on their own account instead of that of the Company (*Cal. State Papers, East Indies*). Apparently at this time the Company expected their commanders to cruise as well as trade.

Barbary Rovers.

234. I have already mentioned (*see para.* 192 *above*) that the trade between Portugal and India was harassed in one part of its course by the Barbary Pirates. These latter, by the way, were often called Turkish pirates, for Barbary was under the suzerainty of Turkey, and the chief part of the Turkish fleet was recruited from the Barbary corsairs, who, under their own or under the Turkish flag, attacked the vessels of the Christian nations. On the 10th July 1620 Sir Dudley Carleton wrote to Secretary Naunton that the Dutch East India Company's ship the *Devil of Delft* had, in a fight with seven pirates of Algiers, sunk two and driven off the rest but, having lost 100 men in the struggle, had been compelled to return to Holland. On the 25th October 1621, Sir Walter Aston wrote from Madrid that two Portuguese carracks, when nearing home, had been attacked by seventeen sail of Turkish pirates. One escaped into Lisbon, but the other, valued at three million ducats, after sinking two of the pirate vessels, had herself been set on fire and sunk with all on board by the Turks, when they had given up all hopes of taking her (*Cal. State Papers, East Indies*; Faria, III, 305).

The Red or Bloody Flag.

235. From the very earliest times the colour *red* appears to have been associated with blood and fighting, and the use of the colour in any form by fighting men has denoted either resistance to the death (*i.e.*, No Surrender) or the refusal, if victorious, to show any mercy to the conquered (*i.e.*, No Quarter). When used by a particular officer in the presence of others, it (like the Imperial purple) denoted supreme command, but when displayed only on occasion, it was the signal for attack. From Roman times we have as signs of attack the *purple* cloak of Romulus with which he gave the signal for the rape of the Sabine women, and also the *red* tunic displayed over the tent of a general on the morning of battle. As signs of supreme command we have the Imperial purple, which dates even earlier, and was used in other countries, and the *purple* sails of the galleys which carried the chiefs of a Roman fleet. The earliest mention of the colour as a sign of No Quarter with which I am acquainted is in the case of the rebel Fan-chung or Fan tsung, during the reign of the usurper Wang Mang (9–23 A.D.) in the Province of Shantung in China. He made his followers, as a sign of their ferocity, dye their eyebrows *red*, so that they were known as Chih Mei, *i.e.*, Red or Carnation Eyebrows (Macgowan, pp. 111–114; Staunton in China *Review*, XXI, 159).[52] The earliest

[52] It was used apparently in this way at the Fort of Spin Baldak on the Afghan frontier, when recently attacked by the British. Almost the whole of the garrison were killed (*Times*, 2nd June 1919).

use of *red* as a sign of No Surrender with which I have met is the *red flag* hoisted by the inhabitants of Debal (Karachi) in 711 when they were besieged by the Arabs (Al-Biladuri in Elliott, I. 118-120. *See para.* 18 *above*). In Europe the use of flags (as opposed to ensigns) was apparently not known until the crusades, but it is said that the use of the *red flag* as a sign of war to the death (*i.e.*, No Surrender and No Quarter) was universal amongst seamen before the battle between English and Norman fleets off St. Mahé (or St. Malo) in April 1293 (*Documents inédits*, Brequigny and Champouillon-Figeac, I. 396-7). *Red flags* or banners were used at an early date by the Church for those Saints who had suffered martyrdom (*i.e.*, as symbols of resistance to the death) and when carried in battle (*e.g.*, the Oriflamme or Banner of St. Denis, properly to be used only in conflict with Infidels), those who fought under it could neither give nor take Quarter. The French hoisted the Oriflamme at Cressy in 1346 and the English in reply hoisted the Red Dragon Flag (or Ensign) which meant the same thing, and, being victorious, took no prisoners (Joshua Barnes, Edward III. p. 356: Stow's *Annals*, p. 242). In the year 1310 Tiepolo's fellow conspirators at Venice carried a (? *red*) flag with the device of Libertas on it (Crawford, *Gleanings*, p. 235), and the Florentines, when they joined the anti-papal party in 1375, carried a *crimson* banner with the same device (Okey, Avignon, p. 172). Ordinarily the sign of peace was white, and the white flag was commonly used in the Esat from very early times, but amongst Muhammadans *green* was sometimes substituted. Thus in 1534 or 1535, when the Emperor Humayun, having ordered a general massacre in Mandu, was moved to pity by the singing of the minstrel Bachhu, he changed his *red* garments to *green* and stopped the slaughter. (*Mirat Sikandari*, p. 192: Bayley, *Gujarat*, p. 289.)

In England *red* or *bloody flags* as they were called (*see* Laughton, *State Papers.... Armada*, II. 249) were supplied to English ships as early as 1588, presumably as signals for attack,[53] but *red* was the colour of the flag of the Admiral of the Fleet until 1703 (*Naval Chronicle*, XIV. 376) and it is still the colour of the Commodore's broad pendant. The courtesy rank of Commodore not only belonged to certain King's officers but was assumed by the senior of the commanders whenever a number of merchantmen sailed in company, provided a King's ship was not present. When, in the presence of any other ship a merchant commander hoisted the *red pendant*, it was a claim to superiority, and if that ship was a King's ship it was an act of defiance and a sign of piracy Add to this that almost all Muhammandan States used some kind or other of *red flag* and were perpetually at war with Christians, and we see that the Red Flag as a sign of (1) No Quarter and No Surrender, (2) Liberty and Independence, (3) Attack and Defiance and also as the flag of the enemies of Christianity, was the inevitable flag for European pirates, who boasted that they were enemies of the human race. As such it remained until replaced by the Black flag about the year 1700, and even then it was long used in addition as the sign of No Quarter. The first instance that I have found of the use of the red flag by a professed pirate is the case of the pirate Mandaus (Mendezes) in 1615 when he was attacked and captured by the Danish Admiral Jorgen Daa in the White Sea, but it is not at all clear from the context whether it was used as a piratical sign or simply as the sign of No Surrender (*Life of Jon Olaffsson*, Cap. XVII).[54]

236. The first mention that I have come across of the use of the Red flag in Eastern seas by the English is in 1619. In January of that year Sir Thomas Dale, in command of an English fleet, appeared off Jacatra. "The English hoisted their *bannière rouge* and by a

53 As such it was used in the English and other navies up to the beginning of the 19th century.
54 Communicated to me by Miss Bertha Philpotts, Mistress of Girton College.

trumpet summoned the Dutch to surrender, threatening to attack them if they refused, to which they replied with their cannon." After an indecisive fight in which the English were assisted by the Javanese, they withdrew for reinforcements (*Ambassades Mémorables*, p. 26). In an " Account of the General War the English began against us in December 1618 " (*Hague Manuscript Records*) it is stated :—" We tried to go before the wind as much as possible, but could not reach the English ships, as we anchored at some distance from them. As we saw they all had the *blood flag* hoisted on their stern, ours were hoisted as well." Mr. Arnold Wright, who gave me the above quotation, says the ' bloed vlag ' dates from the Sea Beggars (1568), but, as I have shown, it is of much earlier origin. Sir Thomas displayed his ' bloody colours ' not only to the Dutch but also to the Portuguese, as *e.g.*, on the 13th August 1619 when he met " Don Christofylus de l'Orayne," the Portuguese Admiral, and demanded of him 200,000 dollars " in part satisfaction for losses our Company had received " from the Portuguese. After a long delay, bad weather came on, and it seemed possible that the enemy might escape, so Sir Thomas accepted 70,000 dollars for the Company and 10,000 for the men in his fleet (*Cal. State Papers*, 1620, p. xxi and Ind. Off. *O. C.*, 767). Presumably the Portuguese commander is the Admiral Don Christopher de Noronha mentioned by Faria (III, 281), who was deprived of his command by the Viceroy and sent to Lisbon as a prisoner for his cowardly compliance with the English demands.

Dutch and English.

237. The attacks of the Dutch on the Chinese have already been mentioned. Their cruelty towards their victims excited such indignation amongst their English allies that one can only wonder why the English continued to act in common with them, especially when they must have remembered that the Dutch had so often committed similar atrocities under the English flag. Arnold Brown (*Journal*. Purchas, X, 504) says, under date 26th May 1621 :— " The Dutch frigate fought with a Chinese junk but could not take her : our frigate went up and took her, and the Dutch, coming aboard after they had yielded, killed and made leap overboard to the quantity of 60 or 70, like bloody——————". On the 30th the English, having taken another junk, which had proved too strong for the Dutch, took the precaution to secure the lives of the men by putting them ashore, but even then the Dutch found satisfaction in setting the junk on fire. Robert Fox, in his account of the voyage of the *James* (April to July 1625), mentions the capture of various junks, which the English plundered and then made over to the Dutch (Ind. Off. *Marine Records*, vol. 39).

238. On the 22nd April 1622 the English, under Captains Blyth and Weddell, assisted by a Persian land force, took Ormuz from the Portuguese. Though England was not at war with Spain and Portugal and the Company's ships were acting under their own charter and without any assistance or commission from the Admiralty, the latter demanded a share of the booty, and the Company was forced to pay £10,000 to the King and £10,000 to the Duke of Buckingham, who was Lord High Admiral (Bruce, I, 237 : Low, I, 40).

239. In June 1622 the Dutch Admiral Kornelis Reyerszoon, with 13 ships, attacked the Portuguese Settlement at Macao, but without success (Faria, III, 312 : Ljungstedt, 73).

240. In the same year (and again in 1623) the Mughal Government imprisoned the English factors at Surat, Agra and Ahmadabad, because the Dutch had seized a number of vessels belonging to Gujarat, but by the judicious expenditure of money their explanations were accepted and they were released (Bruce, I, 235 ; *Bomb. Gaz.*, II, 80, 83) On the 13th December 1622 the Spanish Ambassador in London formally complained of piracies committed by the merchants of the East India Company (Rymer's *Foedera*).

241. In 1623 Governor Jan Pieterszoon Coen, on leaving Batavia, advised his successor Pieter de Carpentier to buy as many slaves as possible :—" No greater service can berendered the [Dutch] Company than by going everywhere to find men of any country to populate our country [*i.e.*, Java]. This will be doing service and honour to God and will strengthen the Company in the Indies. Let slaves, especially young men, be bought in all parts of India, where they can be got cheap. Buy thousands ; buy an infinite number. There will never be too many in Batavia " (Dehérain, *Le Cap de Bonne Esperance*, p. 198).

242. It was in 1623 that the Dutch committed the infamous massacre at Amboyna of a number of Englishmen and Japanese, who, they pretended, had plotted to seize their Settlement.

243. In 1624 the Dutch deserted and destroyed their Settlement at Pehou in the Pescadores, and withdrew to Formosa, where the Japanese settlers (*see para.* 213 *above*) foolishly allowed them to establish themselves.[55] (Dubois, p. 150 ; Ljungstedt, p. 33.) According to Brinkley (X, 181) the occupation of Formosa was with the approval of the Chinese, who refused to allow the Dutch to trade in China until they had abandoned the Pescadores.

244 In 1627 the Dutch took the Moluccas from the Portuguese (Abbé Raynal, I, 148).

Portuguese and Spanish.

245. The massacres of native Christians in Japan, owing to their connection with the Portuguese, were followed by the prohibition of trade with the Portuguese. In 1624 this prohibition was extended to the Spaniards as being subjects of the same crown (Murdoch, II, 626). In 1625 the Spaniards showed their resentment by plundering a Japanese vessel in Siam waters (*Singapore Chronicle*, 27th Feb. 1834). Kaempfer (II, 59) says that this outrage was committed near Manila, and that the Spaniards, in order to conceal the crime, scuttled the ship and left the crew to drown. One man however got to land and news of the event was sent to the Japanese authorities, who waited quietly their opportunity for revenge. In 1627 an embargo was laid on all Portuguese ships in Japanese ports until reparation should be made (*Singapore Chronicle*, 27*th February* 1834).

246. In 1630 a Danish ship entering the port of Coulam was, after a sharp fight, taken by nine Portuguese vessels under Emanuel de Camara e Nicote (Faria, III, 381).

247. Cases of piracy on native vessels on the Malabar coast, committed by Portuguese pirates, are mentioned by President Methwold of Surat in his *Diary* under date 17th April 1636.

Dutch.

248. In 1626 the Dutch Admiral Wybrand Schram arrived at Batavia. In the latitude of Sierra Leone. his own ship and one other of his fleet had been attacked by a Dutch corsair " named Claes Campaen, who spread terror through those seas." After a fierce fight against four well armed ships, Schram drove off the enemy, who withdrew badly damaged (Dubois, p. 79)

Malabarese and English.

249. In 1627 a small English fleet attacked a Malabar pirate junk near Swally Road with two barges, each carrying fifty musketeers, but the barges were driven off with the loss of half their crews killed, wounded or scalded, as the bad weather prevented the ships of the fleet from supporting their barges (Herbert, pp. 41-42).

250. In this year Khem Sawunt became ruler of the State of Savantvadi, founding a piratical dynasty long known to the English as the Kempsaunts (*Bomb. Sel.*, N. S. X., p. 1).

55 According to the Chinese account, the Dutch played upon the Japanese the trick which Queen Dido played upon the Africans, asking only so much ground as could be covered by a bull's hide (Imbault Huart, *Formose*, p. 6).

251. In April or May 1628 a small English fleet off Mangalore saw a junk of some 70 tons, bound for Achin, attacked by a Malabar pirate. The junk sought refuge with the English, but the latter, instead of protecting her, confiscated the cargo and treated the crew so roughly that some sixty of them threw themselves into the water to escape from their hands (Herbert, p. 334).

Chinese.

252. On the 18th December 1627, Governor de Witt reported from Batavia (Ind. Off. *Dutch Records*, vol. VII) that a certain Icquan (formerly Interpreter of the Company) had, about a year previously, fled from Taiwan (*i.e.*, Formosa) and begun "his career of piracy, gathering many junks and a large crew, wherewith he greatly disturbs the coasts of China and destroys towns and villages in the country. Thereby commercial navigation at the sea-coast has totally ceased, and whereas that country cannot exist without commerce and navigation, the Lords of China......and others, regents of the Province of Hochsien, requested us, through our merchant Simson who lives at the river of Chinchau, that the Company might assist them against the pirates." This man, better known as Chinchilung, was the terror of the Chinese Seas until his capture by the Tartars in 1646. Slightly varying accounts of his origin are to be found in de Mailla's *Histoire Générale*, Père d'Orleans' *History of the Tartar Conquerors*, the *Chinese Repository*, vol. XIX, the *China Review*, vols. XIII and XXI, and Boulger's *History of China*, vol. II. From these it appears that he was born at the village of Shih Tsing, near Anhai (20 miles from Amoy), in the Prefecture of Chincheo. His name as a child was I-kwan. Poverty took him to Macao, where he became a Christian and was given the name of Nicholas Gaspard and served as a valet. The Père d'Orleans says that his Portuguese godfather left him a large fortune which was the foundation of his greatness. Governor de Witt's letter shows that he served the Dutch in Formosa as Interpreter before he became a pirate, about the year 1626. Some time previous to this he visited an uncle who was settled in Japan, where he married a Japanese woman (some accounts, *e.g.*, Von Sebold's *Nippon* in *Chin. Repos.*, 3 April 1864, p. 424, say a Japanese courtesan) who became the mother of his famous son Koxinga. With one of his uncle's ships he and his brother joined a pirate named Yen-ssu-chi or Yenchin, and together with him opened up a great part of Formosa, presumably outside the Dutch sphere. When Yen died, Chinchilung was elected chief of the Chinese pirates. Having destroyed a rival party under one Leaou Yang, he collected a number of ships and a formidable force of men, including a body guard of 500 Christianized negroes, whom he led in fight with the war-cry of St. Jacob (? St. James or Sant Iago) and who were the terror of the Manchus. So formidable was he that he was welcomed by the Ming partisans as a recruit, and about 1628 was made Admiral of the Ming fleet, in which capacity he assisted in the repulse of Dutch attacks in 1630 and 1633.

253. After the fall of the Ming Dynasty (1628) a class of natives named Hoklos, all seafaring men, settled in the Great Ladrone (now known as Hongkong) and its neighbourhood. They were specially addicted to robbery and piracy and, of all the coast pirates, were the most dreaded for their ferocity and daring. In later years they supplied the crews of nearly all the smuggling vessels which were the terror of the Chinese cruisers (E. J. Eitel, *Europe in China: The History of Hongkong*, p. 132).

Dutch.

254. About this time the Japanese in Formosa were so ill-treated by the Dutch, that one of them, Hamada Yahei, a native of Nagasaki, obtaining assistance from home, surprised the Dutch Settlement at Taiwan and compelled the Dutch to restore twice what they had robbed from his compatriots and to promise decent behaviour in the future. Returning to Nagasaki he was, in 1628, appointed to a high official post (Capt. James in *As. Soc. of Japan, Trans.*, VIII, 199).

255. Apparently this lesson was not enough for the Dutch, for in July 1630 two Japanese ships having been detained in Formosa by Governor Peter Nuits, the combined crews, numbering some 500 men, seized the Governor after killing his guard and forced the Council to agree :—

(1) that their action had been just, legitimate, in self defence and for the honour of their nation:

(2) that they should be free to return to their country when they pleased and that all their property, arms, etc., should be returned to them ;

(3) that the Dutch vessels in the harbour should not insult or interfere with them and should be disarmed;

(4) that the Dutch should give five hostages;

(5) that they should be compensated for all the losses they had suffered in consequence of the Governor's misconduct;

Even these terms did not satisfy the Emperor of Japan who would not suffer the Dutch to trade until in 1634 Nuits himself was surrendered to him (Charlevoix, II, 361). Nuits was kept prisoner until 1637 (Imbault Huart, pp. 28-29).

256. In 1634, the Dutch built Castel or Fort Zeylandia at Taiwan in Formosa (de Mailla, XI, 50; Formosa, 15; Duhalde, I, 91). According to Tavernier (III, 22) even this they achieved by treachery, for the English being in possession of the place, a Dutch ship put in with every appearance of being distressed and, whilst the Dutch officers were at dinner with the commander of the Fort, they picked a quarrel with him, and drawing their swords, which they had concealed under their cloaks, killed him and all the soldiers of the garrison. I have not found any corroboration of this story.

Malays.

257. In 1628 a Spanish expedition against the piratical Sulu Islanders was disgracefully defeated (Crawfurd, II, 471, 518, 519)

258. In 1634 the Mindanaoans sacked and burned Tayahas, eighteen leagues from Manila, and nearly captured the Archbishop Fray Miguel Garcia Serrano. In June 1635 the Spaniards erected a fort at Zamboangan in the Island of Mindanao, the Captain of which soon after defeated and dispersed the fleet of King Correlat (of Mindanao), which was returning from a plundering cruise in the Philippines. In 1637 the same officer took the chief town of the King, who for a long time after kept quiet, but rebelled in 1657 (de Morga, 360; Zuniga, I, 265; *Chin. Repos.*, VII, 528). Crawfurd (II, 521) says that in 1637 Don Sebastian Hurtado, Governor of the Philippines, reduced both Sulu and Mindanao, but was speedily forced to evacuate his conquests.

Japanese withdrawal from the Sea.

259. The troubles which resulted from foreign intercourse had now impressed themselves very forcibly on the mind of the Japanese. On the 27th January 1616 the Shogun Iyeyasu issued a proclamation, ordering the banishment of the Christian propagandists and other leaders, the destruction of their churches and recantation of their doctrines (Brinkley, III, 127-8). It was necessary however not only to keep out the foreigner but to keep the Japanese themselves from going abroad. About 1629 the Japanese withdrew from the Philippines (Crawfurd, II, 467), whilst, in order to make sure that no Portuguese or Spanish priest crept in to make mischief under the cover of the Dutch flag, they introduced the curious and insulting practice of Fumi-ye[56] or trampling on the picture or figure of Christ, whom they called the

[56] Charlevoix (II, 482) calls this practice Jesumi, and says that Japanese suspected of Christianity were forced to perform it as a test.

'Man of Manilla,' the first Christian missionary having come from that island (*Lettres Edifiantes*, IV, 38). At first they made use of paper pictures, then figures cut in wood, and in 1669 twenty bronze plates, 5 by 4 inches, made from metal taken from Christian altars, were cast and engraved by one Yusa of Nagasaki (*As. Soc. of Japan, Trans.*, IX, 134). Presumably the Dutch, with their fanatical hatred of image worship had no objection to submit to this test. In the *Records* of Macao (quoted in the *Hai-Kwoh-Tu-Chi*) it is stated that in the stones of the Batavian quay at Nagasaki the Japanese had engraved a crucifix upon which foreigners were compelled to tread as they landed. In the threshold of the gate of the city was a stone image of Jesus placed there for the same purpose (*Chin. Repos.*, XIX, 217). How long this custom remained in force is shown by the fact that when in 1850 the British ship *Eamont* was wrecked on the coast of Japan, and the crew were taken to the Town-house of Nagasaki, each man was forced to tread as he entered upon a brazen crucifix in the doorway (*Chin. Repos.*, XX, 112).

260. In 1631 Simao Vaz de Peyva was sent by the Portuguese from Macao with presents and excuses, but the Japanese rejected their advances (*Sing. Chron.*, 27th February 1834).

261. In 1636 the Japanese Shogun Iyemitsu restricted foreign commerce to Nagasaki and Hirado and, to keep the Japanese at home, ordered the destruction of all foreign built ships or ships built on foreign models, which were in the possession of the Japanese: nothing was allowed for the future except the coasting junk. Such Portuguese as remained in Japan were imprisoned on the small island of Deshima in the harbour of Nagasaki (Murdoch, II, 470). In 1637, owing to the Christian rebellion in Shimabara, in which from thirty to forty thousand Christians were killed, they were expelled altogether from Japanese territory (*As. Soc. of Japan, Trans.*, IX, 135). The Dutch however were allowed to trade at Nagasaki, but when Captain Weddell visited Deshima in 1637 he was not well received (Logan's *Journal*, V, 661). The Japanese did not consider Protestants and Greek Catholics as 'Kristans,' as these did not worship images, had no connection with the Inquisition and did not attempt to make converts (Griffis, *Mikado*, p. 173).

262. In 1639 it was ordered that all Portuguese ships coming to Japan should be burnt with their cargoes and that every one on board should be executed (Murdoch II, 663).

263. In 1640 the Portuguese, in the hope of renewing friendly relations, sent envoys to Nagasaki. These the Japanese Government caused to be executed for their temerity.[57] In the same year a very strongly armed Spanish vessel entered the harbour of Nagasaki and proceeded to load a rich cargo whilst the orders of the Government were being ascertained. Though repeatedly warned of their danger, the Spaniards, out of cupidity, delayed until, when the order for their destruction arrived, unfavourable winds made their escape impossible. The ship was surrounded by boats and, after a desperate resistance, in which 5,000 Japanese are said to have been killed, all the Spaniards were slain or drowned, and the ship set on fire and sunk. For many years after, portions of the treasure were from time to time fished up (Kaempfer, II, 58, 59). Such is the Spanish story: the Japanese is somewhat different: "In 1640, on July 7th, a ship arrived from Luzon [*i.e.*, Manila]. It was seized and the crew imprisoned in Deshima. Sixty-one of them were put to death at Nishigaki on August 3rd and the ship with its cargo consisting of 60 kwamme [1 kwamme=10 lbs. Troy or 8 lbs Avoirdupois] of gold, gold ornaments and piece goods, was sunk off Sudzure in Nishidomari. Thirteen of the crew, who stated that they had come to Japan against their will, were spared and sent home on September 12th in a Chinese junk to inform their countrymen of the fate of

[57] Faria (*Hist. of Portugal*, p. 42) says that four Portuguese ambassadors with 53 of their retinue were executed on this occasion.

their comrades and of the prohibition against the coming of foreigners. In 1663 the sunken cargo was presented to the Machi-doshi-yori, who succeeded in raising over 45 kwamme of gold (Matsura To in *As. Soc. Japan, Trans.*, IX, 125).

264. In 1641 the Dutch were confined to the little island of Deshima (Murdoch, II, 1).

265. By 1642 the Japanese had completely evacuated Formosa (Zuniga, I, 275) and from this date to the coming of foreigners in 1854, Spaniards and Portuguese coming to Japan were treated as pirates and the Japanese Marine was dead (Bonar in *As. Soc. Japan. Trans.*, XV, 123 ; Kaempfer, II, 57-9).

266. On the 26th July 1647 two Portuguese ships arrived off Yuwojima with ambassadors from Goa and asked permission to trade. Preparations were made for their capture but, under orders from Government, they were allowed to depart (*As. Soc. Japan. Trans.*, IX, 139).

267. About 1633 the Japanese settlers in Siam were expelled on account of their turbulence, but when in 1656 the Siamese sent an envoy to Nagasaki to renew the trade, their proposals were refused as the Edict of 1636 prevented Japanese from going abroad. Still, indirectly through the Chinese, trade was carried on between the two countries as late as 1745 (Satow in *As. Soc. Japan. Trans.*, XII, 179—200).

268. In 1673 the English Captain Delboe was refused permission to trade in Japan on the ground that the English must be connected with the Portuguese, since Charles II had married a Portuguese Princess, and all the English in Japan were ordered to leave the country. In 1791 Captain Colnet was refused permission to trade on the west coast of Japan (Logan's *Journal*, V, 662).

English.

269. In the year 1630 King Charles I sent Captain Richard Quail of the *Seahorse* to the Red Sea with a commission there " to make purchase (as well as anywhere else) of any he could meet with that were not friends or allies to His Majesty " (Ind. Off. *Marine Records*, IV, 12). Quail, of course, made great booty and Mr. Foster (*English Factories*, 1630-33, p. xvii) suggests that it was his success that provided the incentive for Captains Cobb and Ayres a few years later. It may be noted that in later days the pirates used to refer to their booty as ' purchase ' and to their expeditions or cruises as being made ' on the Account.' Quail's commission was wider and more sordid than that granted to Raleigh in 1554, which gave him authority to discover and seize " any remote heathen and barbarous lands not actually possessed by any Christian Prince nor inhabited by Christian people."

Malabarese.

270. Under date 2nd February 1634 Peter Mundy tells us that his ship was boarded by one Babaraut "an arch-pyrate of Malabar,"[58] who, with six ships, had on the 19th January attacked a Surat junk. The pirate traded some pepper, etc., for a brass gun. Apparently he was an inhabitant of Calicut, for Mundy again mentions meeting his ships off Mangalore on the 21st March 1636-7, when Babaraut was about to settle at Battacala (Bhatkal), a little south of Onore, having been driven out with his followers by the Zamorin, who had burnt all his houses. Under the last mentioned date, Mundy states that some Malabar pirates had just taken a Portuguese ship from Malacca, laden with Chinese commodities and carrying some Dutchmen who had been taken by the Portuguese in the Malacca Straits. (*Hak. Soc.*, II. 316, and III, 110). Evidently this is the pirate Babia, with whom the English, as the Portuguese Viceroy reported to the King on the 5th October 1637, had made friends (Danvers, *Portuguese Records*, p. 35). Possibly also he is the petty pirate, David Bahya of Gujarat, mentioned by President Methwold of Surat in his *Diary* on the 30th April 1636.

[58] Mundy (II, 316) describes his vessel as single-masted, lateen-rigged with two tiers of oars, carrying 180 men, with a swallow-tailed pennant at the masthead and a swallow-tailed streamer at the peak of the yard.

French.

271. In 1635 the French under M. de Flacourt established themselves in Madagascar (*Journal d'un voyage aux Indes Orientales,* I, 7). This was, no doubt, a *bona fide* attempt at colonisation, but other French seamen were frankly engaged in seeking what the English called 'Purchase.' The *Court Minutes* of the English East India Company, for the 28th April 1637, state that it was reported that the *St. Louis* of Dieppe, 250 tons and 67 men, had lately arrived at Dieppe from the East Indies, where she had been fifteen or sixteen months, during which time she had taken and robbed three junks of Cambay, and had brought home gold, silver and goods worth £30,000.

272. During the years 1638 and 1639 French ships from Dieppe continued to trouble the Eastern Seas and formed a small settlement in Madagascar (Foster, *Eng. Factories*, 1637-41, p. xxviii).

273. In 1642 the French Government granted the sole right of colonisation in Madagascar to Captain Ricaud (Rigault) and his Company. A Settlement and Fort were established at Fort Dauphin on the south-east coast of the island, but proper relations with the natives were not cultivated, and we find one of the Governors, a Monsieur Jacques Pronis, treacherously seizing a number of natives who were visiting the Fort and selling them as slaves to the Dutch Governor of Mauritius (Flacourt, *Relation*, p. 193). The treachery of Pronis caused a revolt of the natives in which the Fort was burnt (Bernardin de St. Pierre, *Voyage*, pp. 60, 162 n.). This disaster occurred in 1655. The Fort was rebuilt in 1663 and abandoned about 1671 (Abbé Rochon in Pinkerton, XVI, 751, 758). According to Father Brown (*Lettres Edifiantes*, XIII, p. 303) the French who escaped the massacre at Fort Dauphin in 1655 fled to Don Mascarenhas with their native wives. Their number was augmented by the crew of a pirate vessel which was wrecked on the island as well as by the slaves of both sexes who were on board. M. de Flacourt, appointed Governor of Madagascar in 1648, settled in Mascarenhas in 1657, and renamed the island Bourbon (Grant, p. 27). The first European to discover Mauritius was Ruy Pereira in 1505. He named it St. Laurentio. Next came Don Mascarenhas in the same year and named it Cerné. The Dutch Admiral James Cornelius Van Neck landed there in 1598, found it uninhabited and named it Mauritius. In 1638 the Dutch settled in the island, but evacuated it in 1712. In 1715 M. du Fresne renamed it 'Isle de France,' but the French did not actually occupy it until 1721. (Bernardin de St. Pierre, p. 162 n.; Grant, pp. 18, 20, 26, 28, 29.)

English.

274. On the 27th February 1635 Charles I granted a commission to Captain William Cobb "to range the seas all over . . . . and to make prize of all such treasures, merchandises . . . . . . which he shall be able to take of infidels or of any other Prince, Potentate or State not in league or amity with us beyond the Line Equinoctial [*i.e.*, the Equator] (Ind. Off., O.C. 1565). In the treaty of Vervins between France and Spain, 2nd May 1598, its provisions were made effective only north of the Tropic of Cancer and East of the Azores, beyond which "*tout serait à la force*", but Cobb's commission is an early justification of the saying which soon became common amongst English sailors that there was no peace beyond the Line.

275. Cobb, in the *Samaritan*, and Captain Ayres, in the *Roebuck*, were sent to India by certain merchants who, a little later, combined themselves into the Courteen Company and obtained from King Charles a Charter which seriously encroached upon the rights of the East India Company. The *Samaritan* was wrecked on the Comoro Islands and Ayres finished

his cruise in the *Samaritan*, taking a number of native ships in the Red Sea, with the booty of which he rejoined Cobb at Socotra. Naturally the Agents of the East India Company were ready to oppose any efforts of Cobb to trade, but he was not intent on trading, and the outrages committed by Ayres gave good reason for the arrest of the two Captains at the Comoros by Captain John Bond in 1636. He forced them to disgorge much of their booty but allowed them to go free with their ship. After a further cruise in the Red Sea, Cobb and Ayres returned to England in 1637 (Foster, *Eng. Factories*, 1634—6, pp. xx—xxix). The Company pressed charges of piracy against Cobb, and the case hung on at least as late as 1644. Cobb's behaviour had very serious consequences for the Company, already compromised in the eyes of the Mughal Government, not only by the Dutch and other foreigners who misused the English flag, but by English Interlopers who had some sort of right to use it. Now the Company had to explain that English ships carrying the King of England's license had no connection with the Company which claimed from that King an exclusive privilege. The Mughal Governor did not believe what they said and imprisoned the President and English Council at Surat, releasing them only on payment of £ 18,000 (Bruce, I, 337, 362).

276. Under date 11th May 1636 President Methwold of Surat mentions in his *Diary* some attacks by English pirates on native vessels.

277. The English and Portuguese having come to an agreement as to the China trade, Captain Weddell, of the Courteen Company, went with a small fleet to Canton. The Governor refused to allow Weddell to trade and the Chinese fleet hoisted their '*bloody ensigns*'. Weddell bombarded and took the castle and also a number of junks with the Chinese Admiral, whereupon the Governor withdrew his prohibition (*Ancient and Modern History of China*, p. 72.) Peter Mundy, however (*Travels*, 9th August 1637) says that the Governor gave in at the sight of "*our bloody ensigns*", so, if the Chinese did hoist the *bloody flag*, it is not clear what signification it bore. Schouten (I, 134, 148) mentions the use of the *red flag* by both the Portuguese and the natives of Macassar in 1660.

278. Captain Weddell's conduct in obtaining the release of Captain Clark and his crew (*see next paragraph*) was certainly to his credit, but the means he used must have appeared suspicious as showing the English connection with pirates. His use of force at Canton, however effective for the moment, could produce no lasting benefit. So also the high-handed proceedings of the Courteen Company's captains in Madagascar, where, at St. Augustine's Bay, they attempted to establish a post in 1645-6, committed great excesses against the natives and even coined false pagodas and reals, only added to the East India Company's difficulties (Bruce, I, 418). Bruce, (I, 338) draws the following conclusions on the effect of their proceedings :—" This event is perhaps of consequence, not so much from the immediate effect of it as from its having been the first instance in which the Interlopers or Private Traders were permitted to carry on a kind of regulated commerce to the East Indies, and under their license had been charged with or had been guilty of depredation, which struck at the root of all *farmâns* or grants, which the London Company had procured by heavy expenses from the Mughal Government, and from its having been the source of those oppressions and that injustice by the native powers which, in the sequel, often interrupted and frequently endangered the existence of the trade of England to the East Indies Nor was this the only consequence, for when the Interlopers were detected and subsequently punished, pirates, who could not be brought to justice, arose out of this example, the suppression of whom required for more than half a century the united efforts of the Crown and the London Company ". Of Captain Weddell, he remarks :—' The excesses which he committed set the example, whilst his rich

booty provided the temptation, for later acts of piracy ". Fortunately, in January 1649—50 the Courteen, now known as the Assada Company, was merged in the London Company and an end was put to this pestilent form of competition (Bruce, I, 419, 439, 568). It would appear that the violence of which complaint was made was not limited to the actions of the Courteen Company, for John Darell (p. 14) says that in 1643 the English seized and plundered two ships from the Red Sea, belonging to the King of Cannanore, for trading with the Courteen ships. Some hundreds of the crew were killed or drowned and treasure taken to the value of thirty or forty thousand pounds.

Malabarese.

279. In November 1638 the Company's ship *Comfort* (Captain Walter Clark) was taken by a fleet of 25 or 30 Malabar pirates. The English, being nearly all wounded, blew up the upper deck, killing, says Mandelslo (p. 87) six hundred of the enemy (Tavernier, I, xi, says 1,200), and themselves leaped into the sea. They were picked up and carried ashore as prisoners (Ind. Off., *O.C.*, 1651). Their release on ransom was obtained by Captain John Weddell through one Bardaratt of Calicut, probably the pirate Babaraut mentioned by Peter Mundy in 1634 (Sainsbury, *Court Minutes*, 1635-39, p. 107 n.). Tavernier (I, xi) says that 4,000 crowns were paid as ransom for the Captain and that two piastres or eight shillings a piece (amounting in all to 2,400 crowns) were paid to the widows of the pirates who had been killed in the fight. Mandelslo (p. 69) says that these Malabar pirates kept the sea from October to May and that during these months the Portuguese were forced to patrol the sea to keep them in check. On the other hand, as the Portuguese had prohibited the trade in pepper, the Gujarat ships bound for Achin, in Sumatra, could not sail during this season for fear of capture by the Portuguese, and were forced to make their voyage during the remaining months. " The Malabars ", he says (p. 87), " inhabit the coast from Goa to Cape Comorin and are mostly pirates or soldiers." On the 26th January 1639 his ship, the *Mary* (Captain James Slade) met near Calicut 18 of their vessels, which dared not attack them by day but did so by moonlight. Two of the pirates were sunk and three or four disabled, whereupon the rest withdrew (*Ibid.*, p. 89).

280. On the 12th December 1641 Jan Jensen de Quesnoy wrote to Commander Cornelis Leenderts Blauw :—" The pirates of Bergera, Chambay and other places [on the Malabar Coast] infest the seas and proclaim that they will attack any vessel they may meet with (Ind. Off., *Dutch Records*).

281. The *Court Minutes* (of the English East India Company) of the 14th February 1644 mention that their ships were to be allowed a few guns and blunderbusses " to prevent the mischief of the Malabars." As the Company's ships were always well armed, I do not understand this order. Tavernier (I, xiv) tells us that in January 1648, wishing to go from Mingrelia to Goa, he wrote to M. St. Amant, the Engineer, to send a man-of-war for him " for fear of the Malvares which are on the coast."

Dutch.

282. In 1638 the Dutch settled in Mauritius (Bernardin de St. Pierre, p. 60. *See para.* 273 *above*).

283. The Dutch, having no such bitter cause for hating the Portuguese as they had for hating the Spaniards, behaved towards them with more humanity. In fact, the earliest instance with which I have met of victors in a naval fight risking their lives to save the beaten enemy, occurs in a fight off Goa on the 6th October 1639. Commander Symonsz van der

Veer reported :—" We set fire to the *St. Sebastian* and the *Bon Jesus,* which communicated itself to the *Bon Aventure.* The crews, consisting of about 200 men, among whom were 150 whites, tried to save themselves by swimming to the shore. Not twenty of them were saved. We killed some and made seventy-two prisoners, among whom were the Captain and superior officers. Whilst we were still engaged in rescuing the men in the water, three hundred barrels of powder took fire on the *Bon Aventure,* with the result that a great number of the enemy were killed, and we lost six men " (Ind. Off.. *Dutch Records*).

284. In 1641 or 1642 the Dutch took Malacca from the Portuguese (Marsden. 330n.. 444; Begbie, p. 48).

285. On the 8th March 1642 the Dutch Governor of Mauritius concluded a treaty with the native King of Antongil in Madagascar, engaging the latter not to sell rice or slaves to any one but the Agents of the Dutch East India Company (Dehérain, p. 37).

286. In 1642 the Japanese having completely evacuated Formosa, the Dutch occupied the whole island. It now became their business to check the pirates who infested the coasts of China (Zuniga, I, 275).

287. In 1643 a Dutch officer named Gayland plundered one of the Courteen ships, the *Bona Esperanza*, in the Straits of Malacca, and in the same year another of these ships, the *Henry Bonaventure*, was plundered by the Dutch near Mauritius. Letters of reprisal were given to the Courteen Company in 1666 by Charles II. (*Justice*. p. 463.) In 1644 the Dutch abandoned Mauritius but reoccupied it in 1650.

Danes.

288. The Danes had settled themselves at Tranquebar in Tanjore about 1618[59] (Abbé Raynal, II, 129). Apparently they had confined themselves to peaceful paths in trade as long as possible, but as we have seen (*para.* 230 *above*) their ships were attacked by the Portuguese as early as 1618 and now they appear to have thought a show of force (designated as piracy by their rivals) was necessary to their prestige and security, for on the 9th July 1645 Cornelis Van der Lyn, Governor of Batavia, wrote home :—" We are charged with acts of piracy committed by the Danes. The latter keep up their policy, but make no captures of any importance and do but little trade (Ind. Off. *Dutch Records*).

Malays and Spanish.

289. In 1645, in reprisal for Malay attacks on the Philippines, the Spaniards sent an expedition against Borneo, which plundered and burned the coast villages and carried off from two to three hundred prisoners to be sold as slaves (*Chin. Repos.*, IV, 449 ; Crawfurd. II, 524).

Chinese.

290. In 1639 thirty thousand Chinese revolted against the Spaniards in the Philippines, and were not forced to submission until their number was reduced to seven thousand (Crawfurd, II, 522). This appalling slaughter was not, I believe, matched for a hundred years, when. in 1740, ten thousand Chinese were, on suspicion of a conspiracy, massacred by the Dutch in Batavia (*Ibid.*, 553, *see para.* 614 *below*).

291. In 1646 the pirate Chinchilung (*see para.* 252 *above*) fell into the hands of the Tartars. In 1645 his influence had secured the election of Tang Wang as Emperor, but, for some reason or other, Tang Wang refused to acknowledge Koxinga as his father's heir, and Chinchilung began to intrigue with the Tartars (Boulger, II, 276). According to the *Ambassades Memorables*, he was now so powerful that he had " got into his hands the whole Indian trade,

[59] The *Imperial Gazetteer* says the settlement was made in 1620.

He traded with the Spanish in the Philippines, with the Dutch in Formosa and Batavia, with the Portuguese in Macao and with the Japanese. He monopolised[60] the carriage of merchandise from China and imported that of Europe into it. He had 3000 vessels at sea and fed his mind with such lofty dreams that he thought of royalty and the Imperial crown. The Tartars getting wind of so important a design and thinking him to be too powerful to attack openly, they resolved to take him by fraud, and seeing that he was besotted with the idea of royalty, they elevated him to the royal dignity and promised to give him the provinces of Fokien and Quantong. Iquan [*i.e.*, Chinchilung] allowed himself to be lulled into security, left his fleet but badly provided in the harbour of Fokien. his pretended kingdom, and went on shore to salute the Tartar Emperor who was residing there, but was immediately arrested and carried to Pekin, where he was put to death by poison". One account (Gemelli Careri, in Churchill, IV, 389) says that, having been ordered to write to his son to come to him, he wrote and warned him not to do so. His messenger, a barber, betrayed him. Now fearing to be forced to write again in the required terms or to give some information which might harm his friends, we are told (Dubois, p. 214) that he bit off his tongue and the fingers of his right hand. This reminds one of the Chinaman tortured by Scot (*see para.* 185 *above*), and an earlier parallel exists in the story of the philosopher Anaxarchus, when tortured to death by order of Alexander the Great (Pliny. VII, 23). The pirate fleet, under Chinchilung's brother and son, Ching-ching-kon, put to sea immediately they received news of their leader's death.[61] Ching-ching-kon was now elected to succeed his father. He is mentioned by various names, such as Kwe-Sing Kong or Kwoshen, Koksing by the people of Fokien (Gutzlaff. II, 24), Quesim (Careri), Cocksing (Hamilton), Koxinga or Coxinga by the Portuguese (Crawfurd, II, 528). It is said that he had been a tailor in the employ of the Sieur Pitman, Dutch Governor of Taiwan (Schouten, I, 271), but probably this refers to his father. Mr. Phillip (*China Review*, XIII, 60) says that at the age of seven he left Japan to join his father at Anhai. He was an exceedingly clever boy and attracted the attention of the Ming Emperor, who authorized him to prefix the name Chu to his own name of Cheng Kung. Hence he was known as Kwo-Sing Ye (pronounced in the Amoy dialect Kok-Sing-ia or Kok-Sing-ya) which meant 'He of the Royal surname.'

292. The Jesuit Martinus Martinus, a German but born at Trent, was taken by pirates on his second voyage to China and very cruelly treated (Sotwell, *Bibliotheca*). As Martinus was in China from 1647 to 1651, it is probable that he fell into the hands of Koxinga's pirates He writes that in Fokien "there are many pirates who rob at sea. They are thought to be the most cruel of all Chinese pirates, as retaining the original barbaric humour and being the last to submit to the gentleness of the laws and manners of China" (Thévenot, *Relation*, pt. III, p. 152.) They long retained this evil reputation : Hamilton (II, 242) says that in 1693 they had been largely repressed by a certain Chinese general, for which the people were so grateful that they had erected a temple in his honour and placed his image in it. Again, in 1719 Hamilton (II, 216) speaks of the courage of the pirates of Kwangsi, the southernmost province of China :—"One of their little galleys will attack four of the Emperor's and make them flee before them, for they give quarter to none that bear arms under the Tartar Prince." It would appear from this that the pirates of southern China at this time were actuated, at least in part, by patriotic motives (*see paras.* 568, 739 and 754 *below*).

293. In 1650 Koxinga destroyed the Tartar fleet besieging Canton, but that town having been taken by treachery, he again betook himself to sea (*Chin. Repos.*, III, 66).

60 According to Parker (*China Review*, XVI, 277) Chinchilung levied a fee of 3,000 taels on every merchant ship, furnishing it in return with a flag which ensured its safety from his cruisers.

61 According to other accounts Chinchilung was kept in prison for many years and from time to time heavier chains were placed upon his limbs in punishment for the injuries inflicted upon the Tartars by Koxinga (Mayers, *Treaty Ports*, p. 305).

294. In 1652 Koxinga instigated a rebellion of the peasants in Formosa against the Dutch (*de Mailla*, XI, 51) but was unable to give them the necessary support. The plot was, in fact, betrayed by one Pauw. the brother of the Chinese pirate captain Fayet. Fayet was killed in the fighting; his Lieutenant Lonega was roasted alive before a slow fire and then dragged through the town at the tail of a horse. The other rebel captains. who had been guilty of gross atrocities, were broken on the wheel and then quartered (Dubois p. 150). Mr. Phillip (*China Review*. X, 125) says that Fayet was ruler of Smeerdorp.

295. In 1653 Koxinga attacked Amoy and took it, defeating the Tartars. but in 1655 was himself defeated with a loss of 500 ships at Nankin (*Chin. Repos*. III, 66). In 1656 he established himself at Tsong-nung at the mouth of the Kiang River and captured Tong-Chow which commanded the approach to Nankin (Boulger, II, 310). In 1658 he vainly attempted to obtain assistance from Japan. but the latter refused and warned the Dutch that he had had designs against Formosa as early as 1646 (*Chin. and Jap. Repos*., 3rd April 1864, p. 424). In 1659 Koxinga defeated a Tartar fleet and cut off the ears and noses of 4,000 prisoners. The latter were put to death by the Tartar Emperor as a warning to his soldiers and sailors that he had no use for men who allowed themselves to be defeated by pirates. Koxinga now ravaged the whole coast and in an attack on Nankin destroyed the greater part of the Tartar fleet. He was however forced to retire, for the Tartars, observing that his men were off their guard whilst engaged in celebrating the birthday of their chief, surprised his camp and killed all but 3,000 of his men. These escaped to his ships, of which 500 were taken (Gemelli Careri in Churchill, IV, 389). As the Emperor was still unable to protect the coast, he ordered the inhabitants to retire twelve miles inland (*Chin. Repos*. 1834, p. 66). Mr. T. F. Tout tells us (*Pol. Hist. of England*, III, 334) that in July 1338 Edward III ordered dwellers on the south coast of England to take refuge in fortresses and remove their goods four leagues from the sea owing to the activity of French corsairs.

Dutch.

296. In 1652 the Dutch settled at the Cape of Good Hope (Dubois, 151). From August of this year to April 1654 they were at war with England, but besides engaging in general acts of piracy in the Red Sea (Bruce, I, 448), they anticipated the declaration of hostilities by attacking and destroying English vessels in the Persian Gulf (*Ibid*., p. 482).

297. In 1656 the King of Gilolo, having been made prisoner by the Dutch, was secretly drowned with twenty-five of his people, for fear his execution should excite a tumult (Crawfurd II, 527-8).

298. From 1655 the Cape was supplied with slaves brought from Malabar, Coromandel, Bengal, Ceylon, the Malay Archipelago and especially, Madagascar. To the last of these places there came as slavers the English from Jamaica and Barbadoes, the Portuguese of Mozambique and Brazil, Mussulmans from Melindi and Arabia, the Dutch of Java and Mauritius. The Dutch went chiefly to the Bay of St. Augustine on the southwest coast, and the Bay of Antongil on the northeast (Dehérain. pp. 202, 204). In 1658 the Dutch ship *Amersfort* landed at the Cape 166 slaves from Angola in West Africa whom she had taken out of a Portuguese ship which she had captured not far from the coast of Brazil (Dehérain, p. 200).

299. In December 1659. Johan van Riebeck, Governor of the Cape. discovered a conspiracy amongst the garrison and settlers to master the fort, kill the chief officials, seize the ship *Erasmus*. then in harbour, and turn pirates (Dehérain. p. 70).

Malays.

300. In 1653 a Dutch expedition from Amboyna reduced the inhabitants of the Papous Islands who had infested the surrounding seas with their piracies (Dubois, 155). In the same year Correlat, King of Mindanao, put to death two Jesuits and some Spaniards who had

been sent as ambassadors from Manila (Crawfurd, II, 527). The treacherous behaviour of the natives of the Archipelago was in part the cause of the severe treatment which they received from the Dutch, *e.g.*, in 1658 a whole Dutch crew was treacherously surprised and murdered by the inhabitants of Palembang on the coast of Sumatra (Schouten, I, 24).

French.

301. In 1655 a French pirate ship was forced into Aden by bad weather and lack of provisions. The crew were imprisoned and then sent inland and forced to submit to circumcision. Soon after they managed to escape to Mocha, where they said that they had had a consort, an English built ship of 26 guns, of which they had lost sight in a storm. Possibly these two ships were part of the squadron of six ships sent out by the Duc de Meilleraye about this time to take recruits to Madagascar and to cruise in the Red Sea (Foster, *English Factories*, 1655-60, p. 59; Dehérain, pp. 22, 96).

302. According to Nicolao Manucci (II, 45), a Farangi pirate having taken a Moor vessel from the Maldives with a load of cowries (for which of course the pirates had no use), was persuaded by the merchants to accept of a ransom which they were to receive at Mocha, but when the pirate and her prize arrived there, the merchants found two royal ships (on which were many *fakirs*, lords and ladies of Hindustan) in the harbour. Obtaining their assistance and that of some other vessels, to the number of ten or twelve, they sallied out to take the pirate ship. The latter however completely defeated them, took one ship which they plundered and burned, and then chased the royal ships and took one of them off Diu, plundering its cargo and dishonouring the unfortunate women on board. Aurangzeb, enraged at this affront, would not accept any excuses on the part of his officers, until he had received ocular demonstration of the power of European ships of war. This was furnished by an Italian, Ortencio Bronzoni, who built a small ship, provided it with guns and manned it with European artillerymen (probably runaway sailors) who were in Aurangzeb's service. The ship was launched on a large tank and its working (including the firing of its guns) demonstrated. Aurangzeb was convinced and gave up the idea of building a fleet with which to suppress the European pirates. It is not certain who the Farangi pirate was, whose exploits gave rise to the above story, but the *Dag Register* of Batavia for 1663 (pp. 306, 316) says that the Dowager Queen of Bijapur went to Mocha on pilgrimage in 1661, and that on her return her ship was plundered by a sea-rover, commanded by one Herbert Hugo, who held a commission from Havre de Grace. The Queen herself was robbed of a diamond worth 25,000 Great Bijapur pagodas. From his name, Hugo may have been English or Dutch, but his commission was French. Of course all three nations repudiated responsibility.

303. As regards Manucci's account of Aurangzeb's determination to leave the mastery of the sea to Europeans, when the Caliph Omar (634-43) was asked by Moawiyah to send forces to Egypt by sea, he replied, " The Syrian sea, they tell me, is larger and broader than the dry land and is instant with the Lord, night and day, seeking to swallow it up. How should I trust my people on its accursed bosom ? " (Muir, *Caliphate*, p. 212) Again, when in April 1453, the whole Ottoman fleet of 100 ships was unable to prevent five Austrian and Genoese warships from entering the harbour of Constantinople, which Sultan Muhammad was besieging, " from that time and after the disaster of the High-Admiral of the Ottoman fleet [who was bastinadoed for his want of success] was born that opinion, which was ever after held by the Turks, that God had given them the Empire of the Land but had left that of the Sea to the Infidels " (Ducas, Bk. XXXVIII, p. 152; Von Hammer-Purgstall, I, 233). As regards the Hindus also, we are told that the mysterious counsellor of Shivaji always advised him against enterprises by sea.

304. In 1669 Admiral de la Haye took possession of Madagascar in the name of the King of France (Jules Sottas, *Journal*, p. 44). In 1672 the French colonists in Madagascar were massacred by the natives. (Pouget de St. André, p. 13 : Sottas, p. 52.)

Malabarese.

305. In 1489 the island fortress of Janjira, opposite Danda Rajpuri, fell into the hands of a number of mercenaries, originally Abyssinians and Coffrees (*kâfirs*) in the service first of Ahmadabad and then of Bijapur (*Imp. Gaz.*, XIV, 58 ; Bruce, II, 50, 51), and became the capital of a coastal district. These mercenaries were known as the Sidis. In 1660 they formed a kind of democratic state. " Sidi Sambol was the head of them, but his captains preserved a distinct command over their crews and dependents, and a council of them decided on the affairs of this singular association. They were considered as the navigators of India and held themselves to be not inferior to Europeans " (Bruce, II, 50, 51). In 1660 Sivaji took Danda Rajpuri from them and Sidi Sambol, seeing that Bijapur was not strong enough to protect him from the Marathas, in 1670 offered his services to Aurangzeb and was made Mughal Admiral. The condition of this appointment was the maintenance of a Marine for the protection of commerce and the convoy of pilgrims to Mecca. It was not hereditary but was conferred upon the most daring Abyssinian officer in the fleet, who was styled the Wazir (Duff, I, 139 ; *Bomb. Gaz.*, II, 89).

306. No sooner had the Marathas taken possession of the coast (in 1662, Orme, *Hist. Frag.*, p. 16) than they began to organize a fleet which grew rapidly in numbers. " The Marathi chronicles speak of Shivaji's fleet as consisting of 400 vessels of various sizes and classes . . . . Their cost is put down vaguely as five or ten lakhs of rupees, but the English reports never put their number above 160 and usually as 60 only. They were formed into two squadrons (of 200 vessels each, if we accept Marathi accounts) and commanded by two Admirals who bore the titles of Daria Sarang (Sea Captain) and Mai Nayak (Water Leader)." Shivaji's fleet was largely recruited from low caste Hindu tribes such as the Kolis, Sanghars, Vaghers, the Marathi clan of Angrias, all of which were accustomed to the sea, and the Bhandari husbandmen of the Ratnagiri district. To these were added a number of Muhammadans under such chiefs as Daulat Khan and the discontented Sidi chief Misri (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, pp. 87, 88 ; IX, i, 519-22 ; X, p. 124 ; XI, 145 ; Jadunath Sarkar, p. 336). Sivaji's navy, as might well be expected from the character and tradition of the races from which it was recruited, immediately took to plundering the coast of Canara and Goa (Orme, *Hist. Frags.*, p. 10). The Sidis also indulged in piracy and were amongst the most feared of the freebooters, though apparently they seldom interfered with Europeans except when acting under the orders of the Mughal Government (*Imp. Gaz.*, XXI, 34-35).

307. In 1665 Sivaji built the fort of Sindhudrug on the outer of the two islands in the Bay of Malvan (in Ratnagiri district), which latter gave its name to the Maratha pirates, whom the English called Malwans (*Bomb. Sel.*, N.S., X, 155 ; *Imp. Gaz.*, XVII, 96).

English.

308. In January 1666 Mr. Humphrey Cooke, Governor of Bombay (once a grocer in Lisbon, Danvers, II, 356) seized a junk belonging to the Mughal Governor of Surat, in order to reimburse himself for losses by pirates, but was forced to restore it (Bruce, II, 177).

309. In 1668 the English began to convoy the pilgrim ships to the Red Sea (Low, I, 58 ; *see para.* 324 *below*), and in 1669 armed three ships as a protection against Malabar and Marathi pirates (Bruce, II, 244). In February 1671 the President at Surat wrote to Bombay that the Surat Council had passed a standing order that one-third of the booty taken from pirates should be given to the captors (*Bomb. Gaz.*, XXVI, i, 65). In England the captors' share in the booty of a prize had been fixed at one-third by Parliament in 1642 (Oppenheim, p. 293).

MALABAR MISCELLANY.

BY T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

(*Continued from Vol.* LII, *p.* 357.)

III. Calamina.

In a Syriac MS. in the British Museum (*Add. Cod.* 17193, folio 80, of the year 874) an anonymous Syrian writer says: "The Apostle Thomas preached . . . . in India interior, and taught and baptized and conferred the imposition of hands for the priesthood. He also baptized the daughter of the king of the Indians. But the Brahmins killed him at Calamina. His body was brought to Edessa and there it rests."[1] This is the earliest dated record yet discovered, in which Calamina in India is mentioned as the place of martyrdom of the Apostle Thomas. But it appears earlier in a group of undated, mostly anonymous, writings in Greek, which may be assigned to A.D. 650–750.[2] *Καλαμίνη* (Calamina), Calamene and Calamite are the several forms of this word as found in these latter writings.[3]

Several interpretations have been put upon this word by modern writers.

(1) *Calamina means 'the port of Kâlâh.'*

"The word 'Calamina'", says Bishop Medlycott,[4] "is a composite term, consisting of the words *kâlâh*, the name of a place, and *elmina*, which in Syriac denotes a port. The two words joined together with a necessary elision gives the product Calamina, or Calamine, signifying originally the 'port of Kâlâh'". And Kalah, according to him is "a place in the Malay Peninsula" (*Op. cit.*, p. 156).

(2) *Calamina means 'upon a stone.'*

(*a*) "Father Kircher," says Renaudot, "pretends we must read Calurmina, instead of Calamina, and that the word signifies *upon a stone*; because in that country they still show a stone figured with some crosses, and other ensigns of Christianity, and upon this stone the Malabars tell you, he was pierced by a Brahmin."[5]

(*b*) Baldœus agrees with the above author (Kircher) in his interpretation of Calamina, that it is not the name of a place, but merely descriptive of the spot where the apostle is said to have been martyred *upon a rock*, or stone.[6]

(*c*) Father Paulinus also interprets it in almost the same way. *Calla Malabarice et Tamulice lapis, saxum rupes, mel supra, nina ex, Callamelnina ex rupe, ex saxo . . . . Tunc ergo corpus ejus ex Callamelnina in Edessam translatum fuit, id est, ex rupe, ex monte, ex saxo sublatum, et translatum est . . . . Malanina ex monte, substitue litterae M. litteram C., erit Calanina, parum absonum a dictione Calamina.*[7]

The true forms of the compound words suggested above must have been, in old Tamil and old Malayalam, *Kallinmêl* or *Kallinmêlê* or *Kallinmîtê*[8], all meaning 'upon a stone, and *Malayilninnu*, from a mountain or hill..

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1 *India and the Apostle Thomas*, by A. E. Medlycott, London, 1905, pp. 152 and 160.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 150, 160 and 161. 3 *Ibid.*, pp. 151 and 152. 4 *Ibid.*, p. 153.

5 Eusebius Renaudot's *Inquiry into the Origin of the Christian Religion in China*, p. 80 (London ed. 1733), as quoted on p. 38 of *The History of Christianity in India*, by James Hough, Vol. I, (London, 1839.)

6 Baldœus' *Description*, etc., ch. XX. Churchill's *Voyages*, etc., vol. III, p. 575. (So in Hough's *Christianity*, I, 39, footnote 3).

7 *India Orientalis Christiana*, by Paulino A. S. Bartholomaeo, Romae, 1794, pp. 134, 135.

8 See the form Calamite, *ante*.

Now, the tradition of the Syrian Christians of Malabar is that St. Thomas died in or very near the place called Chinnamalai (Little Mount) [9] near Mylapore. A Malayalam song composed on the 3rd of July 1601 A.D., has the following :—

"In July seventy-two (A.D.)
On the third day in the morning,
He arrives as a traveller,
At Chinnamala in Mylapore—(*Lines* 325–328).

A cruel man took a big lance,
And hard in the chest the Apostle,
Stabbed, and they fled and hid themselves,
All of them, the temple priests ;
And St. Thomas in the jungle on the beach,
Fell on a stone and prayed.
The angels made all this known
To Bishop Paulus (Paul).
Bishop Paulus and the King
And all their retinue,
They ran and came to a rock
Close to Kâḷi's (Goddess's) shrine (at Chinnamala)
The lance found in the fresh wound
Bishop Paulus quickly pulled out.
When, for comfort, in a car
They tried to take him away :
'No more comfort, my bliss is nigh,'
So did St. Thomas say anon—(*Lines* 351—368).

And St. Thomas breathed his last"[10]—(*Line* 376).

Rev. Fr. Bernard, from whose *History* the above lines are translated, says that "it is a fact that St. Thomas died near Chinnamala (Little Mount) and there is no question at all about it among the Syrian Christians." (Bernard's *History*, I, p. 32.) Another history in Malayalam says that "a temple priest threw a lance and he was hit hard and thereby he died at Chinnamala[11] in Mylapore in about A.D. 90 and was buried there."[12] It has to be remarked here that Mylapore (or San Thomé), the Great Mount (or St. Thomas Mount) and the Little Mount (Chinnamalai) are three different localities. The Great Mount is about six miles and the Little Mount about two miles from Mylapore (or San Thomé), which is a suburb of Madras, about three and a half miles south of Fort St. George, Madras.[13] Fort St. George and San Thomé are on the sea coast, while San Thomé, Little Mount and Great Mount are almost in the same straight line, making an angle of about 60° with the coast extending southward.

9 See the sketch map of San Thomé, Mylapore, and environs facing p. 111 of Medlycott's *India and the Apostle Thomas* and plate at p. 128, *op. cit.* Also the small but clear sketch on p. 358 of Yule and Cordier's *Marco Polo*, vol. II (London, 1903) and the picture on p. 356 of the same.

10 The song is given in full in a *History of the St. Thomas Christians* (in Malayalam), vol. I, by Rev. Fr. Bernard of St. Thomas, T.O.C.D. (*Pâlâ*, 1916).

11 But Bishop Medlycott, *op. cit.*, p. 123, note 1, says that the Great Mount is traditionally reputed to be the site of the Apostle's martyrdom. Vide also *Marco Polo*, II, 358.

12 Iṭṭûp's *History of the Syrian Christian Church of Malabar*, p. 80 (2nd Impression, Kottayam, 1906). This history in Malayalam was first published in 1869.

13 See Medlycott, *op. cit.*, p. 123, notes 1 and 2; and *Marco Polo*, II, 355, note 1.

In the present writer's opinion it is this Chinnamala, the place of the Apostle's Martyrdom, that appears as Calamina in the Greek and Syrian writers of the early centuries. The metamorphosis may be represented thus :—

(1) Chinnamalai of Tamil softens into

(2) Chinamali in the mouth of Greek travellers.

By metathesis this becomes

(3) Chilamaṉi, quite naturally.

Ch becomes *K* and we have

(4) *Κίλαμανη* in Greek, and again by metathesis

(5) *Καλαμίνη*, in which form we find it in the Greek writers.

The mutation of *ch* to *k* (No. 4) seems natural in the mouth of European speakers. *Cf.* Chôḷamaṇḍal—Coromandel Coast, Chêraputra—Kerobothros.

IV. Some Place-names in Travancore.[14]

Interesting evidence as to the lie of the ancient seaboard of Travancore is afforded by the names of some inland places in the State, which are now eight or ten miles away from the present shores of the lagoons and the Arabian Sea. Megasthenes, in the fourth century B.C., mentioned as "on the sea-coast" the town of Tropina[15] (Trippûṇittuṟa in Cochin) now on the mainland side of the backwaters. In the time of Pliny (*circa* 77 A.D.)[16] and *the Periplus* (*circa* 60 A.D.) [16], Muziris (modern Cranganore, the Muśiri of Tamil works of the early Christian centuries), Bacare (modern Pṛakkâṭẹ,[17] a few miles south of Alleppey), Pyrrhon, the dark red mountain of Vaṛkkala, Balita (Tiru-'vallattẹ,' not Varkkala as some authorities seem to suppose) and the Cape of Komari (modern Cape Comorin) were on or near the sea coast[18], as they are even now. The lapse of eighteen centuries has not shifted the seaboard to any great extent. So, the fact that the old coast places mentioned below are now about half a dozen miles away from salt water —either of the lagoons or of the sea—leads one to the inference that the sea must have laved them ages ago and that their names also are of hoary antiquity.

Beginning from the south of Travancore, we have Nâvây mentioned in a Tamil inscription,[19] probably of the first half of the twelfth century A.D., in the temple at Cape Comorin. This Nâvây[20] still retains its old name, which means a ship. Then there is Kaṭukkara (=sea beach), a village further north.

Nâvâyikkuḷam, about 7 miles north-east of Vaṛkkala, and on the road from Trivandrum to Quilon is now an inland village abounding in igneous rocks and clear, white, free quartz crystals of small size. The name in its present corrupt form means 'a tank in a dog's mouth.' But the real name of the place as found in inscriptions of A.D. 1439 and 1644 is Nâvâykkaḷam[21] meaning 'ship-ground.' A copper-plate inscription of A.D. 1520 in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters, a photo of which is exhibited in the Napier Museum, Trivandrum, has the modern form

14 A paper on the same subject, entitled *Notes on Malabar and its Place-Names* appeared in *Indian Antiquary*, Aug., 1902.

15 Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 212 (Longmans, 1912).

16 Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's *The Beginnings of South Indian History*, p. 146 (Madras, 1918).

17 E with a diacritical dot below is used here to denote the Malayalam vowel which has almost the same phonetic value as e in the English words other, father, etc., which in modern phonetics is represented by ǝ, an inverted e. The long variety of this vowel occurs in observe, servant, pert, heard. Vide *Elementary Phonetics* by Scholle and Smith, pp. 11, 12, 22 (second ed., Blackie, London).

18 *Vide* Schoff's *Periplus*, pp. 44—46. (Longmans, 1912).

19 *Travancore Archæological Series*, I, p. 23, line 13. (Trivandrum, 1910).

20 There is a well known place of the same name (Tiru-nâvây, blessed Nâvây) up in the north, in British Malabar, on the sea-coast. Logan's *Malabar*, I, 228 (Madras, 1906)

21 *Trav. Arch. Series*, I, 299.

Nâvâyikkuḷam, but it has been wrongly read as Tiruppârikkaḷam[22] by some epigraphists, as is evident from the label. An unpublished copper-leaf document of 1435 A.D., belonging to a temple near the above ' ship-ground, ' mentions a place Kaṭittânam (=sea-place) close by. Paravûr (paravai-ûr=sea-village) to the south-east of Quilon is a littoral village even now.

In central Travancore we have the sandy region known as Ônâṭṭukara comprising the *taluks* of Karunâgappaḷḷi, Kârttikappaḷḷi and Mâvêlikkara. Ônâṭṭukara seems to be a corrupt form of Ôru-nâṭṭukara,[23] salty region or briny land. Ochira in this same region is briny bank (Ôṟ-chiṟa) or salty pool by name, and Mâvêlikkara, ordinarily taken to mean the village of Mahâbali of Puranic fame, may be the ' great tidal shore,' *vêli*[24] meaning tide. Going further north, we come across Kaṭappṟa (=sea-place), now about 10 miles from the sea, Âlanturutti (properly, Âtan-turutti, Buddhist saint's island), Turuttikkâṭe (=island jungle) and Kaṭuttâṇam (sea-site). This last name occurs in an unpublished copper-plate inscription belonging to the Tiruvallâ temple.

Further on there are Perunneyil (=great littoral village) and Tṛikkaṭittânam[25] (=blessed sea-site). The former name appears in its correct form, Peruneytalûr, in several tenth or eleventh century stone inscriptions[26] in the temple at that place. Then there are Kaṭutturutti[27] (=sea-island) and Ônanturutti (Ônam-island) both north of Kôṭṭayam, well-known to antiquarians as the place where the far-famed Syrian Christian copper-plates and the two Persian crosses with Pahlavi inscriptions are deposited. Perunturutti (=great island) is about twelve miles west of Kottayam and on the western shore of the Vembaṇâd[28] lake. This lake being geologically a part of the sea, there is no doubt that the sandy tracts (including Perunturutti) between it and the sea on the west were once in the ocean. In the interior there is Kaṭaṇâṭe[29] (=sea-country) eight miles east of Kaṭutturutti, which latter is now nearly eight miles from the eastern edge of the backwaters and about fourteen miles from the sea. Passing Eṟṇâkulam (Iraṇâkuḷam, salty ground or tank. *Cf.* Skt. Iriṇam, salty ground) in Cochin we come to Paṟavûr, a sandy country. The name seems to be a modification of Paravûr (differing in the first *r*)[30] already mentioned as the name of a place near Quilon.

22 The reading published in *Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. III, part II, p. 216 is correct in this part, but faulty in several others.

23 This appears as Ôṭunâṭe in the well-known Kottayam copper-plate of the reign of Vîra-Râghava and as Ôṭaṇâṭe in *Uṇṇunîli Sandêśam*, a Malayalam lyrical poem of 516 M.E. (1340—41 A.D.) denoted by the cryptogram *Taṇṭârmâ* forming the opening word of the poem.

24 Sanskrit *vêlâ*, tide or sea-coast, Tamil *vêlai* and Malayalam *vêli* as in *vêliyêṟṟam*, flood-tide and *vêliyiṟakkam*, ebb-tide.

25 *Trav. Arch. Series*, II, Part I, pp. 33, 36, 40. 26 *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 44.

27 This is the Carturte of Gouvea and other Portuguese writers. The Sanskrit name for the place is Sindhudvîpam (=sea-island) occurring in old works like *Uṇṇunîli-Sandêśam*, (1340-41 A.D.).

28 Vembaṇâd is the Tamilized and Anglicized mode of writing the Malayalam name Vempaṇâṭe, the change of p and ṭ into b and ḍ denoting recent Tamil influence, and the dropping of the final vowel e denoting English influence. It has an old form Vempalanâṭe and a Sanskritized form Bimbalî-dêśah. It is this Vempaṇâṭe that, in the present writer's opinion, appears as Pimenta in Gouvea's *Journada*. Vempaṇâṭe pronounced by the common people as Bemmeṇâṭe was, we may suppose, pronounced and written by Gouvea as Pimeṇâṭa, which subsequently became Pimenta.

29 Kaṭaṇâṭe may also mean end-country, or ' inhabited place ' (*nâṭe* as opposed to *kâṭe*, *forest*) at the eastern extremity (*kaṭa*). One may legitimately object here that none of the place-names containing *kaṭa*, mentioned above (Kaṭappṟa, Kaṭittâṇam and Kaṭutturutti) have any reference to *Kaṭal*, the sea. Very well. But the geological evidence of oceanic formations at these places remains unshaken.

30 Three different sounds in Malayalam are represented by *r* (in this paper) with diacritical marks. The first (*r*) is that occurring in the Sanskrit words Râma, râjâ, and in the English word caravan, and the second is the initial consonant (*ṟ*) in the English words ram, royal, room, etc. The third (*ṟ* with two dots below) is the sound "formed by the front part of the tongue pressing against the fore-gum" and represented by *t* in the English words late, latter, cat, etc., *Elementary Phonetics* (*ante*), p. 69. In phonetics *r* is called the trilled *r* and *r* an untrilled one. *Op. cit.*, pp. 73 and 74.

This evidence from place-names, apart from the geological one, warrants the conclusion that the Arabian Sea extended to the above localities in ancient times very far remote from the time of *the Periplus* or even the time of Megasthenes. Was it ten thousand years ago? Do these place-names date from those ancient days? If they do, we have in them Dravidian words of extreme antiquity.

NOTES ON SOME MUHAMMADAN SAINTS AND SHRINES IN THE UNITED PROVINCES.

BY THE LATE DR. W. CROOKE, C.I.E., D.C.L., F.B.A.

I. THE SHRINES OF THE SABIRIA BRANCH OF THE CHISHTI ORDER AT PIRAN KALIYAR, IN THE SAHARANPUR DISTRICT.

1. *Pîrân Kaliyar.* 'Alâ-ud-dîn Sâbir, whose shrine is close to Rurkî, in the Sahâranpur District, is said to have been the only son of the sister of Bâba Farîd Shakarganj's mother.[1] Of this latter saint it is told that his mother was very devout and it was she who bade him practise austerities. After twelve years of *askesis,* he asked her to test his power, but when she pulled his hair he cried out, and she bade him begin anew, as he had not yet got rid of the passions of humanity. For the next twelve years he hung himself in a well, and kept his gaze rivetted on the Heavens above. Though crows tore his flesh he made no moan, but when one tried to pluck out his eyes, he exclaimed :—

Kâgâ rê, tû hkâiyo chun chun merî mâs :
Do nainâ mat chheriyo, piyâ milan kî âs.
" O crow ! You may eat my flesh, choosing as you will.
But spare my eyes, my only hope of beholding my Beloved."

As he sojourned in a forest where caravans were constantly passing, he once, though this was not his habit, asked a miserly Bânia what goods his camels were carrying. The reply was :—*Mittî sittî hai* ('tis only earth). So the saint said :—' May thy earth prosper ' and lo ! the sugar with which the camels had been laden became earth.[2] But on the merchant's supplication the saint turned it back to sugar.

As the mother of 'Alâ-ud-dîn was poor and he was growing up a weakling from underfeeding, she sent him to her wealthy sister, the mother of Farîd. But though she offered him food, he lived on the fruits of the wild, and gave what he received to the poor. In the fulness of time he came to the village of Pîrân Kaliyar, where dwelt a Râjâ, by name Karan, who claimed the *jus primæ noctis* at all his subjects' weddings. The saint protested in vain, and the Râjâ threatened him with death for his interference. Then the saint (not condescending to deal with the matter himself) bade his disciple Kilkilî overturn the Râjâ's city. This Kilkilî did by reversing a peg stuck in the ground in front of the hermitage. The saint was buried at Pîrân Kaliyar, and near his tomb[3] grows a fig-tree, whose leaves Musulmans carry home to use as charms.

1 As to whom, see Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India,* I, pp. 214ff.

2 In a Panjâbî version of this miracle the sugar is turned into stones.

3 The inscription on this tomb reads :—

Qâsime az lutf izo dar qabûle Hazratash.
Bud gum nâmo kunûn andar do 'âlam nâm yâft.
Rozayê Makhdûm Ahmad, Mîr Alâ-ud-dîn 'Alî.
Chun binâ o zamâna himmatash anjâm yâft.
Sâl târîkhash bapursîdam za pîrê aqla guft,
În binâ andar hazâro si wa haft tamâm yâft.

" Qâsim, the builder of this tomb, was not in favour with the Saint : he too was going astray, but since he set up this tomb he has found fame in the two worlds. The tomb of Mîr 'Alâ-ud-dîn 'Alî was built by his generosity. To the wise elders I say that it was completed in the year 1037 of the Hijrâ."—Râm Gharib Chaubê.

2. *Bandagî Dîwân.* At Rânîpur, in the same District, is the tomb of 'Alâ-ud-dîn's minister, who out of respect for him lived a few miles away from that saint. The fair held in his honour on the first day of Muharram is largely frequented, and people offer flowers, sweets, animals, etc. On Friday nights the sound of music is heard from a distance, and it only ceases when they go near the tomb. Similarly the clash of arms is also heard, and Râm Gharîb Chaube was told by one of the priests that he had heard it just before the outbreak of the Mutiny. After much blood had been shed, the sepoys of the saint Bandagî Dîwân mustered one night, spear in hand. But the saint in sorrow said—'take not these spears, they are broken.' And so the sepoys sat down.

3. *Two Girl Saints.* A little way from the tomb of 'Alâ-ud-dîn lies a ruined fort, wherein three historical persons are said to be buried. These are Imâm Abû Su'âl Muhammad[5], Bîbî Binur Sâhiba, a Banjâra girl, and Bîbî Gauhar Sâhiba, the daughter of a Sayyid. These tombs are worshipped by Hindus as well as by Musulmans. The priest informed Râm Gharîb Chaubê that Râjâ Karan was so bigoted that he would not permit any Moslem to dwell in his city, but a Sayyid concealed himself in it. Now this Sayyid had a daughter, as lovely as she was learned and inspired, and Râjâ Karan had a cow which yielded milk without having calved, and was therefore called Kâmdhenu by the folk. Her milk was offered to his family gods, 1¼ *mâns* of gold being also given daily to Brahmans. The cow was turned out to graze where she listed, and no one dared molest her, until one day the Sayyid, whose family was starving, slew her at his daughter's behest, she declaring that its hour had struck. So it was killed and its flesh eaten. Next day Karan learnt what had been done from an informer, and his ministers advised him to demand the Sayyid's daughter as the price of his pardon. The Sayyid demurred, but at his daughter's instance agreed to surrender her on payment of Rs. 2,000. Of that sum he gave her half for her subsistence while he went away, and with the rest he journeyed to Mashhad, where Imâm Abû Su'âl Muhammad was then ruling. To him he presented a naked sword and a betel (*ek bîrâ pân*), and told his tale. The Imâm in anger resolved to attack Pîrân Kaliyar, many hundreds of miles away, and marching there with his seventy *amîrs*, bade Karan embrace Islam. But the Râjâ refusing, a bloody fight ensued and in it the Imâm, the Râjâ, and the Sayyid, with his daughter, were all killed. The Imâm and the Sayyid's daughter were buried in the fort, and the third tomb is said to be that of the daughter of the Banjâra who supplied the Imâm's army in all his campaigns. Of her it is related that in battle she always stood by the Imâm's side, with two pitchers full of water on her shoulders, and that she too fell in this battle. The fair is held on the 6th of Muharram.

II. Some Miracles of 'Abd-ul-Qadir Jilani.

1. *Miracles in Infancy.* It is related that while an infant 'Abd-ul-Qâdir refused to take the breast during the day-time, as soon as Ramazân came round; and once, when the moon did not appear, owing to the sky being overcast, on the last day of the month, the folk asked his mother about the date. She replied that it was certainly the first of Ramazân, as the child had not sucked that day.

It is also related of the saint that, while yet a child, his *dâya* or ayah took him for an airing, and that he flew away from her bosom, far away into the sky where he hovered, like a bird, near the sun. But seeing her alarm, he flew back to her bosom. Once this *dâya*, who was a native of Jîlân, came to see the saint when he was at Baghdâd, and jestingly asked him if

[5] *Sic* in Râm Gharîb Chaubê's MS.

such happenings as he had displayed in childhood had ever occurred since he left her. Smiling, the saint replied :—' Mother, in childhood there is more bodily agility. Although, by God's grace, my power to work miracles has increased a hundred-fold, yet it is not fitting at my age that it should be displayed publicly .' So she saluted the saint in silence.

2. *Miracles in boyhood.* One day as the saint sat writing, some dust from the roof of his home fell on his clothes thrice. When it fell a fourth time he looked up and saw a rat making a hole in the ceiling But as soon as the saint's glance fell on it, its head was wrenched from its body, and fell in one place, while its body fell in another. The saint wept, and when one sitting by him asked why, he replied that he was grieved lest any Muhammadan should ever be dealt with by him as the rat had been. On another day, a bird let its droppings fall on him while he was performing his ablutions before prayer, and when he looked up it fell dead. The saint wrought these miracles while yet a boy.

3. *Piety requited.* Once when the saint was on his way to Mecca, he bade his companions find the house of a poor, obscure, and pious man to stay in. The notables of the place besought him to bless their houses with his presence, but he chose the dwelling of an aged woman, and during the night so much money and goods came to her that no one there surpassed her in wealth.

4. *Disrespect punished.* One day Abu'l-Fazl, a servant of the saint, went to a cloth-seller's shop and asked for some cloth which was selling at one *dinâr* a yard. The dealer asked for whom it was wanted ; and the servant replied that it was for his master. The dealer muttered that that *faqîr* left nothing even for the King to wear. But no sooner had he said this than an iron peg from above fell and pierced his feet. The servant returned to his master, leaving the dealer in grievous pain. The saint on learning what had passed, sent for the dealer and told him not to make remarks about saints, as what they did was done by God's permission, and he who objects is punished. The dealer then threw himself at the saint's feet, and when he had placed his hand on the wound it was healed forthwith.

5. *A dead son restored to his father.* Once a man had a dearly loved son, but he died, and in his grief the father wandered afar, until he came to the saint at Pânîpat. There he prayed the saint to let him see his son, even if it were only in a dream. But the saint promised to show him his son while he was awake; and next day an old woman passed the inn where he was staying with a boy who exactly resembled his dead son. The man caressed the lad and gave him sweets. Then both woman and child disappeared. Thrice this happened, but after that they were seen no more. The man went to the saint and begged that he might see his son every day. But the saint replied that that could not be, for God, not he, had both created and supported the child, and that He had entrusted it to the man as long as He pleased, but now that He no longer willed it so, he had no cause for repining. Then the man understood the saint's lesson, and being comforted returned home.

6. *Use of a Hindu charm.* One day a Hindu named Kâlikâ Prasâd went to the saint and complained that he had used every remedy for his disease, but had not been cured. The saint called his physician Maujû Khân, and he found that the man was at the point of death. But the saint bade the sufferer stand every morning in the open air, facing the sun, and repeat :—*Shiva* ! *Shiva* ! *Ganesha* ! *Kâto kalesa* ! ' O Shiv ! O Ganesh ! Remove my affliction ! ' promising him recovery. And the man obeyed and was healed.

AN UNKNOWN BATTLE BETWEEN A RULER OF GUJARÂT AND A KING OF MEWAR.

BY R. R. HALDER.

THERE is no mention of the battle, which forms the subject of this article, in any history of Gujarât or of Mewâr. Nor do we find any trace of it in the inscriptions of either country. The only clue that we have appears in the inscription, dated Samvat 1287 (A.D. 1230), in the temple of Neminâtha, originally known as Lûṇavasahikâ, on Arbuda (Mt. Abu), built by Tejpâla, brother of Vastupâla and minister of the Chaulukya chief Vîradhavala. The text of the inscription was composed by Sómeśvaradêva, the well-known Gurjara-purôhita of the Châlukya kings and the author of *Kîrtikaumudî* and other works. The inscription runs, "His (Dhârâvarsha's) younger brother Prahlâdana, whose sword was dexterous in defending the illustrious Gûrjara King, when his power had been broken on the battlefield by Sâmantasiṁha, again displayed on earth the behaviour of the greatest enemy of the descendants of Danu."[1]

Now, who was this Sâmantasiṁha ? Up to the present, only two inscriptions of Sâmantasiṁha have been found ; one on a pillar of the temple of Dêvi in the village of Jagat in Udaipur State, which is dated Samvat 1228 (A.D. 1172),[2] and the other in the temple of Boreśvara Mahâdeva, about one and a half miles from the village of Solaj in the Dungarpur State, which is dated Samvat 1236 (A.D. 1179).[3] From these it appears that Sâmantasiṁha was reigning between the period Samvat 1228 and 1236. No other ruler of this name ruled at this period, either in Gujarât, Rajputana or other neighbouring provinces, except this Sâmantasiṁha of Mewâr.

Turning our attention to Prahlâdana, we find that there are two inscriptions of Prahlâdan or Pâlhaṇadeva in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. One is dated Samvat 1220 (A.D. 1163) and the other Samvat 1265 (A.D. 1208). Both of them were found in the Sirohi State, the first at Kâyadrân and the second at the village Oriya on Mt. Âbu. From these we learn that Prahlâdana or Pâlhaṇadeva lived between the years Samvat 1220 and 1265.

Thus, Sâmantasiṁha of Mewâr and Prahlâdana were contemporaries.

From the Mount Abu inscription of Samvat 1265, which says that "the Lord of Chandrâvati, the chief of the feudal barons, the illustrious Dhârâvarshadeva, being the only possessor of a regal parasol protected the earth,"[4] it appears that Dhârâvarsha, the elder brother of Prahlâdana, was a feudatory of Bhimdeva II, the ruler of Gujarât, just as his father, Yaśodhavala, was a feudatory of the preceding ruler, Kumârapâla, of Gujarât.[5] Hence it is reasonable to infer that Dhârâvarsha sent his younger brother Prahlâdana to render assistance to the King of Gujarât with his army, when the latter was attacked by Sâmantasiṁha of Mewâr.

Next, we have to ascertain which king of Gujarat gave battle to Sâmantasiṁha and whose power the latter broke in the battlefield ?

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1 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VIII, pp. 211, 216 ; verse 38.
सामंतसिंहसमितिक्षितिविक्षतौजः श्रीगूर्ज्जरक्षितिपरक्षणदक्षिणासि
प्रल्हादनस्तदनुजो दनुजोत्तमारिचारित्रमत्र पुनरुज्वलयांचकार

2 संवत १२२८ वरिखे (वर्षे) फाल्गुन सुदि ७ गुरौ श्री अंबिकादेव्यां महाराज श्री सांमंतसिंहदेवेन सुवर्न(र्ण) मयकलसं (शः) प्रदत्तः

3 *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, for the year 1914—15, page 3.

4 *Antc*, vol. XI., page 223.

5 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VIII, pp. 201, 211.

We know that the throne of Gujarât was occupied by Kumârapâla from S. 1199 to 1230 (A.D. 1143 to 1174); by his nephew Ajaipâla from S. 1230 to 1233 (A.D. 1174 to 1177); by Mûlrâja II (Bâlamûlarâja), son of Ajaipâla from S. 1233 to 1235 (A.D. 1177 to 1179); and by Bhimadeva II (Bhôlâbhîma), the younger brother of Mûlarâja II, from S. 1235 to 1298 (A.D. 1179 to 1242).[6] All these four rulers were, therefore, contemporaries of Sâmanta-siṁha of Mewâr. Of these, Kumârapâla was the most powerful, and as he was a staunch supporter of Jainism, many learned writers of the age wrote an account of his reign. Therein we find various interesting facts relating to his enterprises and achievements, but in none of them do we find any account of this battle. The other rulers were Ajaipâla, Mûlrâja II, and Bhimadeva II, of whom the last two, being of tender age at the time of accession, and there being no authentic historical evidence of the fact, cannot be supposed to have fought the battle. Hence the likelihood is that the battle was fought with Ajaipâla of Gujarât, the successor of Kumârapâla.

To corroborate this view, we may refer to a passage in the writing of the same Gurjara-purôhita Someśvara. He mentions in his *Surathôtsava Kâvya* while giving an account of his ancestors, mentioning therein various services offered by them to their spiritual clients, the Kings of Gujarât, that his predecessor Kumâra, having propitiated Kaṭukeśvara Shiva (Ardhanariśvara), healed the torturing pains of wounds received by king Ajaipâla of Gujarât in a battle.[7] It will, therefore, be safe to say that the battle was fought between Sâmanta-siṁha of Mewâr and Ajaipâla of Gujarât.

It is not known, however, why and when this battle was fought. But it seems probable that after the death of the powerful king Kumârapâla, Sâmantasiṁha seized the opportunity to regain possession, from the hands of an incapable successor of Kumârapâla, of the fort of Chitor, which belonged to his (Samantasiṁha's) ancestors and which had long been in foreign possession.

As to the date of the battle, nothing can be said with precision: but there can be no doubt that the battle was fought sometime during the short reign of Ajaîpâla, between Samvat 1230 and 1233 (A.D. 1174 to 1177).

The result of the battle has special importance, as it gave rise to the foundation of the Dungarpur State in Rajputana. Sâmantasiṁha's power declined after this battle, and, taking advantage of his weakness, Kîrtipâla (Kîtû) the Chauhân king of Jâlaur and third son of Âlhaṇadeva of Nâdaul (in Jodhpur State), attacked Mewar and took it from Sâman-tasiṁha. Sâmantasiṁha was thus compelled to leave Chitor and to flee to the other territory called Bâgar (Dungarpur State), where he made Baroḍâ his capital; and there he and his descendants settled permanently. Thus he became the founder of the Dungarpur State. Then his younger brother, Kumârasiṁha, opened negotiations with the king of Gujarât, and with his assistance turned Kîtû out of Mewâr and took possession of his ancestral dominion, of which he subsequently became the ruler.[8] After that, the Guhil branch

6 *Supplementary Notes to Tod's Rajasthan*, by R. B. Pt. Gourishankar H. Ojha, pp. 434–436.

7 यः शौचसंयमपटुः कटुकेश्वराख्यमाराध्य भूधरसुताघटितार्धदेहम् ।
तां दारुणामपि रणाङ्गणजातघातव्रातव्यथामजयपाल नृपादपास्थात् ॥—*Surathotsava*. XV, 32.

8 सामंतसिंहनामा भूपतिर्भूतले जातः ॥ १४६ ॥
भ्राताकुमारसिंहोऽभूत्स्वराज्यग्राहिणं परं
देशान्निष्कासयामास कीतूसंज्ञं नृपं तु यः ॥ १५० ॥—*Kumbhalgarh Inscription* (unpublished):
स्वीकृतमाघाटपुरं गुर्जरनृपतिं प्रसाद्य ।
येन नृपत्वं लब्धं तदनु श्रीमहणसिंहो ॥ १५१ ॥—*Ibid.*

of the younger brother ruled over Chitor, and that of the elder brother at Dungarpur—a fact still admitted by the historians, chiefs and rulers of Mewâr.

Although it appears that Sâmantasiṁha of Mewâr was thus the real founder of the Dungarpur State, nevertheless there are many controversies on this point. We need not enter into the details, but it is interesting to examine the opinions of a few historians of Rajputana on the matter. The author of *Râjapraśasti Mahâkâvya* says that the state was founded by Mâhapa, elder son of Karṇa, who was the son of Râwal Samarasiṁha of Mewâr.[9] In fact, Ratansiṁha, and not Karṇa, was the son of Samarasiṁha.[10] Colonel Tod also says that Mâhapa, son of Karṇa and grandson of Samarasiṁha, was the founder.[11] If we believe that Mâhapa was the grandson of Samarasiṁha, his date will fall about the middle of the fourteenth century A.D., because several inscriptions[12] of Râwal Samarasiṁha show that he was the ruler of Mewâr from S. 1330—1356 (A.D. 1273–1299). Major Erskine gives two versions of the foundation of the state, but he is not positive about them. His supposition that in the thirteenth or fourteenth century Mâhapa went to Bâgaṛ and, by gradually driving back the Bhîl chieftains, he and his descendants became masters of that country, is in all probability erroneous.[13] For the state came under the sway of the present ruling dynasty before the year S. 1236 (A.D. 1179). And again, the date of Sihaṛdeva (Sehdi), the fifth ruler from Mâhapa, would fall in the fifteenth century A.D., while his inscriptions are dated S. 1277 and 1291 (A.D. 1220 and 1234).[14] The version of the celebrated writer Mûhnôt Nansi (A.D. 1649—1668) that Samatsi (Sâmantasiṁha), King of Mewâr, having made Baṛodâ in Bâgar his capital, gradually brought all the surrounding territory under his control, is supported by several inscriptions; but his statement that Sâmantasiṁha willingly gave the fort of Chitor to his younger brother is unfounded.[15] After many years of controversy the real facts are at last disclosed. It may be that these historians had to walk with faltering and uncertain steps on the slippery path of the legendary information then available; but, now, in the light of the recent discoveries of so many inscriptions of Abu, Kumbhalgaṛh, Dungarpur, etc., the dark spots in their path have been sufficiently illumined to remove uncertainty and clearly establish the truth.

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9 *Râjapraśasti Mahâkâvya*, Canto. III, verse 28.

10 स रत्नसिंहं तनयं नियुज्य स्वचित्रकूटाचलरक्षणाय ।
महेशपूजाहतकल्मषौघ इलापतिस्स्वर्गपतिर्बभूव ॥ १७९ ॥—*Kumbhalgarh Inscription.*

11 Tod's *Râjasthan* (Calcutta edition), vol. I, pp. 279, 280.

12 *Wiener Zeitschrift*, vol. 21, p. 143; *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. 55, part I, p. 48; *ante*, Vol. 16, p. 347.

13 *Gazetteer of the Dungarpur State*, by Major K. D. Erskine, pp. 131—132.

14 Unpublished Inscriptions of Bhaikrod and of the village Jagat :—
संवत १२९१ वर्षे । वैशाष (ख) शुदि ३ रवौ वागडवट् (ट) पद्रंक महाराजाधिराज श्री सीहडदेव विजयोदयी......संवत १२७७ वरिषे (वर्षे) चैत्र सुदि १४ सोमदिने......महराऊ (रावल) श्री सीहडदेवराज्ये......

15 *The MSS. of Muhnot Nensi's Khyâta*, p. 19.

UMÂJÎ NAIK.

(An Episode in the History of Western India.)

BY S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

THE article on the history of the Poona District in the Provincial Volumes of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* contains the following sentence :—" In 1826 the Ramosis rose in revolt and were joined by the Kolis from the hilly western tracts. This rising and a similar one in 1844 were quelled without much difficulty." If this summary reference to operations which were begun towards the end of the Governorship of Mountstuart Elphinstone and were concluded during the régime of Major-General Sir John Malcolm, were all that we had to depend upon, we should know very little about the somewhat remarkable figure of Umâjî Naik, or Umia, the Ramosi robber-chief, who at one period of his career of outlawry certainly cherished ideas of emulating the great Sivajî and securing an independent political position. Fortunately, however, there still exists a stray copy or two of an excellent treatise on the Ramosis of the Deccan, written and published in 1833 by Captain Alexander Mackintosh of the 27th Regiment, Madras Army, who took part in the operations against the outlaw ; and the latter portion of his work is concerned particularly with the history of Umâjî himself, and describes in considerable detail the achievements of his gang of lawless followers. It seems worth while to summarize Mackintosh's story of the revolt, not only because it possesses a certain historical value, but also because it indicates how easily a similar movement might again be engendered and supported under a weak, inefficient or corrupt administration.

Umâjî, who was the son of Dâdâjî Naik, a Ramosi chief of Purandhar fort, was born in 1791 in a village two miles north-east of Purandhar and sixteen miles south-east of Poona. He and the clan to which he belonged claimed certain hereditary rights in the fort and other places in its vicinity, and there seem grounds for supposing that those rights had been recognized in previous years. During the constant warfare of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it is more than likely that bodies of militant jungle-tribesmen, such as the Ramosis, Bedars, Kolis, Bhils and others, gave valuable assistance at various times to local chieftains and native governments, receiving in return gifts of land and other rights and emoluments, which were generally granted in perpetuity. Dâdâjî Naik died in Purandhar fort in 1802, a little while before the arrival of Holkar's army in Poona : and it was in the following year, after the return of the Peshwa Bâjî Rao II to Poona from Bassein, that the incident occurred which may be said to have ultimately driven Umâjî into outlawry. Bâjî Rao ordered the Ramosis of Purandhar to deliver the fort to him : the latter, persuaded of their hereditary right to live there, declined to do so : the Peshwa retaliated by expelling them forcibly from the fort and depriving them of their pay, emoluments and lands. The Peshwa thus destroyed the one inducement to these wild men to lead a more or less settled life : the Ramosis, under their headmen or *naiks*, left Purandhar with a grievance, among them being Umâjî, who took shelter in a neighbouring village with his mother, the second wife of Dâdâjî Naik.

Nothing definite is heard of Umâjî until the year 1814, when, in company with his cousin Ragho and other Ramosis from the Poona District, he joined forces with other members of his tribe, resident near Parenda in the Nizam's territory. Here he and his associates were implicated in the murder of the second wife of an Inâmdar near Bîr, and were obliged by the activity of the Nizam's deputy in Aurungabad to flee back towards Purandhar with their families, flocks and cattle. The Nizam's troops, however, pursued and brought them to bay, and after a sharp conflict forced them to surrender. Umâjî and other survivors were carried off to Parenda and there imprisoned : but three months later they managed to obtain their freedom by offering all the property, of which they were possessed, to the officials in charge. In the conflict just mentioned Umâjî's cousin Ragho was killed.

Umâjî's second escapade was equally disastrous. About six months after the downfall of Bâjî Rao and the British occupation of his territory, Umâjî, in company with the Ramosis of Sakurdi and Saswad, suddenly descended upon Kalapur in the Konkan, 18 miles from Panwel, and there looted the property of a *sahukar* of Poona, which was being sent to Bombay. He and three others were shortly afterwards arrested, tried, convicted and sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a flogging. On the expiry of his sentence he recommenced his plundering excursions, and was again arrested, although on this occasion he defended himself with great cleverness and managed to escape conviction. As showing that Umâjî was rather superior to the average Ramosi, it may be mentioned that he employed his sojourn in jail in learning Bâlbodh with his brother and fellow-prisoner, Kistnâjî. There is little doubt that he was already aiming at being something more than a mere dacoit or jungle-robber, and that he recognized the value for that purpose of a knowledge of Marâthî. Yet he was still working with only a small party of followers and confined himself to highway robbery of a minor character. In December 1821, he came directly into conflict with the authorities by rescuing from police custody a Saswad Ramosi, named Sattu Naik, who had caused the death of a woman during an altercation. In April 1823, he went a step further and killed one Annâjî Naik, the officer in charge of the Poona police, because the latter had arrested another of his brothers, named Amrita. Alarmed at what he had done, Umâjî decided that he must strengthen his position and command a larger following, and he and his brothers therefore joined Sattu Naik, mentioned above, who was being hunted among the hills by the police. By the close of 1823 they had considerably augmented their joint forces and had committed various heavy robberies, designed to supply them with the money necessary for an intensive campaign against authority.

At the beginning of 1824 Umâjî and his followers moved to Singarh, where some of Sattu's spies brought him information of a large sum of money lying in the Government Treasury at Bamburda, a suburb of Poona. He accordingly detailed thirty men, headed by Umâjî, to attack and loot the Treasury, which they did successfully on February 24th. The attack was launched after nightfall. The *Sihbandi* treasury-guard was overpowered without much difficulty; and the Ramosis decamped with about Rs. 6,000, of which the major portion was given to Umâjî and his brothers. The favour of their tutelary deities was secured by the presentation of large sums to the shrines of Khandoba at Jejuri and of Bhavânî at Kondanpur near Singarh. In March an inconclusive skirmish took place in the hills south of Saswad between the Ramosis and a mixed force of *Sihbandis*, Ramosis of Poona, and a small body of regular infantry; and this was followed on April 28, 1825, by an attack upon Umâjî and his gang at Saswad by a body of Poona *Sihbandis* and some cavalry and matchlock-men belonging to the Jâgîrdar of Purandhar. Though Umâjî and Kistnâjî were both wounded, they and the rest of the gang managed to escape into the hills. In July 1825, the magistrate of Poona decided to make a fresh effort to break up the gang, and dispatched a detachment under Captain Mansfield to waylay them near the Harali *ghât*. This attempt met with little more success than before. The main body of the Ramosis made good their escape in the jungles: but Umâjî's brother, Amrita, and some of the families of the outlaws were taken prisoners. Amrita was detained in jail at Poona until the offer of a pardon to Umâjî in 1828.

The next event of consequence was the death of Sattu Naik from cholera in August, 1825. He was succeeded as head of the outlaws by Umâjî, who during the next two years organized and perpetrated a series of daring robberies and crimes. He commenced by plundering a *vakîl* of a member of the Patvardhan family, on his way from Miraj to Poona, and in April 1826, treated in the same way a Brahman *sâhukâr* of Pandharpur. Three

months later he attacked the family of the Jâgîrdar of Phaltan in the hills between Dhond and Jejuri, seizing Rs. 8,000 in cash and the principal lady of the party, whom, however, he subsequently set at liberty. Ten days later, July 26th, 1826, he descended on the house of Jowâhir Singh, head of the Purandhar police, at Kikwi, as the latter had shown some determination to check-mate his marauding activities. The Ramosis seized Jowahir Singh's son, stole all the weapons in the house, and then decamped to the Purandhar hills. Here it was intended at first to put the prisoner to death : but milder counsels ultimately prevailed, and Jowâhir Singh's son was permitted to depart, after making a solemn promise that he would interfere in no way with the Ramosis. This last exploit appears to have stirred the British authorities in Poona to a fresh effort ; for troops under the Officer Commanding Poona Horse were ordered to suppress Umâjî and his followers. The latter were in no wise daunted. In October Umâjî attacked a party of police, which had been detailed to watch his movements and give protection to travellers, and wounded severely three sepoys and two Brahman officers. He armed his own men with their swords and matchlocks. In the following month he made a surprise attack at Purinchi upon a party of ten men under a Sir Naik, a Mhâr by caste, who had agreed with Captain Robertson, the Collector of Poona, to assist in hunting down Umâjî. The attack was successful ; the Mhâr leader, though he fought bravely, was cut down and terribly mangled, and most of his men were severely wounded.

The Bombay Government, anticipating little success from the current operations, now ordered detachments of regular infantry to support the Poona police and the Poona Horse. Thereupon the Ramosis, who received early information of these orders, promptly disappeared into hiding in the Purandhar hills. In March 1827, they looted Rs. 3,000 from a Brahman traveller ; and after spending some weeks in the less accessible parts of the Sahyâdris, sixty of them, headed by Umâjî, descended to the foot of the Bhor Ghat and there seized a costly consignment of silks and satins, destined for Poona. This occurred in May 1827, and in the following month, after robbing the agents of certain Poona *shroffs* of Rs. 3,100, they returned once more to the Purandhar hills and attacked the Kolis of Purandhar, who were in the pay of Government and had shown a disposition to act against them. In July, certain villagers in the neighbourhood of Purinchi had the temerity to assist a party of cavalry in attacking Umâjî and his followers. They paid rather heavily for their action: for Umâjî escaped once more, and returning shortly afterwards, burnt their houses to the ground. For the next few weeks the Ramosis, finding themselves rather pressed, concealed themselves in some dilapidated forts in the Wai district, whence they sallied forth at intervals for the purposes of loot. Before the close of the monsoon the Bombay Government took the further step of offering rewards publicly for the apprehension of the leaders of the gang, the prices upon the head of each being as follows :—Umâjî, Rs. 1,200 ; Kistnâjî, Rs. 1,000 ; Pâṇḍu, Rs. 800 ; Paduji, Rs. 500 ; Bhavânî, Rs. 200 ; and Bhojâjî, Rs. 200.

The proclamation had little effect. As soon as the rains ceased, Umâjî opened negotiations with the Râja of Kolhapur, who was at the time in active opposition to the British authorities. Shahâjî *alias* Bâva Saheb, who had ascended the *gadi* in 1822, proved a quarrelsome and profligate ruler, whose aggressions between that year and 1829 obliged the British to send forces to subdue him on three separate occasions. He welcomed an offer of help from Umâjî, who undertook to make a diversion by striking a blow at Poona. The suggested action, however, never materialised, and the Ramosis contented themselves in October by again attacking the Kolis, who had remained staunch to their duties, and burning their village to the ground. It was at this date that Umâjî seems to have contemplated the possibility of acquiring a position of chieftainship, and his active promotion of the cause of the recalcitrant Râja of Kolhapur was doubtless meant to draw public attention to his own importance and reputation. He commenced issuing proclamations, and

together with Bhojâjî, one of his Naiks, sent peremptory orders to the village-officers in Saswad to pay him a portion of the village-revenues. He realized in this way about Rs. 14,000, and proceeded to levy similar contributions in the northern area of the Râja of Satara's territory, as well as in the district belonging to the Pant Sachiv. Further, he endeavoured to exact from the people of the countryside the respect and attentions which are customarily shown to Râjas and ruling princes, and ordered his own followers and persons of the lower classes and castes to address him by the title of Râja. Visions of independence and a principality floated before his eyes ; but he failed to realize that in the British Government he had a far tougher and more powerful opponent than Sivajî faced in Aurangzeb.

The remainder of the year 1827 was spent in casual skirmishing with the troops and police. In November, Umâjî attacked a party of troops at a village seven miles from Saswad, set fire to the Patel's house and burnt the Patel's daughter. A few days later he fell in with a party of infantry and ten horse, whom his followers attacked vigorously, shouting their war-cry "El-kot," and drove them back to Jejuri. He then made a forced march to the western Ghats, plundered some sepoys who were travelling on leave to Hindustan, and returned to Sonapur in the Saswad district, where he fought another engagement with a party of infantry and cavalry. Having escaped from this encounter with the loss of two of his men, Umâjî moved into the Mâwals, levying contributions as he went both from British villages and from those belonging to the Pant Sachiv. He was shortly afterwards joined by Bhojâjî, who had been commissioned to raise fresh levies of fighting jungle-folk, and found his forces augmented by about sixty men belonging to various tribes of the Deccan and Carnatic. In company with these, he moved to the hill-fort of Koari, one of the first strongholds seized by the great Sivajî at the outset of his career. A few days later, December 20th, 1827, he committed one of his worst crimes. Descending with 140 men into the Konkan, he seized a havildar and four sepoys, ordered them to be put to death, and then sent their heads in a basket to the authorities, with a letter threatening further reprisals, if his demands were not conceded. The Bombay Government replied by issuing a second proclamation, calling upon the Ramosi gang to disperse, and offering the following enhanced rewards for the capture of their chief Naiks :—Umâjî, Rs. 5,000 ; Bhojâjî, Rs. 5,000 ; Yesu Nîkdî, Rs. 5,000 ; Pându, Rs. 5,000.

As the attentions paid to his movements by the troops and police were now becoming rather irksome, Umâjî decided to make overtures to Government, with a view to obtaining terms for himself and recovering the ancient rights and dues claimed by the Ramosis of Purandhar. He accordingly ascended the Ghats on December 28th and watched the movements of several detachments, which were scouring the jungles in search of his gang; then moved to Mhâsvad, where his followers had a skirmish with the troops of the Râja of Satara ; and finally turned south-eastwards towards the Purandhar hills, meeting *en route* a military detachment under a havildar, whom he persuaded not to attack him. Having decided that, before opening negotiations with the Government, he must make a show of disbanding his followers, Umâjî, on reaching the neighbourhood of Purandhar, sent his main body into the Mahadev hills, south-east of Phaltan, while the rest were bidden to hide in the country to the north and east of Jejuri. He remained where he was in company with Bhojâjî, a Vâghe with whom he was very friendly, and two other Ramosis, while his brother Kistnâjî opened communications with a Risaldar of the Poona Horse. Various adventures befell him, while he was awaiting the result of his overtures. On one occasion he watched from a convenient *cache* a pig-sticking contest carried out by the officers of the troops which were hunting him ; on another he narrowly escaped capture by the Râja of Satara's troops near Sonegaum.

(*To be continued.*)

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PUNJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

SERIES IV.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S. (*Retired*).

(*Continued from Vol.* LII, *page* 330.)

Kurân: a wooden spade : Ch., 229.

Kurra: a measure made of reeds, its 1/4, 1/2 and 3/4 being marked by leather thongs. A *mala kurra* is 3/4ths of this measure or an *odi* filled but not heaped up : (?) Hazâra.

Kuth (? a root): hence Kuthlû, a seller of *Kuth* : Ch., 243 and 138.

Kutlû: a field made by breaking up a steep hillside : Mandi, 65.

Kuwâ: a garment : Ch., 142.

Labâna: a cricket : B., 154.

Laber: *Desmodium tiliaefolium* : Simla S. R., xliv.

Lâhul: the 2nd of Baisâkh, and one of the days for Bhat marriages : Mandi, 24.

Lâî: a turn, at a wedding. The four turns or rounds about the sacred fire constitute the binding rite in the marriage and are called *châr-lâî*; another circumambulation is the *ath-lâî* : Ch., 145 and 146.

Lakarhâr: an official who supplies wood : Ch., 264.

Lakh: a grain measure, =20 *pathas* : Suket, 33.

Lakhao:=*ghumao*, or the area sown with 20 *pathas* : SS. Bilâspur, 21.

Lâkh: a thread tied round the leg of a boy whose elder brother has died and not removed until he has passed the age at which he died : B., 198.

Lakhnoterî: ? Li-. the time-table of a wedding, written by the *parohit*: B., 141.

Lalchoti: a necklace, worn by men : SS. Bashahr, 42.

Lângâ: a man's load : Ch., 224.

Lanka: a stack or heap of fuel (?) : SS. Keonthal. x.

Lap: a handful, in the Boi *ilâqa* of Hazâra.

4 *laps* =1 *chothâî* (=1 *bohnî* in Bakot)	in Bakot and Narra.
2 *chothâîs*=1 *kurra*.	
....	
4 *kurras* =1 *odî* in Rajoia.	

Laphî: also made of *âtâ* : SS. Bashahr, 41 (add to III).

Lappî: a mixture of *gur*, *ghî* and wheat. : B., 96.

Lârî: apparently a wife of *equal* caste : Comp., 73 (Add to III).

Lassî-pair: fr. *lassi*, 'diluted milk,' into which the bridal pair put their feet (*pair* or *per*), the bride holding a piece of *gur* in hers, while the boy endeavours to remove it. This observance is one of the symbolical contests for supremacy during married life : B., 110.

Lattâ: lame. Ch., 138.

Lâû: a neck ornament, worn in Churâh : Ch., 206.

Launchî: a kind of fish : Sirmûr, 7.

Lehri: manured, of land : SS. Nâlâgarh, 11.

Lela bhâk: the distance a lamb's bleat will carry : D. I. K.

Lerwâ:=Biju, *q.v.*

Lewar: *Pyrus baccata* : Ch., 238 : *Cf.* Lehu.

Lih: a unit of area, estimated to produce 200 *mans khâm* a year, =20 *takas* : SS. Dhâmi. 4.

Linda: lit. 'homeless',=Konsal, *q.v.*

Liu:=Lehu in Series III.

Loder: *Symplocos crataegoides* : Ch. 239.

Lohâl: made of iron, a ploughshare ;=Phâl : Simla S. R., xlv.

Loi: a fair held from 22nd Kâtik to 1st Mâgh : Loî Jeṭh, held from 22nd Baisâkh to 1st Jeṭh : SS. Bashahr. 61.

Lokar: a blanket : =*bhûra* and *bhaggal* : B., 155.

Luânchâ: a bridegroom's garment, and *luâncherî*, the bride's dress : Ch., 142.

Luchhî: a round cake : Ch., 124 and 142.

Lugru: the day on which the Tikka is first given solid food, and for which a cess is levied : SS. Kumhârsain, 22.

Luk-lukânî: 'hide and seek' : Ch., 212.

Lunda: a custom whereby a wife compels her husband to give her up, relinquishing her dower and sometimes paying him a sum of money to divorce her : Comp., 57.

Lût: a scab : SS. Bashahr. 53.

Mabad: a grotto for worship : B., 181.

Madhaparak: the name of the 6th and last *châr* at a wedding. A cup is filled with milk, *til*, and rice, and put in the boy's left hand. He daubs the fingers and thumb of his right hand with the contents, lifts his hand towards his mouth, and again putting it in the cup, sprinkles its contents on the ground. The cup is then given by one of his companions to the tom-tom player. This companion must be purified before he is allowed to rejoin the others : Ch., 143.

Maharâna: a due of Rs. 10 per plough paid by each headman every 10 years : SS. Nâlâgarh, 17.

Mahesa: a wooden drag used to level the surface of a field when muddy : while the *mâhî* is used on a dry surface : Mandi. 43.

Mahindâ: a tree, whose bark is used for shoes in Churâh : Ch., 206.

Mahîrî: a mess, made of butter-milk and rice with salt : Ch., 214.

Maji: (?)

Majîthî: land midway up the hillside : SS. Jubbal, 16.

Maju: a widower, in Jhang : Glossary, I, 792.

Makhtal: a special form of *rît*, payable when a widow marries a stranger, to her late husband's family : SS. Bashahr. 14.

Mala: see under *Kurra*.

Malâhar: the extra share of the youngest son, consisting of a house ; said to=*mal-ghar*, or 'original house' : Comp., 73. (Churâh). Cf. *Mulwâher*.

Malânâ: a fee paid to a contractor, see *Got* ; =Utkar : Ch., 279.

Mali: rinderpest : SS. Jubbal. 18.

Malla: ber, *Zizyphus nummularia* : Sirmûr, App. IV, iii.

Maluh: a manure, heap : Ch., 221.

Mân: 'consent' ; (i) a form of divorce in which the husband gives his wife Rs. 6 for her assent to the divorce and then breaks a dry stick in two pieces over her head or accepts a certain sum for her and then breaks the stick over her head or the money : (ii) a sum paid to a first wife to reconcile her to a co-wife ; (iii) a sum paid to a *fiancée* for her consent to a breach of the betrothal : Ch., 157-8.

Mânashârî:=Dudhadhâri, *q.v.*

Mand: generally 'the domed roof of a temple' ; -dhi, a diminutive (? of *mand*); Gurgaon : Gloss., I, pp. 353 and 354.

Mândar: maple, *Acer caesium* : Ch., 236.

Manden: a tax levied on flocks ; SS. Bashahr, 74

Mandhnâ : a mortar : B., 197.

Mâng ghalla : grain revenue : SS. Tarhoch, 4.

Mangnehâr : a collector of grain : SS. Kumhârsain, 20.

Mânî : a grain measure : Ch., 144. See also under Topâ and Daropâ.

Manihâr : a ceremony at a wedding in which 9 walnuts, to represent the planets, are put on as many handfuls of rice, and their blessing is invoked ; and the bridegroom is taken to the doorway and touches with his dagger a bored copper coin in which he pretends to make a hole. The term is also applied to the things used in the ceremony, *viz.*, the 9 walnuts, the copper coins, a betelnut and a cotton *dorî.* The *dorî* is passed through the coin and put in a mani or grain-measure. The rite concludes with a sanctification of the *manihâr* which are tied round the boy's head-dress by his mother-in-law at the gateway after the *ârtî* : Ch., 143-4.

Manihari : a tax on retail shops : Suket, 42.

Mânjâyâ bhâî : fem. mânjâî bahin, ? mother's brother's brother or sister.

Mânkî : wall-eyed : B., 184.

Man-marzî : =Jhind-phuk, *q.v.*

Mânsâ, mother's sister's husband : *v.* Mânsî.

Mânsî : (1) mother's sister, (2) father's second wife or step-mother, (3) brother's or sister's mother-in-law.

Marâl : elm tree, *ulmus Wallichiana* : Ch., 139.

Mâr : a clod crusher : S.S. Jubbal, 16.

Mârâr : elm ; =Marâl : Ch., 239.

Marh : a place at a temple where lights are put and food cooked once a year ; Kulu. Gloss., I, p. 432.

Marhnâ : to snuffle : B., 153.

Marjan : a precious stone ; Hissâr : Gloss., I, p. 354.

Marn : ? to die, so 'a death' : *-on,* 'at a funeral' : B., 156.

Marpî : an observance at weddings in which the bridal pair is seated on a carpet side by side, and the bride's maternal uncle gives them a portion of *totû,* the rest being divided among the guests : Ch., 161.

Marrî : a disease of kine : SS. Bashahr, 53.

Maruri : *Berberis aristata* : Ch., 237.

Masân : an obedient spirit : Sirmûr, 61.

Masânî : a wasting disease in children : Sirmûr, 25.

Mashâna : a temple official ; one of the *kârdârs* of a *deota*, but appointed by the State ; Simla Hills : Gloss. I, p. 456.

Mashâra : a torch : Ch., 218.

Masit : wide level loamy ground ; =*ser* : Sirmûr, App. I.

Mateâ : for half-mother read brother on p. 738 : P.D.

Mâterâ : religious affairs, opp. to Jâterâ : Ch., 142.

Mathe-lagâwan : 'touching the forehead' : ? lit. 'to make the foreheads touch'; a rite to cancel a betrothal (apparently by making the betrothed brother and sister) : B., 106-7.

Mâtri : a nymph or goddess : SS. Kumhârsain, 9.

Mattan : a box for clothes, made of earthenware : Ch. 209.

Maula : a mother's brother : Ch., 144.

Mecha : measure, measuring : Gloss., I, p. 797.

Mâyân : the state or period in which the bride and bridegroom wear dirty clothes after the *chîkûn* rite and up to the wedding day : B., 105. Cf. P.D., 703.

Mâwâ : a free grant of land : SS. Mahlog, 1 ; hence Mawâî, Mâwî or Movanna, the practically independent ruler of a tract : *ib.* Bashahr, 20 and Kumhârsain, 1.

Megat : a cow or bullock iron-grey in colour with black spots on the tail, and unlucky, like the Phangat : Jullundur S. R., 55.

Mehr : a deputation, in Dera Ghâzî Khân ; ? P. *mehar*, a crowd : Gloss. I, p. 906.

Merî : window ; =daphî : Sirmûr, App. V, viii. (not *mori*. as in III).

Meharâî : a sub-division of a *wazîrî*, under a *mehar* or *pinjolî* : also called *garh* : Mandi, 59.

Merwan : *Clerodendron sp* : Ch., 239.

Mel : a share of the grain, a cess in kind on superior crops : SS. Bashahr. 70 and 74.

Mend : an iron bar with a flat end : SS. Bashahr. 46.

Met : =Multânî mattî : B., 195.

Mezmî : a woman represented by a mask at the Châr or Spring festival : Ch., 45.

Minjar : a silk tassel : Ch., 214.

Miri : *chilgoza*. edible pine, *Pinus Gerardiana* : Ch., 240

Missî : gram : B., 179 : of P.D., p. 754, *s.v. Missâ*.

Mithâ : a disease of children accompanied by coldness in the ears : Sirmûr, 25.

Mitrâ : a brother made by sacred observance ; in the pl. the bridal pair's newly acquired brothers : Ch., 147.

Mogarî : Indian clubs : Ch. 211.

Mohl : *Pyrus lanata* : Ch., 238.

Mohra : aconite, black or white : SS. Bashahr, 61 : (2) an image ; Simla Hills : Gloss., I, p. 346.

Mona : as much as two men can lift in a cloth between them : D. I. K.

Morwân : a cloth measure in the Bet of Muktsar Tahsîl. Cloth is measured with *morwân* hands (one hand and ½ hand) turned round : Ferozepur. The term is clearly derived, fr. *mornâ*, 'to turn' ; but its precise meaning is not clear

Motû : a kind of cloth : Ch., 125.

Muda loha : a tax on the use of imported iron . Suket. 42.

Muddâ : a modification of the *gâhr* system under which the landlord receives a fixed amount of produce, instead of a moiety of it : Ch.. 230.

Mudyârî : a tenant who pays a fixed share of grain, etc., after each harvest. He may also be liable for services : Ch., 155 and 377.

Muhârâ : a curtain, red in colour to keep off mosquitoes : B., 103.

Mujâz : 'licensed' to make disciples : B., 170.

Muka : fist : Ch., 138.

Mukhti : a sweetmeat : B., 99.

Mulwâher : the family house allotted to the third son on inheritance as his special share ; cf. Jeṭhwâgh : Ch., 154.

Munârpata : a game : B., 202.

Munchar : a pasture near the village ; =Gorchar and Juh : Ch., 277.

Mundar chor :=Mûnh chhor, *q.v.*

Mundavand : partition by 'mouths' or heads, *i.e.* equally among the sons, as opposed to Chundavand : =Panj. Pagvand : Ch., 148. Also used in Kulu : Comp., 72.

Mungar :=Chhannâ.

Munh-bolî : a sister adopted by 'word of mouth' : Gloss., I. p. 907.

Mûnh chhor : or **Mundar chhor,** a supper given to a bereaved family : Panj. *Kauṛe waṭṭe dî roṭî* : B., 197.

Munhanerâ : early dawn : Ch., 195.

Munhsânî : presents made by women to a bridegroom : Ch., 147.

Muniârî : the opening from a channel into a field ; = Oniyârî : Ch., 224.

Murapuli : (1) the visit paid by the bride's parents to a newly wed pair, at which food is brought by them : SS. Bashahr, 13 ; or (2) the presents then exchanged : B., 108.

Murhe : a term used by Aroṛâs for the ceremony which precedes a wedding.

Muri : dried wheat or barley : SS., Kumhârsain, 12, and Bashahr, 75.

Muriâri : the golden eagle, *Aquila chrysaetus* : Ch., 37.

Musalla-nashîn : a girl vowed to celibacy : Comp., 135.

Mustaḥabb : Ar., lit. 'approved' : deeds done in imitation of the Prophet, over and above the prescribed prayers and fasts : B., 179.

Muth : the root of a kind of grass : Ch., 143.

Muṭṭh : a fistful ; = Kanh.

Nâchhuhan : lit. 'not to be touched,' excommunicated : Suket, 12.

Nâd : a figure shaped like an hour-glass and worn as a necklet against the influence of an *autar* : Ch., 195.

Nad : inferior land : Mandi, 42.

Nadi : a son by spiritual adoption, among Bairâgis : Comp., 226. Cf., Bindi.

Nâdî : a silver ornament shaped like a drum, offered to Shiva : Ch., 155.

Nadha : bridegroom, in Talagang : Gloss., I, p, 803. (—rusnâ, an observance, 837).

Nâg : a whitish-coloured snake, that frequents house-walls and is said to drink milk; its presence is regarded as a good omen and *puja* and incense are offered to it : Ch., 39.

Nahânî : a sweet-smelling root : Ch., 143.

Nahaura : = nanwati a peace-offering among Paṭhâns : Gloss., I, p. 906. U.

Nahrû : the umbilical cord : Ch., 124.

Nahun : a stone fount for water ; cf. Panîhâr : Ch., 198.

Nairat : south-west : B., 186 ; -kon in P.D. p. 992.

Nairved : sweets and flowers, offered to Mahâdeo : Suket, 23.

Nakâsî : an octroi : SS. Koti, 11-12.

Nali : wrist ; —*pagran*, to hold the wrist, a game : B., 201.

Nânakshâhî : in Sikh times silver used to be weighed against the Nânakshâhî rupee which weighed 11 *mâshas*, 1 *ratî* : Amritsar.

Nandeu : = *nandoi*, husband's sister's (*nand's*) husband ; *nandût*, the son of a *nandoi* ; = *bhânja*.

Nanhîâl : (1) the family of one's mother, collectively, (2) the village in which it lives.

Nansâl : = Nanhîâl, *q.v.*

Nanwa : a holding, lit., 'a name on the rent-roll' ; each *nanwâ* thus meant one *châkar* or servant to the State : Ch., 270.

Nâp : an earthenware vessel of varying capacity, generally holding from 1 to 2 *mans*, used in Karnâl for estimating or dividing produce.

Narsingha : a trumpet : SS., Jubbal, 20.

Nathatel : the tree-creeper bird : Ch., 38.

Nath-sûrâ : a rite at betrothal in which visitors are feasted with *choba*, but nothing that has been out with a knife is served : B., 104.

Nati : a dance ; Kulu : Gloss, I. p. 424.

Nau-dorî : *doris*' or (red) cords, plaited into the hair, four on each side of the head and converging into a 9th thick *dorâ* which hangs down the back : Ch., 142.

Nau-girî : worship of the nine planets ; = dewa-dhâmi : B., 109.

Neodharî : = Neotâ : Sirmûr, 29.

Neorî : a rope : B., 110.

Neoza : the edible pine nut : SS., Bashahr, 49.

Newa : an image of a man who has died childless (sonless ?) worn round the neck by his heir or heirs, if of metal, and set up in a trough, if of stone ; = Pâp, Och, Diâî, and in Kanâwar Gurohâch : SS. Bashahr, 33.

Newal : warm low-lying land in the Sutlej valley : SS. Bashahr, 46, and Jubbal, 16.

Niâmar : a son born to her former husband by a woman after her remarriage : Comp., 113 : Cf., *Gadhelra* and *Gelar*.

Niârtan : the cleaner of a granary and grain : Suket, 38.

Nîch : ? adj., low (caste), Simla Hills : Gloss., I, p. 456.

Nigâhar : fr. *nirû*, a kind of grass and *gâhar*, pasture ; a high mountain pasture : Ch., 277.

Niggi : *Daphne cannabina* : Ch., 239.

Nihâr : Nîrâu, Nirnihâr, breakfast ; = *hânjhall* or *chhawela* : B., 192.

Nihârî : a light meal taken at sunrise : Suket, 27.

Nîlgur : = *monâl, Lophophorus impeyanus* : Ch., 36.

Nimosâm : twilight : Ch., 204.

Nindia : backbiting (?) : Gloss., I, p. 345.

Nîrû : a 'kind of grass' : Ch., 277.

Niwâlâ : animal sacrifice, a common feature in the worship of Shiva : Ch., 181.

Niyâh : the Spring crop. Mandi, 62 : (Spelt *niyâî* on p. 42.)

Nuhârî : the morning meal : Ch., 204.

Obar : *khâdî*, manured but not irrigated ; *ghair-khâdî*, neither irrigated nor manured : Sirmûr, App. I.

Obtî : the light half of a month ; Kulu : Gloss., I, p. 432.

Obera : a cattle-shed, separate from the house. Sirmûr, 59 : Cf., *Obra* in III.

Och : Newa, *q.v.*

Odhrû : an official, now abolished, superior to the *kârdâr* : Ch., 265.

Odî : a measure of capacity used for grain ; Hazâra.

Ogal : buckwheat, *Fagopyrum poligonum* : SS. Bashahr, 48.

Oghâr : a first ploughing : Ch., 221.

Ogla : *Fagopyrum poligonum*, buckwheat generally eaten on fast days and called *phalwâr* ; other varieties are Kathu or Phaphra (F. *esculentum*) and Dhanphari : Simla, S. R., xli.

Ogra : a lower storey : SS., Bashahr, 43.

Ol : a hole in the ground, Simla Hills ; cf. *ul*, rat's hole, *Kulu Dialect of Hindi*, p. 97.

Oniyârî : the opening from a *challa* into a field ; = Muniârî : Ch., 224 ; = Khol.

Ordâ : evil : Ch., 138.

Orihân : pl., nurseries : Ch., 233 : Cf., Orî in III.

Otar : unirrigated land : Ch., 220.

Otî : land rugged or uneven : Ch., 220.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

THE DISPOSAL OF DECEASED LAMAS.

The interesting note on this subject by Sir Richard Temple reminds me of an important passage in Strabo's *Geography* upon similar customs prevailing in Central Asia at the time of Alexander the Great. It runs as follows :—

Τὸ μὲν οὖν πάλαιον οὐ πολὺ διέφερον τοῖς βίοις καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσι τῶν Νομάδων οἵ τε Σογδιανοὶ καὶ οἱ Βακτριανοὶ· μικρὸν δ'ὅμως ἡμερώτερα ἦν τὰ τῶν βακτριανῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτων οὐτὰ βέλτιστα λέγουσιν οἱ περὶ Ονησικριτου, τοὺς γὰρ ἀπειρηκότας διὰ νόσον ἢ γῆρας παραβάλλεστθαι τρεφομένοις κυσὶν, ἐπιτηδὲς δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο, οὓς "Ενταφιαστὰς" καλεῖσθαι τῇ πατρῴα γλώσσῃ, καὶ ὁρᾶσθαι τὰ μὲν ἔξω τείχους τῆς μητροπόλεως τῶν Βάκτρων καθαρά, τῶν δ' ἐντὸς τὸ πλεόν ὀστέων πλῆρες ἀνθρωπίνων. καταλῦσαι δὲ τὸν νόμον 'Αλέξανδρον· Τοιαῦτα δέ πως καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς Κασπίους ἱστοροῦσι, τοὺς γὰρ γονέας ἐπειδὰν ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότες τυγχάνωσιν, ἐγκλεισθέντες λιμοκτονεῖσθαι. Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἀνεκτότερον καὶ τῷ οἰκείῳ νόμῳ παραπλήσιον καίπερ ὂν Σκυθικὸν· πολὺ μέντοι Σκυθικώτερον τὸ τῶν Βακτριανῶν. (Geog. XI. XI. 3.)

"Anciently the Sogdiani and the Bactriani did not differ much from the nomads in their life and manners, yet the manners of the Bactriani were a little more civilized. Onesicritus, however, does not give us the most favourable account of the people. Those who are disabled by disease or old age are thrown alive to be devoured by dogs kept expressly for the purpose, and whom in the language of the country they call "Entombers." The places on the exterior of the walls of the capital of the Bactrians are clean, but the interior is for the most part full of human bones. Alexander abolished this custom. Something of the same kind is related of the Caspii also, who, when their parents have attained the age of 70 years, confine them, and let them die of hunger. This custom, although Scythian in character, is more tolerable than that of the Bactrians and is similar to the domestic law of the Cei[1]; the custom, however, of the Bactrians is much more according to Scythian manners."

Bactria, the ancient Persian Bâkhdhi and the modern Balkh, was the outpost of Iran on the borderland of the Scythian waste, and its population was largely Scythian. It was intimately connected with Zoroaster and his teaching. It is highly probable, therefore, that the custom prevalent among the Parsees of giving their dead to vultures was borrowed from the Scythian or Turki tribes with whom the early Zoroastrians came into contact in Bactria. The explanation given by the Parsees is that the Prophet wished them to avoid polluting the elements of Earth and Fire. But the pre-Zoroastrian Persians solved the question quite satisfactorily by *coating the body with wax* before burial (κατακηροῦν. *See* Herodotus I. 140, and compare IV. 71.). It is noteworthy that all the great Achæmenian kings were buried in this way; perhaps, as Dr. Jackson suggests, they were embalmed also. It is curious that more was not made of the historical aspect of the question in the recent controversy between the orthodox and reforming Parsees on this subject.

The Tibetan custom of disposing of the dead in the revolting manner here described (cutting the body up and throwing the pieces to dogs and birds), is only used in the case of the middle classes. The higher Lamas are cremated in the same fashion as Gautama Buddha (*see* the *Mahâparanibbana Sutta*). The Grand Lamas are embalmed and placed under *chortens* or *dâgabas*.

It has been held that this custom is the real source of those Jâtaka stories which depict the Bodhisattva as giving his body to feed a starving tiger and so forth. The whole question is replete with interest, and deserves fuller treatment.

H. G. RAWLINSON.

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE EASTERN SCHOOL OF PRAKRIT GRAMMARIANS AND PAIŚÂCÎ PRAKRIT. BY SIR GEORGE GRIERSON, K.C.I.E.

All who are interested in the vexed question of Paiśâcî will welcome Sir George Grierson's article 'The Eastern School of Prakrit Grammarians and Paiśâcî Prakrit' contributed to the 'Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes.' In it Sir George Grierson has given us those portions of Râmaśarman's *Prâkṛtakalpataru*, which are concerned with Paiśâcî, or Paiśâcikâ as Râmaśarman calls it. To this he has added an excellent annotated translation, compared throughout with the relevant portions of Mârkaṇḍeya's *Prâkṛtasarvasva*, and has prefaced the whole with some interesting remarks on the Western and Eastern Schools of Prakrit Grammarians.

The author repeats his theory, first suggested by Barth, that a number of so-called Paiśâcî dialects were only local varieties of Pali.

1 In the island of Ceos, the food being limited, all over 60 were given hemlock. ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος ζῆν καλῶς οὐ ζῇ κακῶς, says Menander.

Of great value is his insistence on the fact that, with the possible exception of Vararuci, all the extant Prakrit Grammarians based their grammars on the works of predecessors or on the manuscripts of Prakrit books, and were in no case describing a contemporary spoken language. This would account for so much that is contradictory in their statements, for the continual mention of optional forms and for the difficulty we experience in identifying any particular modern Indo-Aryan language as the descendant of any particular Prakrit.

Of all forms of Prakrit, Paiśâcî is the most difficult in these respects. The descriptions are very meagre, and, as is clearly shown in the paper under review, do not agree among themselves. The feature generally considered the most characteristic of Paiśâcî is the alleged unvoicing of voiced stops.

The Vâlmîki *Sûtras* lay down that the only voiced stop universally unvoiced is *d*. *A priori* this is unlikely; since such a change usually affects systems and not individual sounds: witness the Armenian and Germanic sound shiftings, the unvoicing of original voiced aspirates in Italic, Greek and Gypsy, the loss of the distinction between hard and soft vowels in Serbian, etc., etc. But his Cûlika-Paiśâcikâ agrees with the Paiśâcî of Vararuci.

Râmaśarman and Mârkaṇḍeya however substitute surds for all voiced stops. If this represented an actual spoken language, we might expect to find a modern language showing the same shifting. But none has yet been discovered, and there are scarcely even sporadic examples, which might be supposed to have been borrowed from such a dialect.

In the 'Kharoṣṭhî Inscriptions,' discovered by Stein and edited by Boyer, Rapson and Senart, the form ***tivyaśarira*** appears 4 times. But the regular *divyaśarira* is used some 25 times; and in two of the four cases where *tivya* is written it is preceded by the syllable *-ti* of *kareti*. Further the signs for *t* and *d* are very much alike.

Sir George Grierson in his 'Piśâca Languages in North-West India' gives no example of a surd derived from a Sanskrit initial or intervocalic voiced stop, nor, with one exception, of the preservation of a Sanskrit intervocalic surd as such. The exception Bašgâlî *tôt* father, etc.: Skt. *tâta*, is a child's word and cannot be adduced to illustrate a general phonetic rule (cp. Eng. *daddy*, etc.) In Sindhî (L. S. I. VIII. I. p. 6.) he gives *chutô* 'touched,' *sutô* 'asleep,' *kitô* 'done,' *pitô* 'drunk,' *suñâtô* 'recognized' as examples of the retention of Sanskrit intervocalic *-t-*. But *sutô* and *chutô* must be referred to ***suptáḥ*** ****chuptaḥ*** (cp. *acchuptá* and Pa. *chupati*), while Hindî ***soâ*** and ***choâ*** are new formations after the present stem where intervocalic *-p-* was lost. On the other hand ***kîtô*** (beside *kiô*), ***pîkô*** and *suñâto* (also *jâtô* 'known' with *j-* after the present stem *jâṇ-* < ***jânâti***) are new formations after past participles of the type *pâtô* 'obtained,' where *-t-* rests on earlier *-tt-* < *-pt-* (Skt. *prâptaḥ*). This type of analogical formation is common in Sindhî: *e.g.*, *gidho* 'bought,' *ginhaṇu* Skt. *gṛhṇâti* after *ladhô* 'taken' < *labdhaḥ* etc. It can be seen too in Gujarâtî *kidho* 'done,' *khâdho* 'eaten,' *didho* 'given,' *pidho* 'drunk,' *bidho* 'feared,' *lidho* 'taken,' which are all formed after the type of past participle in Prakrit with *-ddh-* < Skt. *-gdh-* *-ddh-* *-bdh-*.

To what linguistic reality then does the statement of the Grammarians, that voiced stops were unvoiced in Paiśâcî, correspond? The solution, I believe, lies in Hemacandra's description of Paiśâcî. According to him initial and intervocalic stops remain unchanged, thus differing from the general Prakrit in which intervocalic surds became voiced (and later for the most part disappeared). But in his Cûlika-Paiśâcikâ all voiced consonants are unvoiced. Yet even here, as Sir George Grierson notes (Piśâca Languages, p. 8), Hemacandra says that, according to some authorities, when initial or forming part of a consonant group, they were not unvoiced in this latter agrees in the main with Vararuci's description, according to which *jakana = gagana*, *gaṅgâ = gaṅgâ*.

Again, *a priori* this rule does not seem to rest on an actual pronunciation, since the intervocalic position is that in which the change of voiced to surd is least likely to take place.

A modern parallel may give the clue to the correct interpretation. South Germans, *e.g.*, in Alsace, pronounce their surds as well as their voiced stops as lenes. To people, like the French and English, who only possess voiced lenes and surd fortes, the surd lenes give the impression, *qua* lenes, of voiced sounds. Thus in books and journals, Germans, speaking French or English, are often represented as turning surds into voiced consonants, although they actually only pronounce them as lenes without voice. Further, the same people tend to unvoice final voiced consonants. If such a speaker continues the same practice in his pronunciation of the foreign language, the unthinking hearer imagines that the speaker is unvoicing all voiced consonants, although actually he only unvoices the final. Thus we find the representation in books and journals of Germans interchanging all surd and voiced consonants when speaking a foreign language.

Now in Indo-Aryan, in what may be called the Prâkrit stage, nearly everywhere by the beginning of the present era and in some districts by a very much earlier date, all intervocalic surd stops had become voiced (on their way in most cases to complete disappearance), while initially and in consonant groups they remained in this respect unchanged.

In the North-West however this change seems to have been longer delayed. In the Kharoṣṭhî Inscriptions already referred to, which are dated

about the middle of the third century A.D., intervocalic surds appear to be generally maintained, although occasional voiced stops or the use of a slightly different sign for the intervocalic as compared with the initial consonant, indicates that at this date the change was at least beginning. Gypsy, which almost certainly belongs to the N. W. Himalayan group, bears witness also to this late voicing and consequent late loss of intervocalic surds, in that it preserves Skt. *-t-* as *l*.

There must then have been at one time contemporary dialect groups in the Indo-Aryan area, one of which represented Sanskrit intervocalic surds by surds (N.-W. group up to c. 250 A.D.) and the other by voiced stops, while in both the development of initial and post-consonantal stops, surd and voiced and of intervocalic voiced stops was the same (*i.e.*, they remained in principle unchanged). Thus to Pkt. *ghidaṁ* (< Skt. *ghṛtám*) the Kharoṛṭhî Inscriptions correspond with *ghrita*. But to Pkt. *padaṁ* and *piṇḍo* they correspond with *pada* and *piṇ a*.

Obviously the former correspondence, namely Pkt. *-d-* = Khar. *-t-*, would be felt as a distinguishing mark. In the light of the modern parallel given above, is it too much to suppose that anyone in attempting to reproduce in literature the language of a speaker of a dialect like those on which the Kharoṛṭhî Inscriptions rest, would make the speaker turn *all* the intervocalic voiced stops of Prakrit into surds instead of only those Prakrit voiced stops which represented Sanskrit surds? This would be the traditional literary Paiśâcî of Vararuci and the modified Cûlika-Paiśâcikâ of Hemacandra. And since *-t-* was very common in Sanskrit, *e.g.*, 3rd sg. pres. and fut. ind., the infinitive, gerundive and past participle—all forms of great importance in the Middle India verbal system—the correspondence Pkt. *-d-* = Paiśâcî *-t-* may have been seized upon as the difference *par excellence* between the two languages. This would be the Paiśâcî of the Vâlmîki *sûtras*. The schools represented by Râmaśarman and Mârkaṇḍeya have gone a step further and have made Paiśâcî correspond to all the voiced stops, in whatever position, of Prakrit with surds. The growth of such a literary dialect based on a not fully understood series of correspondences would be strictly comparable with the exaggeration of the Homeric dialect among the Alexandrines—*e.g.*, the wrongful use of the hiatus based on those instances where owing to the original presence of a digamma the hiatus was only apparent—or the hyper-doricisms of the Attic stage.

In the text before us, and in Hemacandra's grammar, there are noted other sound changes (or conservations), which, though not conclusive in themselves as to the home of Paiśâci, are at least shared by Paiśâci with members of the N.-W. group.

1. *ny* > *ññ*: this accords with the Kharoṛṭhi Inscriptions and with the modern development in Sindhî and probably Kâśmîrî.

2. *y-* remains unchanged: as in the Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions, and in Kâśmîrî. Sindhî also distinguishes *y-* (> *j-*) from *j-* (> *j̱-*).

3. *-l-* > *-ḷ-*: Sindhi distinguishes *-l-* (> *-r-*) from *l- -ll-* (> *l*). This cerebralisation is found in the N.-W. Himalayan group (excluding Gypsy and Kâśmîri) as far East probably as Kumaonî. It is however shared also by the Western group—Râjasthânî, Gujarâtî, Marâṭhî—and in the Eastern group by Uṛiyâ and probably Singhalese.

4. *-ry-* > *-jj-*: Sindhî distinguishes *-ry-* (> *j̱*) from *y-* (> *j-*).

5. *-ry-* > *-riy-* (after a heavy syllable? *e.g.*, *bhâriyâ* = *bhâryâ*). This, regular in the Rigveda (where it is probably based on an Indo-European phenomenon), appears sporadically in various modern languages: but it seems to be carried out with striking regularity in the Kharoṛṭhî Inscriptions, where, *e.g.*, *arogi* and *arogiyo* = *ârogyam*.

6. *-ṣt-* > *-saṭ-* in *kasaṭa* = *kaṣṭa*: is this simply a spelling for *-ṣṭ-*? The groups *st(h)* *ṣṭ(h)* are maintained in the Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions and among the modern languages in Gypsy.

7. In the word for 'six' *ṣ-* does not become *ch-*: this is in marked agreement with the whole of the N. W. Himalayan group (Gypsy *šov*. Kâśmîri *šeh*, Bašgâlî *šô*, etc.) as opposed to general Prakrit and the other modern languages which all have forms with *ch-*: the only ambiguous forms are Marâṭhî *sahâ* and Singhalese *sa* and *ha*, which however are probably to be referred to forms with *ch-*.

In opposition to these striking agreements, Paiśâcî has only one sibilant *s* (or *ś* in Śaurasena Paiśâcika, according to Râmaśarman). The Kharoṛṭhî Inscriptions distinguish three sibilants, *ś ṣ s*, and European Gypsy distinguishes two, *š* (< *ś* and *ṣ*) and *s*. The same distinction is found in a number of other N.-W. Himalayan dialects, *e.g.*, Shiṇâ, which possibly distinguishes three and Kâśmîri which distinguishes two. On the other hand the distinction is lost in Armenian Gypsy, in the more easterly of the N.-W. Himalayan dialects, and in Lahndâ and Sindhi.

There is thus a certain amount of evidence connecting Paiśâci with the N.-W. group. But wherever the original home of the dialect at the base of Paiśâcî was, it may not be unreasonable to suppose that Paiśâci came to be used as a generic term for any dialect diverging from the norn of Prakrit. This may account for the dialects described in Sir George Grierson's text under the name of Śaurasena-Paiśâcika, Pâñcâla-P., Gauḍa-P. Mâgadha-P., Vrâcaḍa-P., Sûkṣmabheda-P.

At all events what Sir George Grierson has given us here emphasizes the remoteness of the grammarians from the languages they described and the

very artificial character of the dialects, particularly of the Samkirṇa–Paiśâcika.

R. L. TURNER.

ARDHA-MAGADHI READER. By BANARSI DAS JAIN, M.A.; The University of the Panjab, Lahore, 1923.

This book, containing a grammar of the language in which the principal Jain scriptures are written, a useful review of the Ardha-Mâgadhî literature, and extracts from some of the more important Jain works with an English rendering thereof, owes its preparation to the fact that hitherto, by reason of the absence of any authoritative primer, the Jain scriptures have attracted far less attention from Western scholars than similar Buddhistic literature. At the instance of the Principal of the Oriental College, Lahore, the author, who in 1917 held a roving commission to collect Jain works for the library of the Panjab University, has prepared the present work for inclusion in the University's Oriental series. The grammatical portion of the work is moderate in volume and to the lay reader is less interesting than the author's succinct account of the origin and character of the language and of the Jain sacred books. This is well worth perusal. As regards the English rendering of the select passages in Ardha-Mâgadhî, the author acknowledges his indebtedness to Professor Jacobi, Dr. Barnett and Dr. Hoernle in respect of one or two extracts, while for the remainder he has relied on his own expert knowledge of the language, aided by Sanskrit commentaries. As not infrequently happens in the case of books produced in India, there are several printer's errors which might have been avoided.

S. M. EDWARDES.

REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY, BURMA, 1923. Rangoon Government Press.

The earlier part of this Report is a record of useful work done during the past year under great financial difficulties. In one case however, the note that the Sangyaung at Amarapura is to be removed from the list of monuments maintained by the Government, reads rather unpleasantly, as it seems to publish a record of neglect to carry out orders issued so long ago as 1904, until the buildings became too dilapidated for repair. On the other hand it is interesting to note that Mr. Kyin Pu, M.A., the archæological scholar, is devoting himself to collecting notes of the history of Burma.

To the general student of things Burmese, the most interesting pages are from p. 28 to p. 37, dealing with archæological subjects. In an article on the Apocryphal Geography of Burma there is supplied a very useful list of some of the "classical" names for places in Burma, which are so common and so puzzling to the student. It ought not to be confined to a Government Report, and one hopes that a wider circulation will be found for it. There is also a valuable note on the limited saint-worship existing in Burma, with accounts of Shin Upagok, Shin Thûvali, Shin Aṅgulimâla, and Shin Pêndola. This too is worth extracting and publishing for the general student.

There are also three useful notes: on the introduction of the Burmese alphabet into Arakan, and on a figure of Sûrya found at Mrohaung, and on Gupta influence in Arakan. There are also notes on the identification of Patikkara, a Western city connected with the days of Anawrathâ, and on the uncertainty of the date assigned in the Chronicles to the accession of King Thîhâpatê or Minbyauk of Sagaing. Altogether Mr. Duroiselle is to be congratulated on the year's work.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE WATSON MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES, RAJKOT, 1922-23. Sundar Vilas Press, Rajkot, Kathiawar.

The chief point of interest in this Report by the Curator of the Museum is the discovery of no less than twenty copper-plate inscriptions of the rulers of Valabhi, including three of Dhruvasena I, two of Dharasena II, three of Śiladitya I and two of Śiladitya III. The plates have, however, been so mutilated by careless handling and the passage of time that only four dates can be deciphered with precision: but three of these are historically important and have not been previously recorded. The Curator also brought to light three land grants of the Paramara rulers of Mâlwa, which are reported to be the earliest grants of the dynasty yet known and to throw considerable light on the early history of Mâlwa and Gujarat. Two of the grants are those of Siyaka and mention a king Yogarâja, whom the Curator suggests was a Chavda ruler, who came to the throne after A.D. 936. The third grant is that of the famous Bhoja of Dhâr.

The Curator also mentions that during a visit to Bombay he inspected an old Marathi MS. in Modi characters, which belongs to the Forbes Gujarâti Sabha. The MS. purports to give various dates in Marâthâ history and incidentally states that Sivajî was born in the month Phalgun of the Saka year 1551, which is equivalent to A.D. 1630. Hitherto it has been generally supposed that the founder of the Marâthâ empire was born in 1627, on the authority of the *bakhars* and the *Târîkh-i-Shivâjî*; the *Jedhe Chronology* alone places his birth in February, 1630. This date is apparently corroborated by the MS. mentioned above. One would, however, like to know more details as to the authorship, age and authenticity of this document. The Curator throws no light on these points.

S. M. EDWARDES.

Prâgvijaya—Jyntea in Assam.

Prahlâdapurî—Multan (see **Mulasthânapura**).

Prajâpativedî—A sacred place in Allahabad where Brahmâ performed sacrifices; this is the temple of Alopi, which is considered as one of the Pîṭhas where Satî's back is said to have fallen. The temple contains no image, but only a *Vedî*. There are five *Vedîs* of Brahmâ; at Gayâ on the east, Birajâ (Jâjpur) on the south, Pushkara on the west, Samanta-pañchaka on the north and at Prayâga in the middle (*Bâmana P.*, ch. 22). With regard to Samanta-pañchaka as Uttara-vedî of Prajâpati, see *Mbh.*, Salya, ch. 54.

Pralamba—Madawar or Mundore eight miles north of Bijnor in western Rohilkhand (*Râmâyaṇa*, Ayodhyâ K., ch. 68). See **Matipura**.

Praṇahitâ—The united stream of the rivers Wardha and the Waingaṅgâ is called Pranhit. Same as **Praṇitâ**.

Praṇî—Same as **Praṇitâ** (*Agni P.*, ch. 219).

Praṇitâ—Same as **Praṇahitâ** (*Padma P.*, Uttara Kh., ch. 62). The river Pranhit falls into the Godavari and the confluence is a place of pilgrimage (*Brahma P.*, ch. 161).

Prasravaṇa-giri—The hills of Aurangabad situated on the banks of the Godavari (*Râmâyaṇa*, Araṇya K., ch. 64) graphically described by Bhavabhuti in his *Uttara Râmacharita* (Act I) who places it in Janasthâna on the banks of the Godavari. In one of the peaks of those hills dwelt the bird Jaṭâyu of the *Râmâyaṇa*. The *Râmâyaṇa* (Kishk. K., ch. 27) places another Prasravaṇagiri at Kishkindhâ near Anagandi on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrâ; it is called also Mâlyavâna-giri (see **Mâlyavâna-giri**).

Prasthala—The district between Ferozepur, Patiala and Sirsa (*Mbh.*, Droṇa, ch. 17; Pargiter's *Mârkaṇḍ. P.*, p. 321 note). Pâtialâ (A. Barooah's *English-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Vol. III, Preface, p. 55).

Pratishṭhâ-Nagara—Same as *Pratishṭhâna*, the Prâkṛita form of which is Paiṭhâna (*Dvâtriṁśatputtalikâ*, 1st story; *Vikramorvasî*, Act II).

Pratishṭhâna—1. Bithoor, where the remains of a fort, which is said to have been the fort of Râjâ Uttânapâda, still exists. The celebrated Dhruva was the son of Uttânapâda, he was born at this place; he practised asceticism in the forests of Mathura. 2. Brahmapuri Pratishthâna, now called Paiṭhân or Pattana or Maṅgila-Pattana or Muṅgi-Pattana (Maṅgi-Paiṭhân), the capital of Aśvaka or Mahârâshṭra, in the district of Aurangabad, on the north bank of the Godavari, twenty eight miles to the south of Aurangabad. Paiṭhân is a corruption of Patiṭṭhâna, the Pâli form of Pratishṭhâna, It was the birth-place and capital of Raja Śâlivâhana who is said to have founded the Śaka era in 78 A.D., (see, however, **Pañcha-nada**). It is the Paiṭhâna of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (p. 195) and Potali of the Buddhists (*Jâtakas*, Cam. Ed., iii, p. 2) and was a great emporium of commerce in the Andhra country and a capital of Andhra (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 62; *Kathâsarit-sâgara*, (Tawney's trans.) I, ch. VI, p. 32; *Antiquities of Bidar and Aurangabad*). See **Mahârâshṭra**. It was the capital of ancient Aśmaka, called also Alaka or Mulaka (*Sutta Nipâta, Pârâyaṇavagga*, I; *History of Bâbari* in Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*). 3. Jhusi, opposite to Allahabad, across the Ganges; it is still called Pratishṭhâpura (*Kûrma P.*, ch. 37: *Agni P.*, ch. III; *Vikramorvaśî*, Act II; *Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 85). It was the capital of Râjâ Purûravâ and other kings (*Liṅga P.*, Pt. I, ch. 65; *Bhavishya P.*, Pratisarga Parva, Pt. 2, ch. 2). See **Prayâga**. It was founded by Râjâ Ila (*Râmâyaṇa*, Uttara, ch. 90). It contains the places of pilgrimage called Haṁsaprapatana on its northern side, and on the bank of the Ganges Urvasî-tîrtha and others. 4. Pathankoṭ, the capital of Audumvara, the present Gurudâspur district (see **Audumvara**).

Pratyagraha—Same as **Ahichchhatra** (*Hemakosha ; Mbh.*, Âdi, ch. 63).

Pravaṅga—It has been identified with Aṅga (Pargiter's *Mârkaṇḍ. P.*, p. 325).

Pravarapura—Śrînagar in Kashmir named after its founder Pravarasena II ; the city was built on the site of the village called Sharitaka ; Pravarasena reigned for sixty years (Dr. Stein's *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, Vol. I., p. 20 note). Bilhana, who gives a description of the town in his *Vikramâṅkadeva-charitam* (C. 18), says it was situated on the confluence of the Bitastâ (Jhelum) and the Sindhu. Bilhana flourished in the eleventh century A.D., he is also said to be the author of the *Panchâśikâ*, the authorship of which is generally ascribed to poet Chaura (see Bühler's Introduction to the *Vikramâṅkadevacharita*, p. 7).

Pravijaya—Same as **Prâgvijaya** (*Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 57).

Prayâga—Allahabad. It formed a part of the kingdom of Kośala at the time of the *Râmâyaṇa* and Fa Hian in 414 A.D. The celebrated *Akshaya Baṭa* or the undecaying banyan tree, which is still an object of worship and which is now situated within a dark subterranean chamber called Pâtâlapura in the fort of Allahabad built by Akbar in 1581, is thus described by Hiuen Tsiang who visited India in the seventh century : " In the city there is a Deva temple beautifully ornamented and celebrated for its numerous miracles. According to their records, this place is a noted one for all living beings to acquire merit." He further says " Before the hall of the temple there is a great tree with spreading boughs and branches, and casting a deep shadow. There was a body-eating demon here, who, depending on this custom (*viz.*, of committing suicide), made his abode here ; accordingly on the left and right one sees heaps of bones. Hence when a person comes to this temple, there is everything to persuade him to despise his life and give it up ; he is encouraged thereto both by promptings of the heretics and also by the seduction of the (evil) spirit. From very early days till now this very false custom has been practised." (See also *Kûrma P.*, ch. 37 ; and also the story of king Raṇâditya in *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, Bk. III ; *Anargharâghava*, Act VII, 129). Purûravâ, the hero of the *Vikramorvaśî* is said to have been the king of the country of Prayâga (Allahabad), the capital of which was Pratishṭhâna, now called Jhusi. Nahusa, Yayâti, Puru, Dushmanta and Bharata are said to have reigned in this city (*Brahma Purâṇa*, chs. 10, 11, 12 ; *Liṅga P.*, Pt. 1, ch. 63). The fort of Allahabad was built by Akbar on the site of an ancient Hindoo fort and within it is one of the celebrated pillars of Aśoka, set up there in the third century B.C., promulgating the necessity of erecting hospitals and other charitable institutions and interdicting cruelty to animals (see *JASB.*, 1837, p. 795). The Khasru Bâgh contains the mausoleum of Khasru, the ill-fated son of Jahangir ; it is situated between the mausoleum of his mother, the sister of Mân Singh, and that of his brother Purviz. The temple of Alopi is one of the Pîṭhas, where Satî's back is said to have fallen. The temple of Benimâdhava on the confluence of the Ganges and Yamunâ is mentioned in the Mâdhavâchârya's *Śaṅkaravijaya* (ch. VII).

Pretoddhâriṇî—The river Pyri or Pairi which joins the Mahânadî at Raju (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV ; Cunningham's *Arch. S. Rep.*, XVII, p. 8). See **Devapura.**

Pṛishṭha-Champâ—Bihar (Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson's *Heart of Jainism*, p. 41).

Pṛithûdaka—Pehoa in the Karnal district, Panjab, on the river Sarasvatî where the celebrated Brahmayoni-tîrtha is situated. It is fourteen miles to the west of Thânesvara (*Mbh.*, Vana P., ch. 83; *Bhâgavata*, Bk. X, ch. 77 ; *Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India*, XIV, p. 101 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 184). According to the *Bâmana Purâṇa* (ch. 58, v. 115), Pṛithûdaka is situated on the Oghavatî. For the Pṛithûdaka inscription, see *JASB*, 1853, p. 673.

Pulaha-âsrama—Same as **Sâlagrâma** (*Barâha P.*, ch. 143).

Pulinda-desa—1. It included the western portion of Bundelkhand and the district of Sâgar (*Bâmana P.*, ch. 76). The *Kathâ-sarit-sâgara* confounds the Savaras with the Pulindas, and Savar is the same as Sâgar (*Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 113, 139). According to Ptolemy the town of the Phullitoe (Pulindas) was Agara (Sâgara). A branch of this tribe called the Podas lived in Bengal. According to the *Târâ Tantra*, Pulinda lies to the east of Silahatta (Sylhet) and to the north of Kâmarûpa. 2. A country to the north-west of Hardwar (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 139).

Punahpunâ—The river Punpun, a tributary of the Ganges in the district of Patna (*Vâyu P.*, ch. 108; *Padma P.*, Srishti, ch. 11).

Punaka—Poona. In the copper plate inscriptions of the 8th century A.D. found at Teligâon, the name of Poona is mentioned as Punaka or Puna: it was then also the headquarters of a district. Same as **Paunika**.

Pundarika-kshetra—Same as **Pândupura**. It is called Pundarikapura in the *Brihat-Nâradîya P.* (Uttara, ch. 73) where a Linga of Mahâdeva was established by Jaimini.

Pundariya—The Satruñjaya mountain in Guzerat; it is one of the five hills sacred to the Jainas, see **Samet-sikhara** (*Antagada-Dasâo*, Dr. Barnett's trans., p. 58).

Pundra-desa—Same as **Paundra** and **Pundra-vardhana**. Same as **Gauda** (Barooah's *Dictionary*, Vol. III, pp. 109, 110). The name of Pundra first appears in the *Aitareya Brâhmana*. According to Mr. Pargiter Pundra and Paundra were two different countries, and the former comprised the district of Malda, portion of Purnea to the east of the river Kosi and part of Dinajpur and Rajshahi: see **Paundra** (*Ancient Countries in Eastern India* in *JASB.*, 1877, p. 85).

Pundra-vardhana—1. Pânduâ, called Firuzabad in later times, six miles north of Malda and twenty miles north-east of Gaud (Sir H. Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 298; *Garuda Purâna*, I, ch. 81). It was formerly situated on the river Mahânandâ which has now receded four miles to the west. It was the capital of Pundra-desa, or Paundra (see **Paundra**). It contained the temple of Pâtalî Devî (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 51). According to Prof. Wilson (*Vishnu P.*, II, pp. 134, 170), the ancient kingdom of Pundra-desa included the districts of Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Malda, Bogra and Tirhut. According to other authorities the country of Pundra or Pundra-vardhana was situated between the rivers Mahânandâ and the Karatoyâ. Mr. Fergusson has shown that the region of Dinajpur, Rungpur and Bogra formed the ancient Pundra-vardhana; in short, it was North Bengal. Mr. Westmacott identifies it with Pañjara and Barddhankuti (or Khettal) in Dinajpur (*JASB.*, 1875, p. 188; see also "Notes on the Geography of Old Bengal" in *JASB.*, 1908, p. 267). Cunningham has identified the capital with Mahâsthânagad on the Karatoyâ river in the district of Bogra, twelve miles south of Barddhankuti and seven miles to the north of Bogra, and also with Pabna (see **Barendra**). In the *Sumâgadhâvadâna* in the *Ava. Kalp.* (ch. 93) Pundra-varddhana is said to be 160 yojanas or 640 miles to the east of Srâvastî. Whatever may have been the extent of the kingdom of Pundra-varddhana, there can be no doubt that the district of Malda was included in it. James Taylor in his *Remarks on the Sequel to the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (*JASB.*, Vol. XV) says that in Kesava Sena Plate, found at Edilpur in the district of Faridpur, Bikrampur is said to have been a part of Paundraka (see a transcription of the plate in *JASB.*, 1838, pp. 45, 50). In the *Aitareya Brâhmana* (VII, 18), the Pundras are mentioned. According to the *Râjataranginî* (Book IV) Pundravarddhana was the capital of Gaud in the eighth

century A.D., when it was visited by Jayapîḍa. king of Kasmir, during the reign of Jayanta. Ilyas Shah after a long struggle united Eastern Bengal, the capital of which was Sonârgâon (near Dacca) and Western Bengal, the capital of which was Sâtgâon, in 1352, and the provincial capital was fixed at Pâṇḍuâ to which Firoz gave his own name and Ferozabad remained the capital till 1446 (Lane Poole's *Mediæval India under Mahomedan Rule*, p. 164). 2. Same as **Puṇḍra-desa.**

Purâlî—Travancore; the Paralia of Ptolemy and the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (see Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 234). It is a corruption of Paraloka, celebrated for its pearl fishery (Bhoja's *Yukti-Kalpataru*, published in Law's *Calcutta Oriental Series*, pp. 111, 112).

Purâṇâdhishṭhâna—Pandritan, about four miles to the south-east of Srinagar. It was the ancient capital of Kasmir (*Râjataraṅgiṇî*, Bk. V, *v.* 266). The capital was removed to Srinagara which was built by Pravarasena who reigned from 432 to 464 A.D.

Purî—Jagannâth in Orissa. It was visited by Vajrasvâmin, the Jaina patriarch after Suhastin. It was then governed by a Buddhist king (*Sthavirâvalî*, XII, 334).

Purikâ—1. Perhaps Paura, the capital of Gedrosia (*Mbh.*, Sânti, 111; *cf.* McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 172). 2. A country on the Nerbuda (*Bṛihat Saṃhitâ*, ch. 14; *Mârk. P.*, ch. 57).

Purṇâ—1. A branch of the Tapti (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 41): but see **Payoshṇî**. 2. The river Paira, a branch of the Godavari (*Brahma P.*, ch. 106).

Purṇadarba—Kaliñjar (*Vâyu P.*, ch. 45).

Purushapura—Peshawar, the capital of Gândhâra (*Devi Purâṇa*, ch. 46). See **Gândhâra** and **Nava-Gândhâra**. It was the capital of Kanishka who built here a relic tower containing a superstructure of carved wood of thirteen storeys, the ruins of which still exist in the mound called Shahji-ki-Dheri outside the Lahore gate of Peshawar (*JRAS.*, 1912, p. 113). A magnificent monastery built by Kanishka stood by its side; it was destroyed during the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni and his successors (Vincent A. Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 227). For Kanishka's contemporaries see **Tâmasavana**. It was called Purushawar in the eleventh century A.D. (Alberuni's *India*, Vol. I, p. 206). The Buddhist monk Asaṅga lived here in the 6th century A.D. It was also the birth-place of Vasubhandu, Asanga's youngest brother (*JRAS.*, 1905, p. 37).

Purushṇî—Same as **Parushṇî**.

Purushottama-kshetra—Purî in Orissa (see **Śrîkshetra** and **Purî**). Indradyumna, king of Malwa, is said to have caused the image of Jagannâth to be made out of a log of wood which he found floating at Bâṅkimohana, and set it up in a temple built by him. (*Skanda P.*, Vishṇu Kh., Purushottamakshetra-Mâhât., ch. 1; *Brahma P.*, ch. 51). The image was removed and kept concealed at Sonepur-Gopâli, on the western border of Orissa, when it was attacked by a Yavana named Raktavâhu at the time of Râjâ Siva Deva otherwise called Subhan Deo. The temple was destroyed by an extraordinary flood at the time of Raktavâhu's invasion. The image was recovered several centuries after by Râjâ Yayâti Kesarî in the sixth century of the Christian era. But the present temple was built by the minister Paramahaṃsa Bâjpai at a cost of one crore of rupees by the order of Anaṅga (Anianka) Bhîma Deva. The image was afterwards burnt by a Hindu convert named Râju, who was called Kâlâpâhâḍ, the general of Suleman Shah, one of the Pathan kings of Bengal (Kailas Chandra Sen's *Dâru Brahma*; Stirling's *Orissa*). Cunningham says in his *Bhilsa Topes* that the image of Jagannâth was made according to the figure of the Buddhist *Tri-ratna*. In fact, the image of Jagannâtha, **Balarâma** and **Subhadrâ**

represent Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha respectively, and also the *Vîja* of the letters Y, R, V, L and S of the ancient Asoka alphabet as signifying the four elements air, fire, water and earth and the Sumeru with the lotus and crescent above it (Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 355 and *Pujâ-Kâṇḍa* quoted in Hodgson's *Literature and Religion of the Buddhists*, p. 105). Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsiang speak of the drawing of the cars of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. It has, however, not yet been investigated whether the images of Jagannâtha, Balarâma and Subhadrâ correspond to the images of Krishṇa, Baladeva and the goddess Ekânaṃśa respectively, mentioned by Varâha-mihira in his *Bṛihat-saṃhitâ* (ch. 58, *v.* 37): for the origin and name of Ekânaṃśa or Sâvitrî, see *Vâyu P.*, ch. 25. Mr. Patterson says that the images are the representation of Oṃ (ॐ) (*Asia. Res.*, viii, *Jagannâtha*). It is now a settled question that Purî is the ancient Dantapura where Buddha's left canine tooth was kept enshrined (see **Dantapura** and **Śrîksheta**). Sâkshî-Gopâla, which contains a beautiful image of Krishṇa, is ten miles by rail from Purî, and Remunâ, which contains the image of Khîrchora-Gopînâtha, is five miles to the west of Balasore.

Pûrva-gaṅgâ—The river Nerbuda.

Pûrva-Kosala—Same as **Kosala** (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 19).

Pûrva-Sarasvatî—A branch of the Gomati (Gumti) which flows through Naimishâraṇya (*Devî-Bhâgavata*, IV, ch. 8; *Matsya P.*, ch. I, 162).

Pûrva-sindhu—Same as **Dakshiṇa-Sindhu**.

Pûrvasthalî—See **Parthalis**.

Pûrva-Videha—See **Apara-Videha** (Dr. R. L. Mitra's *Lalita-vistara*, ch. 3 and his note at p. 52).

Pushkalâvatî—Pushkalâvatî or Pushkarâvatî, the old capital of Gândhâra, is said to have been founded by Bharata, brother of Râmachandra, after the name of his son Pushkala who was placed here as king (*Râmâyaṇa*, Uttara, chs. 101. 114; Lassen in *JASB.*, 1840, p. 476). Alexander the Great besieged and took it from Astes (Hasti) and placed Sangoeus (Sañjaya) as his successor. It was probably Ashṭanagara or Hashtanagara (Charsaddah), eighteen miles north of Peshawar, on the Landi (formed by the united streams of Swat and Panjkora) near its junction with the Kabul river in the district of Peshawar. It was the Peukelaotes of the Greeks, situated on the Indus, fifteen miles north-eastward beyond the Kabul river. See **Gândhâra**. The ancient name of Pushkalâvatî or Pushkarâvatî is said to have been Utpalavatî (in the Uttarâpatha) where Buddha in a former birth as Brahmaprabhâ, a hermit, gave his body to a famished tigress who was about to eat her two new-born cubs (*Divyâvadâna-mâlâ* in Dr. R. Mitter's *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, p. 316).

Pushkara—The Pushkar Lake, six miles from Ajmir. It is called also Pokhrâ. At the time of the *Mahâbhârata* the seven tribes of Mlechchhas called Utsabasaṅketa lived near or about Pushkara (Sabhâ Parva, chs. 27, 32), and also in the Himalaya (*Raghuvaṃśa*, ch. IV, 78).

Pushkara-dvîpa—A portion of Central Asia commencing from the north of the Oxus, including Western Tartary. Perhaps it has derived its name from Bhushkara or Bokhara. It was comprised in Scythia of the Greeks.

Pushkara-sarasvatî—See **Sarasvatî** (1), (*Mbh.*, Salya, ch. 39).

Pushkarâvatî—Same as **Pushkalâvatî**.

Pushkarâvatî-nagara—Rangoon. It is said to be situated in Ramaṇya Maṇḍala. Tapusa and Bhalluka, two brothers who gave honey and other articles of food to Buddha just after

he attained Buddhahood, came from Puskarâvatî-nagara, which is also called Okalla by other Buddhist writers. They built a dagoba called the Shaidagon Pagoda upon the hairs given to them by Buddha after their return to their native country (Upham's *Buddhist Tracts* in the *Sacred Books of Ceylon*, Vol. III, p. 110; *JASB.*, 1859, p. 473).

Pushpa-giri—A part of the Malaya range, in which the river Kṛitamâlâ (Vaiga) has got its source (*Márkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 57; cf. *Vishṇu P.*, Pt. II, ch. 3).

Pushpapura—Patna. It appears that it was originally the name of a quarter of ancient Pâtaliputra and inhabited by the rich and the nobles (*Mudrárákshasa*, Act I); from the name of this quarter the whole town was called Pushpapura or Kusumapura (or Kumrâr) where the royal palace was situated. Same as **Pâṭaliputra** and **Kusumapura**.

Pushpâvatî—The river Pâmbai in Travancore (*Barâha P.*, ch. 85).

R

Râḍha—That part of Bengal which lies to the west of the Ganges (Ânanda Bhaṭṭa's *Ballâlacharitam*, pt. II, ch. 1), including Tamluk, Midnapur (Wilson's *Introduction to Mackenzie Collections*, chaps. 138, 139) and the districts of Hughli and Burdwan. A portion of the district of Murshidabad was included in its northern boundary. It was the native country of Vijaya, who conquered Ceylon with seven hundred followers (*Upham's Râjâvalî*, pt. I; *Rájataraṅgiṇî*, ch. 2; *Mahâvaṁsa*, chaps. 6, 47); see **Siṃhala.** It is the Lâḷa of the Buddhists and Lâḍa of the Jainas. According to the latter, Bajjrabhumi and Subbhabhumi are the two divisions of Lâḍa where Mahâvîra or Varddhamâna, the 24th Tîrthaṅkara, wandered for more than 12 years before he attained Jinahood (Bühler's *Indian Sect of the Jinas*) at Jṛimbhikagrâma on the river Ṛijupâlikâ near the Pârasnâth hills (Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson's *Heart of Jainism*, p. 38). Prof. Jacobi supposes that Subbhabhumi is probably the country of the Suhmas, who are also identified with the Râḍhas (Jacobi's *Âchârâṅga Sûtra*, bk. 1, ch. 8, sec. 3 in *SBE.*, Vol. XXII, p. 84). The ancient name of Râḍha was Sumha (Nîlakaṇṭha, see **Sumha**) and its name in the mediæval period was Lâṭa or Lâla. The Purâṇas call the country by the name of Sumha, excepting the *Devî-Purâṇa* (ch. 39) in which Râḍha is mentioned. Kâlidâsa mentions Sumha in his *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, v. 35. Râḍha is perhaps the Gâṅga of the inscriptions (*Epigraphia Indica*, II, 198; IV, 288). It is the country of the Gangridæ Calingæ of Pliny and Gangaridai of Megasthenes and Ptolemy. Its capital according to Ptolemy, was Gâṅge which is identified with Saptagrâma or Sâtgâon. To account for the names of Gâṅga, Gânge and Ganges Regia, either we must suppose that at the beginning of the Christian era the country was either conquered by some monarch of the Gâṅga dynasty of the south (see **Palakâḍa** for the Gâṅga dynasty of Mysore), or that it derived its name from its capital Saptagrâma, called Gaṅgâ on account of its situation on the Ganges. See **Gâṅga.** According to Diodorus the Ganges flowed by the eastern side of the country of the Gangaridai. It should be stated that according to Prof. Wilson, Ananta Varma, the first of the line of Gangâ-vaṃśa kings of Orissa was also called "Kolâhala, sovereign of Gangâ-Râdhi" (*Mackenzie Collections*, Intro., cxxxviii). Râjaśekhara who flourished in the tenth century mentions the name of Râḍha instead of Sumha (*Karpûra-mañjari*, Act I). The *Prabodhachandrodaya-Nâṭaka* (Act II) which was written in the eleventh century speaks of Dakshiṇa Râḍha, indicating that before that period Râḍha was divided into Uttara and Dakshiṇa Râḍha. The portion on the north of the river Ajaya (including a portion of the district of Murshidabad) is *Uttara Râḍha* and that on the south is *Dakshina Râḍha*. In the *Mahâ-*

Lingeśvara Tantra in the *Hundred-names of Śiva* the names of Târakeśvara and Siddhinâtha are mentioned and their temples are said to be situated in Râḍha. Hence the celebrated temple of Târakeśvara must have been existing before that book was composed. For the history of Râḍha before the Mahomedan period see my *Notes on the History of the District of Hughly* in *JASB.*, 1910, p. 599. It should be stated that *Râḍha* is a corruption of *Râshṭra*, and an abbreviation of Gaṅgâ-Râshṭra or Gangâ-Râḍa (the kingdom of Gaṅgâ the "district of the Ganges" of the *Periplus* and Ganga-ride of Megasthenes. Ganga-Râḍa was contracted into *Gâṅga* mentioned in the *Kauśitakî Upanishad* and in the *Karhad Plate Inscription* of Krishna III, and also into *Râḍa* which is further corrupted into Lâḍa and Lâla.

Raibhya-Âśrama—Kubjâmra at a short distance to the north of Hardwar; it was the hermitage of Ṛishi Raibhya.

Raivata—Mount Girnar near Junagar in Guzerat. It was the birth-place of Neminâtha, hence it is one of the five great Tîrthas of the Jainas (Tod's *Râjasthâna*, Vol. I, ch. 19; *Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 14); see **Samet-Sikhara.** For the names of the 24 Tîrthaṅkaras of the Jainas, see **Śrâvastî.** It is the Revayae hill of the Jainas near Bâravai or Dvârabatî (*Antagaḍa-Dasâo*, Dr. Barnett's trans., p. 84).

Raivataka—Same as **Raivata** (*Mbh.*, Âdi, ch. 220).

Râjagṛiha—1 Râjgir (*Agni P.*, ch. 10), the ancient capital of Magadha (see **Girivrajapura**). The new town of Râjagṛiha was built by Bimbisâra, father of Âjâtaśatru, at a distance of about a mile to the north of the old town of Râjagṛiha or Girivrajapura of the *Mahâbhârata* (Aśvaghosha's *Buddha-charita*, in *SBE.*, XLIX). 2. Râjgiri on the north bank of the Bias in the Panjab, the captial of Aśvapati, king of Kekaya and maternal grandfather of Bharata (*Râmâyaṇa*, Ayodhyâ k., ch. 70).

Râjamahendra—The capital of Kaliṅga, said to have been founded by Mahendra Deva, but see **Râjapura.**

Râjanagara—Ahmedabad in Gujerat (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 42). See **Karṇâvatî.**

Râjapura—The capital of Kaliṅga (*Mbh.*, Sânti, ch. 4). Perhaps it was the ancient name of Râjamahendri.

Râjapurî—Rajauri, south of Kasmir and south-east of Punach called Puhats by the Kasmiris.

Râmadâsapura—Amritsar in the Punjab. Râmdâs, the Sikh Guru, built a hut on the margin of a natural pool of water which was the favourite resort of Bâbâ Nânak. Râmdâs obtained a grant of the pool which was considered sacred. It was improved and formed into a tank which was called the tank of nectar (*Punjab Gazetteer—Amritsar*). It was also called Chak.

Râmagaḍ-Gauḍa—Balarâmpur, twenty eight miles north-east of Goṇḍa in Oudh.

Râmagiri—Ramtege (Ramtak), 24 miles north of Nagpur in the Central Provinces (Wilson's *Meghadûta*, v. 1 note). Traditionally Ramtek was the place where Śambuka, a Śûdra, performed asceticism, for which reason he was killed by Râmachandra, hence it may also be identified with the Śaibala-giri (mountain) of the *Râmâyaṇa*, (Uttara, ch. 88). It contains a temple of Râmachandra and also a temple dedicated to Nâgârjuna. Kâlidâsa places the scene of his story in *Meghadûta* at Râmagiri Râmagiri has also been identified with Râmgaḍ in Sirgujâ, one of the tributary states of Chhota Nagpur. There is a large cavern called Sîtâ Baṅgira cave high up in the rocks, forty-five feet deep and six feet high at the entrance, containing inscriptions of the time of Aśoka. There is also

a natural fissure in the mountain called Hâtiphor tunnel (cave), through which a small rivulet has worn out a passage. The tunnel is 450 feet long with a diameter ranging from 55 to 16 feet, and height 108 feet. The cave is said to have been noticed in the *Râmâyaṇa* and in the *Raghuvaṃśa* (*Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. XIII, p. 41 ; *Lists of Ancient Monuments in the Chhota Nagpur Division*). But the identification of Râmagiri with Râmgaḍ does not appear to be correct. There can be no doubt therefore that the Sitâ Baṅgira Cave at Râmgaḍ in the Sirgujâ State is the Ṛiksha-vila of the *Râmâyaṇa* (Kishk. k., chs. 51, 52), but there is another Bindhyâchala : see **Bindhyâchala** (2).

Râmagrâma—Rampur Deoriya in the district of Basti in Oudh, which once contained a stûpa over a portion of the remains of Buddha's body, now washed away by the river (*Arch. S. Report*, Vol. XVIII, p. 4 ; XXII, pp. 2, 111 ; Upham's *Mahâvaṃśi*, ch. 31). It was visited by Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsiang.

Râmahrada—A sacred tank or lake situated on the northern side of Thaneswar ; it is 3546 feet in length from east to west and 1900 feet in breadth from north to south. It was called Dvaipâyanahrada on account of an island in the middle of it, which contained a well called Chandra-kûpa. It was also called Saryaṇavant or Saryanâvata in the *Ṛig-Veda* (I, 84, 14), a small tank situated on the north-eastern side of this tank is still called Sunetsar which is evidently a corruption of Saryanâvata the two tanks being formerly one. It was also called Brahmasara on account of Brahmâ having performed austerities on the bank of this tank. It was likewise called Râmahrada as Paraśurâma gave oblations with the water of this tank to the manes of his ancestors after destroying the Kshattriyas. It was also called Chakra-tîrtha as on the bank of this tank Kṛishṇa attempted to kill Bhîsma with his discus (*chakra*) in violation of his promise not to use any arms in the Kurukshetra war. It was on the bank of this tank that Kuru performed austerities on account of which the surrounding country was called Kurukshetra (but see **Oghavatî**). On the bank of this tank Purûravâ recovered Urvaśî, and Indra killed Vṛitrâsura by a thunderbolt made of the bone of Dadhichi Muni (*Mahâbhârata*, Vana, chs. 83, 100, 101; Cunningham's *Anc. Geo.*, pp. 331-335).

Râmakeli—A village about 18 miles to the south-east of Malda in the district of Rajshahi in Bengal. It contains two tanks called Rûpasâgara and Sanâtanasâgara, said to have been excavated by the two brothers Rûpa and Sanâtana, the celebrated followers of Chaitanya who were formerly ministers of Hossain Shah, king of Gauḍa It was visited by Chaitanya (*Chaitanya-Bhâgavata*, Antya Kh., ch. IV). A fair is held here every year in the month of Jyaishṭha to commemorate the conversion of the two brothers into Vaishṇavism.

Râmaṇîyaka—A pleonastic form of Râmanîya, that is Armenia (*Mahâbhârata*, Âdi, ch. 26 : see my *Rasâtala or the Under-world*).

Ramaṇya—Pegu and the delta of the Irawadi. It was also called Aramaṇa (Phayre's *Hist. of Burma*, p. 30).

Râma-tîrtha—Three miles north of Hâṅgal in Dharwar district, Bombay Presidency (*Padma P.*, Swarga (Âdi), ch. 19 ; *Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, VIII, p. 137).

Râmeśvaram—Same as **Setubandha** (*Râmâyaṇa*, Laṅkâ k., ch. 25). The island of Râmeśvara is separated from the mainland of India by the Pumben Passage. It contains the celebrated temple of Râmeśvara said to have been established by Râmachandra himself. Râmajharakâ, containing the impression of Râmachandra's feet, is one mile and a half from the Râmeśvara temple, from this place Râmachandra is said to have supervised the construction of the Adam's Bridge.

Râmeśvara-saṅgama—The confluence of the river Banas with the Chambal.

Raṅkshu—The Rangit, a tributary of the Tistâ in the Darjeeling district (*Mârkaṇḍ. P.*, ch. 57).

Rantipura—Rintambur or Rintipur on the Gomati, a branch of the Chambal. It was the abode of Ranti Deva alluded to by Kâlidâsa in his *Meghadûta* (pt. I, *śl.* 47). The story of Ranti Deva's sacrifice of cows is related in the *Mahâbhârata* (Droṇa P., ch. 67).

Rasa—The river Jaxartes, the Ranha of the Avesta (Macdonnel and Keith's *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, Vol. II, p. 209 ; *Ṛig Veda*, X, 75).

Rasâtala—Western Tartary, including Turkestan and the northern side of the Caspian Sea, the country of the Huns who were also called *Te-le*, the Sanskrit form of which is *Tala*. Rasâtala or Pâtâla was the general name of the country as well as the specific name of one of its provinces. The seven "spheres" or provinces of Rasâtala derived their names from the different tribes of Huns and Scythians (Sakas) who dwelt there and belonged to the Turanian stock. (1) Atala derived its name from the A-telites ; (2) Bitala from the Ab-telites ; (3) Nitala from the Neph-thalites ; (4) Talâtala from the To-charis (or the Takshakas of the *Mahâbhârata* and the *Purâṇas*, see Todd's *Râjasthan*, vol. I, ch. VI, p. 61 note). The *Vishṇu P.* (ii, ch. 8) has Gabhastimat instead of Talâtala ; Gabhasti appears to be the same as the Jaxartes (*ibid.*, ch. 4), especially the upper portion of it ; (5) Mahâtala from the Hai-talites ; (6) Sutala from the Ci-darites or *Su* tribes who lived in the Upper Jaxartes and the Oxus. They were the Surabhis or cows (Chorosmi of the classical writers) and Suparṇas or Garuḍas or birds of the *Mahâbhârata* (Udyoga, chs. 100 and 101), who lived in the Trans-Caspian District. The names of the several tribes of Suparṇas commence with *Su* (*ibid.*, ch. 100). The Garuḍas were Sakas, but they followed the Zoroastrian religion ; (7) Rasâtala is the valley of the Rasa (*q.v.*) or the Jaxartes. It derived its name from the river Rasa, on the banks of which the Huns and the Scythians (Sakas) resided. They were called Nâgas or serpents. The word *Nâga* is evidently a corruption of Hiung-nu, the ancient name of the Huns, and according to some authority they believed that the Serpent (Nâga) was the symbol of the earth (Ragozin's *Vedic India*, p. 308). Each name of the serpents of Pâtâla as mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata* (Âdi, ch. 35) represents a tribe of Nâgas, as Śesha—the Sses of Sogdiana, Vâsuki—the Usuivis, Takshakas—the Tocharis, Aśvatara—the Asis, Tittiri—the Tatars afterwards called Tartars, etc. For the different names of the Huns, or rather of their tribes, see Dr. Modi's *Early History of the Huns* in *JBBRAS.*, vol. XXIV (1916—17), pp. 565, 548. Some of the Scythians also were Hunnic tribes (*ibid.*, p. 563). *Pâtâla*, though a general name, is evidently derived from the Eph-thalitas or the White Huns ; they were called white in contradistinction to the black or sun-burnt Huns of the North (*ibid.*, p. 565). Rasâtala or Pâtâla was also the abode of the Dânavas (demons) who were also Turanians. [Dr. J. J. Modi's *Ancient Pâtaliputra* in *JBBRAS.*, vol. XXIV (1916-17), pp. 519, 521]. The classical name of the Caspian Sea was Mare Caspium or Hyrcanum, which shows that the name was derived from the two parts of the name of Hiraṇyakaśipu (a *daitya*), the son of Kaśyapa ; and the ancient town of Hyrcania near the modern town of Âsterabad to the south-east of the Caspian Sea must have been his capital, the ancient Hiranyapura (*Padma P.*, Srishṭi, ch. 6) though tradition places it (*q.v.*) in India. Bali's palace was situated in Sutala or in the Trans-Caspian District (*Harivaṃśa*, ch. 262). Kaśyapa was the progenitor of the aforesaid tribes. The idea of Pâtâla being below the surface of the earth, which can be entered through a subterranean passage and the conception that it contains seven spheres one above the other, have arisen out of a hazy memory of a primeval age, and the association

of the region with the Nâgas or serpents living underground has naturally led to the idea that it could be entered by subterranean passages through holes on the surface of the earth. Its association also with the demons, cows and Garuḍa birds that cannot live with the serpents has resulted in its division into several distinct spheres. (For a fuller description, see my *Rasâtala or the Under-World.*)

Râsṭika—See **Lâṭa.**

Rathasthâ—The river Rapti in Oudh (*Mbh.*, Âdi., ch. 172 ; R. K. Roy's *Mbh.*, p. 206 note).

Ratnadvîpa—Ceylon.

Ratnâkara-nadî—The Kânâ-nadî on which is situated Khânâkul-Krishṇanagara, a town in the district of Hughli in Bengal, which contains the temple of Mahâdeva Ghanṭeśvara (*Mahâliṅgesvara Tantra*).

Ratnapura—Ratanpura, 15 miles north of Bilaspur in the Central Provinces, was the capital of Dakshiṇa Kośala or Gondwana. It was perhaps the capital of Mayuradhvaja and his son Tâmradhvaja who fought with Arjuna and Krishṇa for the sacrificial horse (*Jaimini-Bhârata*, ch. 41). Ratanpura became the capital of the Haihaya kings of Chhatisgaḍ, where they ruled for fifty generations.

Râvanahrada—It is supposed to be the Anava-tapta or Ano-tatta lake of the Buddhist works. It is called by the Tibetans Langak-tso and Rakhas-tal. The lake is fifty miles in length and twenty-five miles in breadth. There is a hill in the middle of the lake. On the bank of the lake in the Gyantang monastery, there is a gigantic image of Râvana, king of Lankâ. He is said to have bathed every day in this lake, and then worshipped Mahâdeva in the Kailâsa mountain at a place called Homa-kuṇḍa. The Sutlej is said to have its source in this lake. (For a description of the lake, see Sven Hedin's *Trans-Himalaya*, Vol. II, ch. 47).

Remunâ—Six miles to the west of Balasore in Orissa, containing the temple of Kshîrachorâ-Gopînâtha, visited by Chaitanya.

Reṇukâ-tîrtha—About sixteen miles north of Nahan in the Panjab (*Padma P.*, Swarga, Âdi, ch. 11) Reṇukâ was the mother of Paraśurâma. The *Padma Purâṇa* mentions nine holy places (*usaras*) in Northern India ; Reṇukâ, Sûkara (Soron on the Ganges). Kâśi (Benares), Kâli (Karra on the Ganges), Îśwara, Kâlañjara and Mahâkâla (Ujjain).

Revâ—The river Nerbuda (*Meghadûta*, Pt. I, v. 20 ; *Padma P.*, Svarga, ch. 10), but according to some *Purâṇas* the Revâ and the Narmadâ are different rivers (*Bâmana P.*, ch. 13, vs. 25, 30 ; *Bhâgavata P.*, Bk. V, ch. 19).

Revâpura—Same as **Śivâlaya.** Ghusṛineśa Mahâdeva is said to be in Revâpura (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 62) ; hence Revâpura is identical with Śivâlaya.

Revavanti—Revadaṇḍa (see **Champâvatî**).

Ṛijupâlikâ—The river Barâkar near Giridih in the district of Hazaribagh, Chutia Nagpur division. From an inscription in a temple about 8 miles from Giridih, containing footprints of Mahâvîra, it appears that the name of the river, on which it was originally situated but in a different locality, was Ṛijupâlikâ, the present temple being erected with the materials of the old ruined temple removed to this place. Hence the original site of the temple must have been Jrimbhikagrâma which was near the Pârasnath hills (*Kalpasûtra* in *SBE.*, XXII, p. 263 ; Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson's *Heart of Jainism*, p. 38).

Ṛiksha-parvata—The eastern part of the Vindhyâ range extending from the Bay of Bengal to the source of the Nerbada and the Sone (*Brahmâṇḍa P.*, ch. 48), including the mountains south of the Sone, namely those of Chutia Nagpur, Ramgar, etc., as well as the mountains

of Gondwana in which the river Mahânadî has got its source (*Mbh.*, Śânti., ch. 52) and also the mountains where the rivers Nerbuda, Sone, Suktimati, etc., take their rise (*Barâha P.*, ch. 85; *Skanda P.*, Revâ Kh., ch. 4).

Ṛiksha-vila—The Sîtâ-Baṅgira cave at Râmgaḍ in the Sirguja State of the Chutia-Nagpur division (*Râmâyaṇa*, Kishk. k., chs. 51, 52; *List of Ancient Monuments in the Chota Nagpur Division*). The latter work wrongly indentifies Râmgaḍ including the Sîtâ-Bangira cave and the Hâtiphor tunnel with Râmagiri of the *Meghadûta*. See **Râmagiri.** But this Ṛikshavila appears to have been situated in the Vindhyâchala of North Mysore (*Râmâyaṇa*, Kishk., chs. 48, 50) and not of Northern India.

Ṛishabha-parvata—The Palni hills in Madura, which form the northern portion of the Malaya mountain (*Mbh.*, Vana P., ch. 85; *Chaitanya-charitâmrita*, II; *Gaurasundara*, p. 214). (The *Mahâbhârata*, Vana P., ch. 85) says it is situated in Pâṇḍya. The hills are locally called Barâha Parvata.

Ṛishikulyâ—1. The Ṛishikuilia river on which Ganjam is situated; it rises in the Mahendra hills (*Brahmâṇḍa P.*, Pûrva, ch. 48). It is also called Rasikoila (Thornton's *Gazetteer*, Ganjam). 2. The Kiyul, which rises on the Suktimat mountain in Bihar sub-division not far from Rajgir (*Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. VIII, p. 124).

Ṛishipattana—Sârnâth near Benares—Isipatana of the Buddhists (*Lalitavistara*, ch. 26).

Rishyamûka—A mountain situated eight miles from Anagondi on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrâ. The river Pampâ rises in this mountain and falls into the Tuṅgabhadrâ after flowing westward. It was at this mountain that Râmchandra met Hanumân and Sugrîva for the first time (*Râmâyaṇa*, Kishk., ch. IV). Mataṅga-vana, where the female ascetic Śavarî resided, was near this mountain on the western side of the river Pampâ.

Ṛishyaśriṅga-âśrama—The hermitage of Ṛishi Ṛishyaśṛiṅga of the *Râmâyaṇa* was situated at Ṛishi-kuṇḍa, twenty-eight miles to the west of Bhagalpur, and four miles to the south-west of Bariarpur, one of the stations of the East India Railway (*Râmâyaṇa*, Âdi k., ch. 9). The hermitage was situated in a circular valley formed by the Maira hill which is evidently the Maruk hill of Captain Thuillier (see the *Kharakpur Hills* in *JASB.*, 1852, p. 204). The valley is open only on the northern side. It contains seven springs issuing from the foot of the western hills, five being of hot water and two of cold at their extremities. The combined water of these springs is collected in a tank or pool called Ṛishi-kuṇḍa, the superfluous water of which issues out of the northern side of the valley in the shape of a small stream called the Abhi-nadi and falls into the Ganges at a distance of five miles; but it is evident that the Ganges formerly flowed very close to the north of the valley. A small space enclosed with broken stones on the north bank of the tank is pointed out as the place where the Ṛishi and his father Bibhâṇḍaka used to sit in meditation, and a stone slab near its northern bank is shown as the place where they used to perform ablutions. A fair is held here every third year in honour of the Ṛishi Ṛishyaśṛiṅga. Other places as the Singarika or Ṛishyaśṛiṅga Parvata, 8 miles to the south of the Kajra station (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. II, p. 140) also claim the honour of being the hermitage of the Ṛishi (see **Rohinnâlâ**), but from the proximity of Ṛishi-kuṇḍa to the Ganges, which afforded facility to the public women sent by Romapâda, king of Aṅga to entice away the young hermit from his seclusion, preference should be given to it as the likely place where Ṛishyaśṛiṅga and his father Bibhâṇḍaka performed austerities. The Ṛishi's hermitage is said in the *Mahâbhârata* to have been situated not far from the river Kusi (ancient Kauśikî) and three yojanas or twenty-four miles from Champâ, where the houses of the public women were situated. (*Mbh.*, Vana, chaps. 110, 111).

Ṛishyaśriṅga-giri—Same as **Śṛiṅgagiri.**

Roâleśvara—Roâlsar, a celebrated lake and famous place of pilgrimage within the territory of the Râjâ of Mundi, a hill-state stretching along the middle course of the Bias in the Panjab, about 64 miles to the north-west of Jvâlâmukhî. The lake contains seven moving hills, one of which called Gaurî Devi possesses special sanctity. Padmasambhava, the founder of Buddhism in Tibet, is worshipped here not only by the Lamas, but by the Brâhmins as Ṛishi Lomaśa (*JASB.*, 1902, p. 39). His temple is situated on the side of the lake and is visited by Buddhist pilgrims from China, Japan and Tibet.

Rohana—Adam's Peak in Ceylon; it is also called Sumana-kûṭa (Murâri's *Anargharâghava*, Act vii, 99: *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, iii, v, 72; Upham's *Râjâvalî*).

Rohi—Afghanistan; it was also called Roha. Same as **Loha.**

Rohiṇi—The rivulet Rohin in the Nepalese Terai which separated Kapilavastu from Koli (P. C. Mukherjee's *Antiquities in the Terai, Nepal*, p. 48). An impending fight for the exclusive right of drawing water for the purposes of irrigation from the river Rohiṇi between the Koliyas and the Sakiyas was averted by Buddha (*Jâtaka*, Camb. ed., vol. V, pp. 219–221).

Rohinnâlâ—Lo-in-ni-lo of Hiuen Tsiang. Vivien St. Martin has identified it with Rohinnâlâ and General Cunningham with Rajaona which is two miles to the north-west of the Lakhisarai station of the E. I. Railway. General Cunningham also surmises that by Lo-in-ni-lo Hiuen Tsiang meant Kiyul (*Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. III). Rohinnâlâ of St. Martin is not fictitious as supposed by Cunningham. There is actually a village called Rehuânâlâ situated on the Ganges; perhaps it also existed at the time when it was visited by the Chinese traveller. Rehuânâlâ, which is evidently a corruption of Rohit-nâlâ or Rohinnâlâ, is five miles to the north-west of Urain in the district of Monghyr. There are many Buddhist and other ancient ruins at Urain (which was fromerly called Ujjain) and also at Rehuânâlâ. Rehuânâlâ must have been a celebrated place, otherwise there would have been no foundation for the local tradition that "one Rehuânâlâ was in the dominion of Indradumnya, the last king of Jayanagar, who is supposed by General Cunningham and Buchannan (*Eastern India*, II, p. 26) to have been the last of the Pâla Râjâs of Magadha (Bihar) who was defeated by Mukhdum Maulana Bux, one of the chiefs under Bakhtiar Khiliji. Seven miles to the south of Rehuânâlâ there is a spur of the Vindhyâ Range called Singhol hill, where according to the local tradition, Ṛishyaśriṅga's âśrama was situated; it contains several springs and some temples (see **Ṛishyaśriṅga-âśrama**).

Rohita—Rohtas, in the district of Shahabad in Bengal, celebrated for its fort, which is said to have been built (*Harivaṃśa*, ch. 13) by Rohitâśva, son of Râjâ Hariśchandra of the *Râmâyaṇa* and *Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa* and ancestor of Râmachandra of Oudh. It was also called Rohitâśva (*JASB.*, viii, p. 698). The buildings in the fort were repaired and renovated by Man Sing in 1597 A.D. after he was appointed Subedar of Bengal and Bihar. The Rhotas hill is a spur of the Kymore range a branch of the Vindhya mountain. For Man Sing's inscription and the genealogy of the kings of Rohtas, see *JASB.*, 1839, pp. 354, 693.

Rohitaka—Rohtak, forty two miles north-west of Delhi in the Panjab. It was conquered by Nakula, one of the Pâṇḍavas (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ P., ch. 32). The ancient town called Khokra-kot is at a small distance to the north of the modern town.

Rohitâśva—Same as **Rohita** (*JASB.*, vol. VIII, p. 695).

Roruva—The capital of Sauvîra (*Âditta Jâtaka* in *Jâtaka* (Cam. Ed.), III, p. 280; *Mahâ-Govinda Sutta* in *Dîgha Nikâya*, XIX, 36).

Rudra-Gayâ—In Kolhapura (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 62).

Rudrakoṭi—1. In Kurukshetra (*Padma P.*, Svarga, ch. 11). 2. On the Nerbuda near its source (*Padma P.*, Swarga, Âdi, ch. 6).

Rudrapada—In Mahâlaya or Oṁkaranâtha, where Mahâdeva (Rudra) left his foot-mark (*Kûrma P.*, Pt. II, ch. 36).

Rurumuṇḍa Parvata—Same as **Urumuṇḍa Parvata** (*Divyâvadâna*, Cowell's ed., chs. XXVI, p. 349; XXVII).

S

Sâbhramatî—The river Sâbarmati in Guzerat (*Padma P.*, Uttara kh., ch. 52). It rises from Nandikuṇḍa (ch. 53) or the modern Dhanbar Lake near Mirpura, twenty miles north of Doongapura, and falls into the Gulf of Kambay.

Sadânîrâ—1. The river Karatoyâ which flows through the districts of Rungpur and Dinajpur, the ancient Puṇḍra (*Amarakosha*, Pâtâla, V; *Tithitatva*, p. 796). The river is said to have been formed by the perspiration which flowed from the hand of Śiva at the time of his marriage with Durgâ. 2. A river mentioned in the *Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa* as being situated between Videha (Tirhut) and Kośala (Oudh); the river was the limit of the Aryan colonisation and conquest on the east at the time when the *Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa*, was composed by Yâjñavalkya (see *Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa*, IX, 4). It has been identified with the river Gandak (Eggeling's *Introduction to the Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa* in the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XII, p. 104), but in the *Mahâbhârata* (Sabhâ P., ch. 20), it has been placed between the Gaṇḍakî and the Sarayu, and in the list of rivers Sadânîrâ is mentioned as a distinct river from the Karatoyâ or the Gaṇḍak (see *Mbh.*, Bhîshma P., ch. 9). Mr. Pargiter identifies it with the Rapti, a tributary of the Sarayu (see his *Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, c. 57, p. 294).

Śâgala—Same as **Sâkala**, the capital of Milinda or Menander, king of the Yonakas or Bactrian Greeks (*Milindâ Pañha*, Vol. XXXV of *SBE.*, p. 1). The Śaṅkheyya monastery was near Śâgala. It was the captial of Madra-deśa (*Jâtaka*, Vol. IV, p. 144).

Sâgara-saṅgama—A celebrated place of pilgrimage still called by that name or Gaṅgâ-sâgara near the mouth of the Ganges, said to have been the hermitage of Ṛishi Kapila, same as **Kapilâśrama.** (*Bṛihat-Dharma Purâṇa*, Pûrva khaṇḍa, ch. 6; *Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 114). The temple in honour of Kapila Muni in Sâgar Island was erected in 430 A.D., but it was washed away by the sea in 1842. It once contained a population of 200,000 (*JASB.*, 1850, p. 538, *note*).

Sâhañjana—Same as **Sanjân** (*Harivaṁśa*, ch. 33).

Sahasarâma—Sâsiram in the district of Shahabad. Aśoka's inscription is on Chandan Pir's hill situated on the east of the modern town. It is ninety miles to the south-west of Patna. Within the town is situated the tomb of Sher Shah in an artificial tank. For Pratâpa Dhavala's inscription of 1173 A.D. and Aśoka's inscription on Chandan Sâhid hill, see *JASB.*, 1839, p. 354.

Sahyâdri—The northern parts of the Western Ghats north of the river Kâverî; the portion south of the river Kâverî was called Malaya-giri (see *Mahâvîra-charita*, Act V, *v.* 3).

Sahyâdrijâ—The river Kâverî (*Śiva P.*, *Vidyeśvarasaṃhitâ*, ch. X).

Śaibala—Same as **Śivâlaya** (*Bṛihat-Śiva P.*, II, ch. 4).

Śaibala-giri—Râmagiri or Râmtek mountain, 24 miles to the north of Nagpur in the Central Provinces. At the foot of this mountain a Śûdra, performed asceticism, on account of which he was killed by Râmachandra (*Râmâyaṇa*, Uttara k., ch. 88). See **Râmagiri** and **Śambûka-âśrama.** It was situated on the southern side of the Vindhyâ range (*Ibid.*).

Sailodâ—The river Jaxartes which flows through the northern extremity of Sogdiana (*Matsya P.*, ch. 120 and *JASB.*, Vol. LXXI, p. 156). But the Jaxartes has been identified with the river Sîtâ (see **Sîtâ**). The identification of Śailodâ with the Jaxartes does not appear to be correct (see *Brahmâṇḍa P.*, ch. 51). The river is said to be situated between the Meru and Mandâra mountains (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 51) and near Uttara-kuru (*Râmâyaṇa*, Kishk., ch. 43).

Sairindhra—Sirhind (see *Bṛihat-saṃhitâ*, XIV, ch. 29).

Sairishaka—Sirsa in the Panjab (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 32).

Saitabâhinî—Same as **Bâhudâ** (*Amarakosha*).

Sâkadvîpa—Tartary including Turkestan in Central Asia, the country of the Śakas (*JASB.*, Vol. LXXI, p. 154). Scy-thia and Sog-dia-na are corruptions of Sâka-dvîpa. According to the Greek geographers the Śakas lived to the east of Sogdiana, now called the Pamir, the country between Bokhara and Samarkhand. According to Strabo the country lying to the east of the Caspian Sea was called Scythîa (see also Ragozin's *Assyria*, ch. 12). In 160 B.C. the Śakas or Sse were expelled from Sogdiana by the Yushtis or Yuehchis, a tribe of the Tatars. The Śakas, after fighting their way, through the Greek kingdoms, ceded to Chandragupta by Seleukos and which had become independent after the death of Aśoka, invaded India through Sindh and established themselves at Mathurâ, Ujjayinî and Girinagara, as Kshatrapas or viceroys under their king at Seistan which means "the land of the Sse", or Śakas. Meanwhile the five tribes of the Yushtis or Yuehchis being pressed from behind conquered Baktria in 126 B.C. (see **Bâlhika** and **Śâkala** and **Pañchanada**). About a century afterwards the Kushanas one of the branches became predominant. The Kushanas after defeating the Śaka suzerain in Seistan pushed forward and conquered the Panjab and ousted the Śaka satrap from Mathurâ, and they made Takshaśilâ their capital of the kingdom extending from Baktria to the Doab of the Ganges, and Mathurâ remained their subordinate capital. Kanishka, belonging to the Kushan tribe of the Tartars, became the king of the Kushan kingdom in the first or second century A.D. The resemblance of the following names of the countries, rivers and mountains in Śakadvîpa as given in the ancient Hindu works to those mentioned by Ptolemy in his geography is striking :—

Mahâbhârata, Bhîshma Parva, ch. 11—*Ptolemy* (McCrindle's translation pp. 283—297.

Sâkadvîpa.	Skythia.
Countries (Varshas).	
Kumuda	Inhabited by the Komedai (a mountain district called Komedorum Montes by the Greeks) between the source of the Oxus and the Jaxartes. Komedorum Montes is the Tsung-hing mountain of Hiuen Tsiang: see Kiu-mi-to in Beal's *RWC.*, Vol. I, p. 41.
Sukumâra	Komaroi.
Jalada	Golaktophagoi.
Jalandhara	Salateroi (p. 268) or the Zaratoi (p. 288).
Countries (Janapada).	
Mṛiga	Margine or Margiana, present Merv (Bretschneider's *Mediæval Researches*, Vol. II, p. 103).
Masaka	Massagetai.
Mandaga	Makhaitegoi.

Rivers.

Sîta	The Syr-daria or the Jaxartes (*daria* means river).
Chakshuvarddhana	The Oxos or the Oxus.
Kumârî	The Rha or the Volga.

Mountains.

Meru	Mt. Imaus.
Malaya	Alana mountain.
Śyâma-giri	Kaukasos Mount (including the Beloortag and the Mustag mountain which means the Black mountain. It is identical with Mount Syâmaka of the *Avesta* (Yast. XIX, 5; *SBE.*. Vol. XXIII, p. 288).

Vishṇu Purâṇa, pt. II, ch. 4 ;—Ptolemy (McCrindle's translation, pp. 283—297).

Countries.

Kusumoda	Inhabited by the Khorasmai (p. 282).
Maudâdî	Inhabited by the Mardyenoi (p. 281).

River.

Ikshu	The Oxos.

Mountain.

Asta-giri	Aska-tangka (*tangka* means mountain, p. 285).
Durga Śaila	The El Burz mountain, as both the words *Durga* and *Burz* mean a fort (see my *Rasâtala or the Under-World*).

Town.

Mârkaṇḍa	Samarkand (p. 274), the capital of Sogdo or Sogdiana, called Maracanda (Bretschneider's *Mediæval Researches*, II, p. 58; McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 40).

It should be noted that in Śâkadvîpa, the river Hiraṇvati (the river of gold) mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata* (VI, ch. 8), forming the boundary of the country of the Suparṇas or Garuḍas, is evidently Zarafshan, the (distributor of gold) It is the river Hâṭaki-Nadî of Rasâtala of the Bhâgavata (V, ch. 24). It rises in the Fan-tau mountains and falls into Kara-kul lake.

Śâkala—The capital of Madradeśa (*Mahâbhârata*, Sabhâ, ch. 32). It has been identified by Cunningham with Sanglawala-Tiba on the Apagâ river west of the Ravi in the district of Jhang in the Panjab. But this identification has been proved to be erroneous, it has been identified with Chuniot or Shakkot in the Jhang district. But Dr. Fleet has identified

Śâkala with Sialkote in the Lahore division, Panjab (Smith's *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 75; Rapson's *Ancient India*, p. 130), and this identification is confirmed by the local tradition that the town was founded by Râjâ Sâl (*i.e.*, Śalya), uncle of the Pâṇḍavas. It became the capital of the Greek king Demetrius after his expulsion from Bactria and of his successors down to Dionysius who ascended the throne after Menander,—Milinda of the Buddhists (140—110 B.C.), (see **Bâlhika** and **Śâkadvîpa**). The *Vâyu Purâṇa* (ch. 99) also mentions that eight Yavana kings reigned at this place for 82 years. Śâkala was called Euthydemia by the Greeks (see McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 121) and Sâgala by the Buddhists (*Kalinga-Bodhi Jâtaka* in *Jâtaka*, Cam. ed., IV, 144). It is the birth-place of Sâvitrî, the wife of Satyavâna (*Matsya Purâṇa*, ch. 206). Śalya, the brother of Mâdrî, was king of Madra at the time of the *Mahâbhârata*. Mihirakula made Śâkala his capital in 510 A.D. after the death of his father Toramâna who had established himself at Malwa with the white Huns, but according to some authorities Mihirakula's grandfather Lakhana Udayâditya established his capital at Śâkala (see **Magadha**).

Śâkambharî—1. Sambhâra in Western Rajputana (*Mbh.*, Âdi P., ch. 78; *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, 159; X, 161; *JRAS.*, Vol. XVII, p. 29), where a well called Deodânî is pointed out as the identical well in which Devayânî, who afterwards became the queen of Râjâ Yayâti, was thrown by the princess Śarmishṭhâ. Śâkambharî was the capital of Sapâdalaksha country (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 422). See **Sapâdalaksha**. 2 The celebrated temple of Śâkambharî is situated in Kumaun on the road from Hardwar to Kedârnâth. The temple of Śâkambharî Devî is situated on Mount Sur-Kot on the north-western part of the Sewaliks (*Calcutta Review*, Vol. LVIII (1874), pp. 201 f.; *Devî-Bhâgavata*, VII. ch. 28).

Sakaspura—Same as **Sankâsya** (Hardy's *M.B.*, p. 310).

Śakasthâna—Sistan, where the Śakas first settled themselves, though they afterwards spread to other parts of Central Asia (Mathura Lion Pillar Inscription; Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 128). It was called Drangiana before it bore name of Śakasthâna, afterwards it was called Sijistan and its modern name is Sistan (Rapson's *Anc. Ind.*, p. 137).

Sâketa—Ayodhyâ or Oudh (*Hemakosha*). Its capital was Sujanakoṭ or Sanchankoṭ, the Shachi of Fa Hian, thirty-four miles north-west of Unao in Oudh (Dr. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, p. 39) on the river Sai in the Unao district. It appears from the *Mahâvagga* (VII, 1. 1, in the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XVII) that the town of Sâketa was six leagues from Śrâvastî. McCrindle identifies it with Ayodhyâ, the Sageda of Ptolemy.

Śakra-kumârikâ—Near Reṇukâ-tîrtha, about sixteen miles to the north of Nahan in the district of Sirmur in the Punjab. The name of Śakra-kumârikâ was used by way of contradistinction to Kanyâ-kumârikâ (*Mahâbhârata*, Vana, ch. 82, v. 81).

Śâlagrâma—A place situated near the source of the Gaṇḍak, where Bharata and Ṛishi Pulaha performed asceticism (*Padma P.*, Pâtala kh., ch. 78; *Bhâgavata*, Sk. V, ch. 7). It was the birth-place of Mârkaṇḍa (*Bṛihat-Nâradîya P.*, ch. 5). Jaḍa-Bharata's hermitage was situated on the Kâkaveni river on the north of Reḍigrâma, and that of Pulaha in the latter village (*Archâvatara-sthala-vaibhava-darpanam*). For description of Śâlagrâma and the holy stones called Śâlagrâma (see Oppert's *On the Original Inhabitants of Bhâratavarsha or India*, pp. 337-359; Wilford's *Ancient Geography of India* in *Asia. Res.*, XIV, p. 414; *Brahma-vaivartta P.*, ii, ch. 13). See **Muktinâtha.**

Sâlagrâmî—The river Gaṇḍak, especially that portion of it which is within half a mile of Muktinâtha, the bed of which abounds with sacred stones called Śâlagrâma: see **Muktinâtha** (*Barâha P.*, ch. 144). It is also called Kâlî.

UMÂJÎ NAIK.

(An Episode in the History of Western India.)

BY S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

(Continued from page 106.)

At length his patience was rewarded. The Bombay Government, though much disinclined to have any negotiations with the Ramosi Naiks, decided at length, in May 1828, to grant a pardon to Umâjî and his followers for all their past offences, excepting the brutal murder of the sepoys in the previous December. This crime was to be fully investigated, and those who might be proved guilty of it were to be punished. Accordingly the Officer Commanding Poona Horse was directed to arrange for an interview with Umâjî and make known to him the orders respecting his pardon. The interview took place on May 21st below the hills, two miles south of Sâswad. Umâjî, accompanied by 150 men belonging to the Ramosi, Kunbi and allied castes, and preceded by the *âftâbgîrs*, horns, and other insignia of Khandoba's temple at Jejuri, descended from the hill, and having heard the substance of the Government's proclamation, re-ascended the hill and made known the terms to his followers. He was by no means satisfied with the conditions of his pardon and, like the other Ramosi Naiks, was apprehensive of some treacherous act on the part of the Government. For the time being, however, he had no excuse for failing to conduct himself in accordance with the orders; and accordingly, in the course of the next few days, he betook himself quietly to Sakurdi, in company with Bhojâjî Naik and seventy of his followers. Incidentally it may be mentioned that in the course of the negotiations with the authorities at Poona, the Ramosi Naiks had made allegations against one Dhondo Pant, the principal member of the clerical staff of the Collector of Poona, declaring that he had incited them to persevere in their marauding excursions and had shared with them the contributions which they levied from the villages and the general public. Though there were many who believed the Brahman to be innocent, he was brought to trial on these charges before the Sessions Judge of Poona, was found guilty and was sentenced to death. The sentence was subsequently commuted to imprisonment for life, and Dhondo Pant died in prison in 1831. Considering that barely eleven years had passed since the theocratic government of the Peshwa had held sway over the hills and valleys of the Deccan, and that with his overthrow the sect of the Konkanastha Brahmans, to which the Peshwa himself belonged, had lost their dominant position, it is not by any means unlikely that a representative of this sect should have lent secret encouragement and support to a movement that was overtly hostile to the Peshwa's political successors. The resentment felt by that sect at the loss of their supremacy has been one, if not the principal, factor in the political movements which have from time to time arisen since that date in Western India.

The second phase of Umâjî's career thus opens with his formal restoration to the favour of the Bombay Government, which, in pursuance of the system of police administration then in vogue, employed him to assist in keeping the peace in the Poona district and guarding the lives and property of the inhabitants. In accordance with his duty, Umâjî shortly afterwards dispatched his brother and other Ramosis to arrest certain persons who had perpetrated robberies in the Mâwals; and his successful action on this occasion induced the Government to bestow upon him 120 *bighas* of land and a regular salary as part of the police establishment. Some of the other Naiks shared his good fortune, namely Bhojâjî who received Rs. 25 a month, five other Ramosi Naiks at Rs. 12 each per month, and 72 men at Rs. 5 each per month. Umâjî himself was to draw Rs. 30 monthly, and the party was given

the services of a Karkun on Rs. 10. Government assumed perhaps too readily that Umâjî had turned over a new leaf and would now settle down as one of their agents for the prevention and detection of crime. But he was too deeply imbued with the spirit of adventurous marauding, and had never relinquished the hope of securing an independent position. Therefore, while completely satisfied as to the good faith of the Bombay Government towards himself, he determined, under a cloak of pretended zeal in their interests, to resort secretly to his former unlawful practices. *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?*

In April 1829, therefore, we find him arresting certain Kaikâdis who had looted a house at Shikrapur and confining them in his own village, instead of handing them over to the magistrate at Poona. During their confinement he extorted Rs. 400 from them, and then persuaded them to remain in his employ, with promises of further opportunities for loot. In June he actually sent these men to loot the houses of two Brahmans at a village south of Sakurdi, and when ordered by the authorities to seize the culprits, he forced the Brahman plaintiffs by threats to give him a written receipt for all their losses, exonerating both himself and the villagers of Sakurdi from blame. In the following month a Gosâvî was robbed of Rs. 3,000 near Lonad by a body of fifteen Hetkaris and twenty Ramosis, acting under his orders: in July and August his Kaikâdis were out again, plundering houses at Moreshwar and Belsur. In all these cases the major share of the loot was handed to Umâjî. The Bombay Government, however, still believed him to be acting honestly, for towards the end of August he was summoned to Poona by the Collector, Captain Robertson, and informed that his own pay, and the pay of his party, had been increased. His illicit gains continued unchecked. In October he received Rs. 2,000 out of the amount stolen from a banker of Kalyan; in November he sent a body of Hetkaris and Ramosis to a spot near Chauk on the Panwel road, where they looted the property of a wealthy Poona shroff. The gang eventually handed Rs. 6,000 to Umâjî at Sakurdi. Another banker was robbed in January 1830, near the Salpi *ghât*: several highway robberies took place near Jejuri and Phaltan in April: in May the house of the Kulkarni of Ekatpur was attacked on the very day that his daughter's marriage was taking place; and as reports of Umâjî's personal complicity were rife, he decided to pacify the Collector by sending a couple of men, whom he picked up, to stand their trial at Poona for the robbery. Two other dacoities took place in May at Naigaon and Wadgaon, in the latter of which a Brahman householder was killed: in June Umâjî's Kaikâdis robbed the house of the Kulkarni of Pargaon, and in August they plundered two houses near Baramati: at the end of the latter month Umâjî employed some of his Purandhar Ramosis to break into the house of the Deshpânde of Alandi near Kikvi: September witnessed several dacoities in Phaltan.

At this juncture Umâjî's career of crime suffered a temporary check. Complaints had been made against him to the authorities at Poona by various people, among them being a Ramosi, whom Umâjî in revenge maltreated in an outrageous manner. This behaviour was responsible for a Government order removing Umâjî from his post in the Purandhar District police and obliging him to reside permanently in Poona. He was allowed to retain his pay, however, and the Patels of five villages in Purandhar stood surety for his not absconding from the Deccan capital. Accordingly, in November 1830, Umâjî came to Poona with his personal belongings and received an advance of Rs. 200 towards the cost of building himself a permanent residence in the city. Government and the countryside breathed more freely, in the hope that he would now settle down as a peaceful urban householder. But they forgot "the call of the wild." Five weeks later, having ascertained that Sir John Malcolm had left Bombay on retirement from the office of Governor, Umâjî

fled from Poona and lay concealed with some of his followers until the middle of January, 1831. The Collector of Poona, Mr. Giberne, called at once on the Ramosi Naiks in Government employ and on the Patels who had stood surety for Umâjî's behaviour, to arrest the absconder and bring him back to Poona. The Naiks, however, reported that they could not trace his whereabouts, although the movement of his Ramosis and *sihbandis* from Sakwadi to the hills, which occurred at this date, made it plain that Umâjî was in the neighbourhood and was preparing to defy Government. Two or three highway robberies before the end of January 1831, pointed to the same conclusion.

The Bombay Government at last decided that active steps must be taken to arrest Umâjî and break up his gang of outlaws. A detachment of the 17th Regiment under Captain Luyken, and a detachment of Grenadiers from Satara were ordered to proceed against the gang; the Ahmadnagar police corps was also called up to co-operate with the troops. Meanwhile Umâjî summoned all his followers to Khandoba's temple at Jejuri and made them swear a solemn oath of allegiance to him. His force consisted of 90 of the men, still in the pay of the Government, of whom 30 were Hetkaris; 350 men of various castes, including several desperate and proscribed criminals from Satara, Bhor and other places; 200 Kolis, whom he employed to act with him in the Junnar and Nasik districts, and 200 Mangs, who were posted in Sholapur District and on the Nizam's frontier. He had also received an offer of Pindâris from a Patel in one of the Nizam's villages, but this offer was ultimately not accepted. Umâjî's first intention was to march into the Pant Sachiv's country and demand his alleged rights; and when Captain Luyken arrived at Jejuri on January 17th, 1831, Umâjî and his men stole away, crossed the Nira, and after looting a village and taking prisoners two Brahmans, concealed themselves in the hilly country south-east of Bhor. On the following day they were attacked by the Grenadiers under Captain Boyd; and though they suffered no loss they decided in some alarm to break up their forces. In consequence Umâjî and fifty men made for the Purandhar hills *viâ* Pâṇdugarh; Bhojâjî and fifty men departed in a south-easterly direction; while the rest sought the country adjoining Purandhar to collect fresh levies. Meanwhile the Government forces disposed themselves as follows—Lieutenant Foulerton with the first Grenadier detachment from Poona was posted on the south side of Purandhar hill: Lieutenant Shaw with the 9th Regiment from Sholapur was at the Mahadev temple south-east of Phaltan; Lieutenant Forbes of the 15th Regiment and Lieutenant Christopher of the 11th Regiment held the passes between the Deccan and the Konkan; and Lieutenant Lloyd with a detachment of the 11th marched into the hills west of Singarh. Towards the end of January 1831, the Bombay Government issued a proclamation to the effect that a reward of Rs. 5,000 and 200 *bigahs* of land in *inam* would be granted for the apprehension of each of the four chief Ramosi Naiks, Umâjî, Kistnâjî, Bhojâjî, and Yesu Nîkdî.

During the early part of February 1831, the Ramosis kept moving about the country, watching their opponents, circulating false information of their own movements and plans, and seizing supplies from the villages. After narrowly escaping capture by six men of the Ahmadnagar Police corps on February 2nd, Umâjî and his men fled to the hills south-west of Salpi, and thence moved slowly towards Purandhar. On the way they were attacked near Walla by a Jemadar of the 17th Regiment; and a sharp skirmish ensued, which so disheartened the gang that many of them relinquished the struggle and absconded. Among these was Ram Rao, a Koli Naik, who departed with all his men, and was eventually arrested with all his following in March by Captain Boyd and his grenadiers. On the 12th February the troops operating against Umâjî were augmented by the arrival of the 8th Regiment from

Ahmadnagar under Captain Livingstone. Umâji now moved towards the Bhima, and on February 16th at the village of Babulsar issued, with the help of his colleagues and a Brahman scribe, a lengthy "proclamation," addressed to the inhabitants of Hindustan, urging them to destroy all Europeans and European troops, promising in return all manner of rewards, and calling down curses on those Hindus and Muhammadans who failed to act in the spirit of this vain-glorious announcement. Umâji's courage was rather dashed by authentic news, received immediately afterwards, that Yesu Nîkdî had been captured at Baramati, and his own brother, Amrita, near Parenda, both of whom were hanged subsequently at Jejuri. This melancholy information set the gang moving further afield. They dived into the hills south-east of Phaltan, thence moved to Bhimashankar in Junnar and eventually reached the Mahadev hills about the end of the month. Their peregrinations had told heavily on them : food was very scarce : the fear of capture was constantly before them. The Hetkaris, in particular, desired to break away and take their chance, and it required all Umâjî's persuasive power to retain them in his employ. Towards the end of March certain villagers discovered the gang in the hills between Pingodi and Sakurdi and warned the detachments at Dhond and Pangaon, who made an unsuccessful attempt to overpower it. After taking a very brutal revenge on the villagers who had betrayed them, Umâjî retired with his adherents to the ravines south of the Salpi *ghât*. During June many of his followers were captured by the troops and police, and many more during July and August. Others, who were not seized and hanged, decided to break away from Umâjî, whose following was in this manner rapidly diminishing. So hard pressed, indeed, was the gang during these months that on one occasion they were forced to murder a sick comrade, a Ramosi, whom they found it difficult to carry along in their rapid flight through the jungle.

Umâjî himself seemed to bear a charmed life and contrived to escape in October into the Konkan with a few followers. There he rested until November 27th, 1831, when he suddenly reappeared in Aulas village, 5 miles from Mulshi, and thence dispatched a crude and dictatorial letter to the Collector, stating that he could never be captured and calling for a truce. The only reply was an attack by the police, who forced him to flee to the south side of Singarh Fort. There, on December 14th, occurred the transaction which indirectly led to his capture and punishment. His Hetkaris, now thoroughly worn out and despairing of safety, broke into practical mutiny and demanded their pay. Money had to be obtained somehow to meet their demands. Consequently Umâjî, together with one Bapu Salsekar and six Ramosis, decided to visit a village near Bhor, where lived a man who owed him a few hundred rupees. Thither they set out on the night of the 14th December. Meanwhile their movements had become known to two Ramosis, Nânâ and Kâlu, who had previously been captured by the troops, but had been set at liberty on condition of assisting actively in the seizure of Umâjî. These two contrived, by the exercise of great duplicity, to make Umâjî and two others prisoners in the village above-mentioned, and having bound them tightly with ropes, called the nearest detachment of police. Umâjî, who was worn and emaciated with the hardships of the preceding months, was taken with his comrades to Saswad on December 16th, and thence to Poona, where he was eventually tried and convicted. He was hanged with his two followers on February 3rd, 1832. The remainder of his gang, numbering only eight persons, was shortly afterwards broken up, Bhojâjî being killed in a fight with the troops, and Pâṇḍu, a man of most violent character, being seized and sentenced to transportation. So ended the Ramosi revolt of 1826-32.

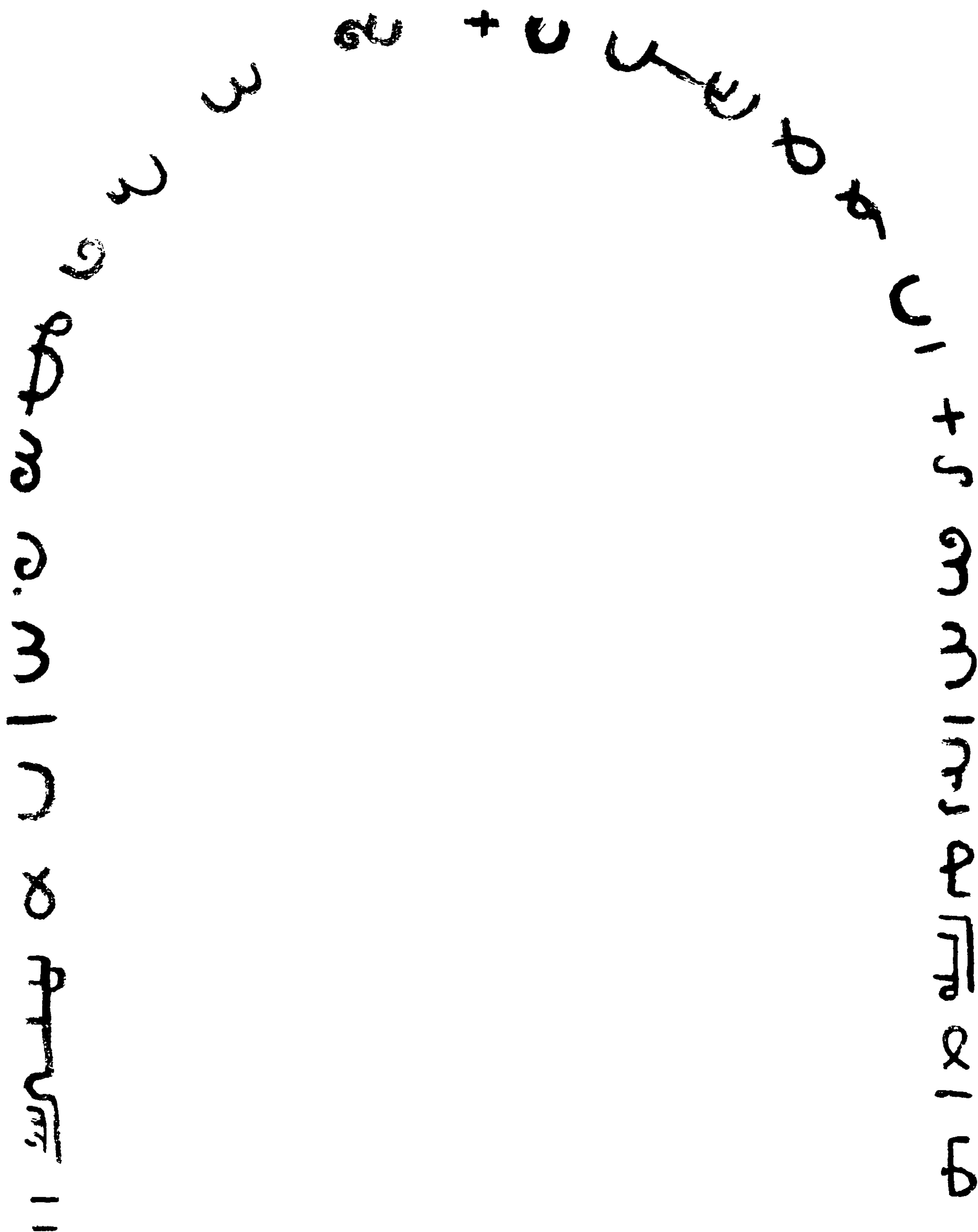
Umâjî Naik was in many ways a remarkable man. Captain Mackintosh describes him as slightly built, "about 5 ft. 4 in. in height, with large, dark, searching and expressive eyes, a large nose deeply set under the brow: his features, on the whole, were mild and rather

pleasing ; he had a fine throat, and his skin was of an unburnished copper colour." He was of the stuff of which popular leaders are made, for his personality and his conduct favourably impressed the men of his own tribe as well as the lower classes in general : and while he could inspire both respect and terror, his liberality to all needy and indigent people aroused general admiration. Though a professional robber, he found no pleasure in accumulating money, and was often blamed by his wife for his prodigality ; though enjoying ample opportunities for sexual license, his marital conduct was unimpeachable, and his strict objection to all forms of licentious conduct was on one occasion the cause of a bitter quarrel with his brother. As a youth he indulged freely in drinking, but gave up all excess after an accident sustained while in a state of intoxication, and in later years he fulfilled a vow of rigid abstinence. His open-handedness and his power of ingratiating himself with all sorts and conditions of his countrymen enabled him, after his early pardon and appointment to the police, to usurp the magisterial duties of the country round Jejuri and the Indapur *pargana*. He inquired into complaints of all kinds, from those of theft to domestic quarrels, his "court" being visited daily by Marâthâ Kunbis, Mhârs, Mangs, Ramosis and other low-caste persons, some of whom came voluntarily or were summoned from long distances. His system of justice was primitive. Complainants always paid him or his immediate followers a small bribe, to secure a speedy and favourable decision, and the defendants at the close of the hearing were made to pay a fine of one to a hundred rupees, according to their means, which amounts were exacted in kind, usually in the form of grain. A decree was then drawn up ; but as a precaution, a written statement was always obtained from the defendant, who declared that he was satisfied with the decision and that he would make no appeal to the Government authorities. Umâjî always reminded the defendants that, if they failed to observe these written undertakings, severe punishment would be meted out to them by his followers. In the event of a party showing any disinclination to abide by Umâjî's decision, he was seized and kept in confinement in the Ramosi camp until he promised acquiescence.

His influence upon the lower-class public is further indicated by the ease with which he secured witnesses in his favour, whenever he had to defend himself against charges of complicity in dacoity and robbery, and by the extreme disinclination of the villagers of the Deccan to bear witness against him. Over the inhabitants of his own Purandhar district he enjoyed such complete control that, during the whole time that he was being hunted by the British authorities, they kept him fully and truthfully informed of the movements of troops and police. This was one reason why the operations against him were so protracted. Moreover, apart from the lower orders whom Umâjî had conciliated by liberal treatment, the country was full of disbanded soldiers and other discontented persons, who had lost their livelihood on the downfall of the Peshwa and were therefore ready to help anyone, like Umâjî and the other Ramosi Naiks, who was in active opposition to the British authorities. Even in the matter of levying contributions from the villages under British control or in the territory of Indian rulers, like the Râja of Satara, Umâjî could count, though for a different reason, on the goodwill of the village officials. The Patel and the Kulkarni soon discovered that they could comfortably falsify the village accounts, by entering larger sums than they actually paid to the Ramosi freebooter, and the latter assisted their fraud and ensured a continuance of the contribution by giving receipts for larger sums than he actually received. As regards his immediate followers, he proved himself possessed of the art of securing their devoted attachment to himself and his cause. They willingly tolerated great hardships during the last two or three years of Umâjî's career, and would possibly have

succumbed to their difficulties, had they belonged to a less hardy tribe or race. Umâjî's example acted doubtless as an inspiration to them ; for he knew by instinct when and how to check their impetuosity or cheer their flagging spirits, and through all the perils and misfortunes which confronted them, he himself "displayed great patience, a steady perseverance and unshaken fortitude."

Although his expulsion from Purandhar Fort by the orders of Bâjî Rao was the primary cause of Umâjî's resort to a life of outlawry, and although he appears to have believed in the justice of his pretensions to certain ancient rights in Purandhar and other places, it is very doubtful whether his claims had any solid foundation. Early in 1830 he obtained an interview with the Râja of Satara and stated his claims against the Pant Sachiv, and the Râja gave definite instructions to the Pant Sachiv to inquire into his case. A little later Umâjî interviewed the Collector of Poona at Purandhar and produced twenty-four old documents, purporting to establish his right to the ownership of Purandhar Fort. These papers comprised grants, orders and letters to the Kolis, Mhars and Ramosis of Purandhar from former native governments ; but the grants were in most cases addressed to the Kolis, who probably represent in the Deccan an even more archaic social stratum than the Ramosis. Similarly the *mokasa* dues of an important village in the Pant Sachiv's territory (the Bhor State), to which Umâjî laid claim, were granted originally to a Koli, and not to a Ramosi. It is probable therefore that, while the Ramosis may have had a prescriptive right to certain *hakks* and perquisites in Purandhar, Umâjî's claims could not have been sustained at law, though he himself, being almost illiterate, may have cherished the fullest belief in their authenticity. There was probably in his mind a definite connexion between these claims and his private aspirations to the position and title of a local chief. Had he been able to secure recognition of his ownership of Purandhar Fort, for example, he would have had greater justification for assuming the title of Râja, which, as mentioned in an earlier paragraph, he arrogated to himself in 1827. The inhabitants of the Poona district and other tracts of the Deccan were firmly persuaded—and they were probably correct—that from the outset of his career Umâjî aspired to emulate the great Sivajî, and, so far as was possible, based his plans and actions upon the model presented by the founder of the Marâthâ State. The devotion which he inspired in his own men, the influence which he acquired over the popular imagination, his liberality to all sorts and conditions of men, his reverence for his tribal deity, his abstemious habits in later years, his objection to licentious conduct on the part of his militant followers, and his personal fortitude—these traits are reminiscent of the character of the Marâthâ ruler. But there the possibility of comparison ends. Sivajî was an individual of much more distinguished calibre than the Ramosi Naik and possessed a far more dominant personality. Had the former been in the position and circumstances of the Ramosi Naik in 1826, he would instinctively have realized that he was opposed to a far more powerful political entity than the decadent and corrupt Mughal Empire, and, if he had decided that the game was worth the candle, would have laid his plans for revolt with far more subtlety and circumspection. In brief, Umâjî Naik lacked vision and could not let well alone. He paid the full penalty for these shortcomings on the scaffold, and the only satisfaction he can have had was that it had cost the British Government nearly six year's effort to terminate his career of outlawry.



T. K. JOSEPH

SCALE ONE-THIRD

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A PAHLAVI INSCRIPTION ROUND A PERSIAN CROSS AT KATAMARRAM, TRAVANCORE.

BY T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

IN vol. LII of this *Journal*, pp. 355–356, I mentioned a Pahlavi Inscription round the cross in Kaṭamaṟṟam Church in Travancore, and stated that the renderings by scholars varied greatly. I gave three versions of the readings of previous inscriptions.

1. "In punishment (?) by the cross (was) the suffering to this (one): (He) who is the true Christ and God above, and Guide for ever pure."—Dr. Burnell.

2. "Whoever believes in the Messiah, and in God above, and also in the Holy Ghost, is in the grace of Him, who bore the pain of the Cross."—Dr. Haug.

3. "What freed the true Messiah, the forgiving, the upraising, from hardship? The crucifixion from the tree and the anguish of this."—Dr. West.

I also pointed out that the dates suggested for them varied from the seventh to the ninth century A.D.

The plate attached is from an estampage recently taken and the whole question can, therefore, now once again be gone into by scholars.*

The inscription does not appear to be, as before thought, a replica of any of the other Pahlavi Inscriptions at Koṭṭayam and Mailapore.

A NOTE ON THE PRATHAMASAKHA BRAHMANS.

BY PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER; UPSALA.

MR. H. E. A. COTTON has, *ante*, vol. LI (1922), p. 158 ff., a very interesting notice concerning the "Prathamaśâkhâ Brahmans" or "Midday Paraiyans." The tradition referred to by Mr. Cotton seems to be attached to a certain sub-caste of Yajurvedin Brahmans in Mannargudi, Tanjore District, in Southern India. Without being in the least able to solve the riddles connected with this tradition, I may be allowed to point to its existence also in another part of India.

While going through, for cataloguing purposes in the India Office Library, part of the *Mackenzie Collection*, I came upon the following notice in the *Manuscript Translations, Reports, etc.*, vol. XIII, p. 24ff.[1] :—

"*Karattee*[2] *Brahmins*. These Brahmins are natives of the Sammuntvaddy[3] Cooncan, which is one of the twelve Dashums[4] of Cooncan. Their tribes are Valmeeka Gotrum [वाल्मीकिगोत्र] and Vamen Gotrum [वामनगोत्र]. They follow the Pratama Shaka Vadum [प्रथमशाखावेद] whose history is as follows :—

"Formerly, when the Rooshaswar [ऋर्षाश्वर] first begun to deliver the Vadum to the Pratama Shaka people, they became very insolent, which offended the Rooshee [ऋषि], who declared, as they had become so proud, they must return the Vadum and whatever they learned from him; on which they vomited before him, believing they were thus disburthened of whatever they learned, for which the Roosheeswar instantly laid this curse upon them 'that they should be Chandal or Parias for three and three quarter hours, whence their caste and Vadum is Pratama Shaka and no Brahmins go into their houses for 3¾ hours after noon daily. They worship the Saktee [शक्ति] or Goddess.

* Dr. Modi of Bombay has given the following rendering to the Superintendent of Archæology, Travancore :—" Le Zibah vai min Ninav val denman || Napist Mar Shapur || Le (mun) ahrob Mashiah avakhshâhi az khâr bokht—I, a beautiful bird from Nineveh (have come) to this (country). Written Mar Shahpur. I, whom holy Messiah, the forgiver, freed from thorn (affliction)."—T.K.J.

[1] Cf. Wilson, *Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection*, 2nd ed., p. 509.

[2] This apparently stands for Mar. कऱ्हाडा: *cf.* Molesworth, *Marathi-English Dictionary*, *s.v.*, कर्कट.

[3] This is apparently a misreading for *Sâwant-wâdî*.

[4] देश.

"Previous to the festival of the Navaratra[5] (or nine days) they used to seek out for any learned Brahmin, who may have come to these countries, and entertain him in their houses in a respectable manner, feed him with the best food, present him with betel, mace, cloves, nutmeg and the rarest spices, and making presents of jewels, etc., and encouraging him to reside in their house for some time, under hopes of returning to his own country with presents and money. They also enticed them by supplying them with handsome women, thus encouraging them with riches and hope of riches to stay in their dwellings. On the feast of the Navaratra (when they perform the Pooja [पूजा] to their household Goddess) they cause these Brahmins to wash their heads with oil, and after a sumptuous entertainment in the evening (when they worship the Goddess) they carried the guest into the chapel or room where the Goddess is placed, and desired him to prostrate himself before her; and while the Brahmin was prostrated, suddenly put him to death by the sword. In this manner they killed Brahmins in their houses as an offering to their Goddess. The Caradee Brahmins at Poona were in the habit of killing the country Brahmins on the feast of Navaratra, in hopes of obtaining the eight kinds of riches[6] for twelve years by propitiating the Goddess; but Shreemunt Nanna Saib[7] having notice of this practice seized upon the whole of Caradee Brahmins that were at Poona and destroyed them together with their houses. Since that period the Caradee Brahmins have been chequed in the practice of murdering Brahmins on the feast of Navaratra; but still it is said that when they worship the Goddess on the days of the Navaratra, they are wont to invite the country Brahmins to entertainments and mix poison in their food. which destroys them within a month; and that this practice still proceeds."

The first part of this relation is not very clear. By the name of "the chief Rishi" is apparently to be understood Yâjñavalkya, and the well-known tradition—recorded in the *Viṣṇu-Purâṇa* and elsewhere—is, of course, that when the great sage vomited the Veda (*i.e.*, the *Śukla Yajurveda*), the pupils of Vaiśampâyana metamorphosed themselves into partridges [तित्तिरि][8] and picked up the sacred text, which was presented to them in this somewhat unsavoury form. Thence arose the Taittirîya version of the *Yajus*, being a derivative of the text proclaimed by Yâjñavalkya, which was the प्रथमशाखा, the "first" or "foremost" version of the sacrificial Veda.

Here, however, it is the very disciples to whom Yâjñavalkya himself recited the *Mantras*, who are growing so proud that they come under the injunction to return the Veda, and having done this in a very insulting way, they are cursed by the great saint and, as a result of the curse, become "Midday-Paraiyans." The period of time during which their state of uncleanness lasts is given by Thurston *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, VI. p. 223, as an hour and a half, while our account fixes it at three and three-quarters.[9]

Moreover, this tradition is here connected with the Karhâḍâ or Karâdi Brahmans, who are said to be found in the Konkan and also in South Kanara, whither they have at some uncertain date migrated from the North. Paraśurâma, the real creator of the Konkan, is said to have fashioned the first Karâdi Brahmans out of camel bones,[10] just as in other traditions he is represented as having turned fishermen into Brahmans. As for the story

5 Cf. Molesworth, *s.v.*, नवरात्र.

6 I do not quite realize what this means. *Eight* is the usual number of मंगल, while the निधि are *nine*. [There is the expression the eight *aiśvaryas*. These eight are government, children, relations, gold, gems, paddy (or grain generally), vehicles and servants or slaves. This is given in Tamil books; but I am not able to trace Sanskrit authority at present.—S K.]

7 This apparently refers to Nânâ Farnawis (d. 1800).

8 With this legend a tradition preserved in the Pali *Jâtaka* concerning the learned partridge that recited the Veda seems to be somewhat intimately connected.

9 This is the Hindu unit of 1/60 of a day, 3¾ of which equals 1½ hours. S K.

10 Thurston, *l.c.*, vol. I, p. 393.

of their atrocious dealings with other Brahmans, whom they are said to have sacrificed to their Goddess during the नवरात्र festival, no source available to me at the present moment gives that tradition.[11] As our document does, however, mention the suppression of these cruelties by Nânâ Farnawîs—an occurrence that apparently actually happened during the life-time of the writer—there must probably be some sort of fact underlying this narrative.

Another problem is : how we are to connect the tradition concerning " Midday-Paraiyans", recorded by Thurston and Mr. Cotton from the Tanjore District, with that mentioned by the writer in the Mackenzie Collection from Poona and the Konkan ? The denomination " Midday Paraiyans " is so unique, and the traditions so special and characteristic, that there must needs be some sort of connection ; though a solution of the riddle, of course, scarcely presents itself to a scholar in Europe living very far away from the places to which these traditions are attached.

If, as seems most probable, these " Midday Paraiyans " originally belonged to the Konkan, the tradition may possibly have been carried to the South in two ways. That several families of Brahmans fled towards the South from South Konkan and the Goa districts under the pressure of religious persecution by the Portuguese during the middle and later half of the sixteenth century seems to be a fact, but it seems very doubtful whether any of them ever proceeded as far as Tanjore. On the other hand one might feel inclined to suggest that Konkan Brahmans may have established themselves in Tanjore during the establishment of Marâṭhâ rule in that country in the seventeenth century. But this is, of course, mere guess-work on my part, and I should be very thankful if any reader of this little article would take the trouble either to refute or to corroborate this hypothesis. I have ventured to publish this short notice only as a contribution to the question raised by Mr. Cotton and thanks to the kind encouragement of Sir Richard Temple. The solution of the riddle connected with the " Midday Paraiyans " must be left to far more competent observers than myself.

CROSS-COUSIN RELATION BETWEEN BUDDHA AND DEVADATTA.

BY KALIPADA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

THE attribution of rivalry between Buddha and Devadatta to the cross-cousin system shown in an article entitled ' Buddha and Devadatta ' (*ante.*, vol. LII, p. 267), written by Mr. A. M. Hocart is indeed very attractive. I do not feel competent at the moment to say anything for or against the theory, but desire to offer a few observations in regard to the article.

Mr. Hocart writes (*ante.*, vol. LII, App. A, p. 271) : " I should like to draw the reader's attention to *Vinaya*, vol. II, p. 188, where Devadatta approaches Buddha most respectfully and offers to relieve his age of the burden of administering the Order. The Buddha replies with abuse, calling him ' corpse, lick-spittle ' (*Chavassa, Kheḷâkapassa*).[1] *This seems scarcely in keeping with the character of the Buddha, but it is with that of a cross-cousin.*[2]

But in *Cullavagga* (V. 8. 2), we read that when the Buddha heard that Piṇḍola Bhâradvâja had shown his magic power by flying through the air thrice round Râjagaha with the sandal-bowl, which was set high on a pole by a Râjagaha *seṭṭhi* (*atha kho âyasmâ Piṇḍolabhâradvâjo vehâsaṃ abbhuggantvâ taṃ pattaṃ gahetvâ tikkhattuṃ Râjagahaṃ anupariyâsi*), he reprimanded the *thera* for having displayed his *iddhi* (magic power) for so trifling an object as a sandal bowl. There he uses the word *chavassa*, and a simile not at all dignified and becoming (*Katham hi nâma tvam Bhâradvâja chavassa dârupattassa kâraṇâ gihînam uttarimanussadhammaṃ iddhipâṭihâriyaṃ dassessasi, seyyathâpi Bhâradvâja mâtugâmo*

11 But cf. Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas* (ed. 1921), I, pp. 1ln, 21n.

1 The actual words used in the *Cullavagga*, however, are *chavassa kheḷâpakassa*.

2 Italics mine.

chavassa mâsakarûpassa kâraṇâ kopînaṃ dasseti evam eva kho tayâ Bhâradvâja chavassa dârupattassa kâraṇâ gihînaṃ uttarimanussa dhammaṃ iddhipâṭihâriyaṃ dassitaṃ). The explanation, therefore, that Buddha's use of unbecoming language towards Devadatta was scarcely in keeping with his character, *but with that of a cross-cousin*, becomes, to my mind, considerably weakened, for that was not the only occasion on which he used language unworthy of his character. In fact the word *chava* seems to have been used frequently, *e.g.*, in *Majjhima Nikâya* (*Upâlisuttam*, M.N., I, 371 ff.): *chavo manadaṇḍo . . . . kiṃhi soshati eko-charo puriso, ekâ chava Nâḷandâ.*

Then again we get a passage, " Devadatta is hurt and one day when Buddha is walking up and down on Gṛdhrakûṭa hill throws a stone at him (*op. cit.*, p. 193)."

Mr. Hocart says that " it is remarkable that in Fîjî this kind of legend is often told to account for the cross-cousinship ; " and he tells a legend of the island of Nayau and of Vanuavatu bearing likeness to the Gṛdhrakûṭa legend. In South Africa the uterine nephew for stealing the offering " gets pelted by the others " (*ante*, vol. LII, p. 268), and " the pelting of the uterine nephew is part of a religious ceremonial " (*ante*, vol. LII, p. 271). It appears that all this was " a playful antagonism " (*ante*, vol. LII, p. 269), and not intended to bring about death. Devadatta however *hurled down a rock*, intending to kill the Buddha (*atha kho Devadatto Gijjhakûṭaṃ pabbataṃ abhirûhitvâ mahantaṃ silaṃ pavijjhi imâya samaṇaṃ Gotamaṃ jîvitâ voropessâmîti*).[3] He is said to have hurled the immense stone " by the help of a machine."[4] "Hiuen Tsang saw the stone which was fourteen or fifteen feet high."[5] Of course it may be that " the playful antagonism " (such as is preserved in pelting as " a religious ceremonial "), expressive of the liberty of the cross-cousin system, originally existed, but was subsequently mis-represented as a deadly feud, when the memory of the custom was lost, the idea of fighting having been somehow or other regarded as essential, as Mr. Hocart explains.

I shall notice only another passage in the article : " If the hostility of Devadatta is merely the record of ordinary hatred, it is difficult to understand why Devadatta possesses the power of flying through the air and of performing miracles (*ante*, vol. LII, p. 269)."[6]

Whatever power Devadatta possessed of " flying through the air and performing miracles" he seems to have lost it, and that for ever, after his miraculous appearance before Ajâsat ; for we learn that Devadatta " at this time lost the power of dhyâna."[7] I do not find anywhere in the subsequent part of the *Manual* that Devadatta ever recovered his magic power.

The possession of the power of flying through the air by Devadatta does not present any difficulty to me. This power was entirely due to the Buddha, and vanished from him even at the very thought of revolt against the Great Teacher. Let me pursue this view a little further. It is related in *Cullavagga* (VII. 1. 4) that when he was ordained by the Buddha (*pabbajjâ*) along with Bhaddiya, Anuruddha, Bhagu and Kimbila—the Sâkyas, Devadatta attained only *pothujjanikaṃ iddhiṃ* (the lower grade of Magic Power). He exhibited his power by assuming the form of a child (or a Brahmin ?), wearing a girdle of snakes and suddenly appearing in Ajâtasattu's lap (*atha kho Devadatto sakavaṇṇaṃ paṭisaṃharitvâ kumârakavaṇṇaṃ abhinimminitvâ ahimekhalikâya Ajâtasattussa Kumârassa ucchaṅge pâturahosi*). But as soon as the evil thought of administering the Order possessed him, his Magic Power diminished

3 *C.V.*, VII. 3. 9. 4 Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism* (1860), p. 320.

5 Quoted from the article, p. 271.

6 Mr. Hocart refers to Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 326. This page corresponds to p. 315 of the edition (1860) I am consulting. Apparently he refers to the passage : " By the power of *dhyâna* he became a *rishi*, so that he could pass through the air and assume any form." All my references are to be found in the edition of the *Manual* published in 1860.

7 Hardy's *Manual*, p. 316.

(*saha cittuppâdâ 'va Devadatto tassâ iddhiyâ parihâyi*). His magic power, small as it was, became smaller. Even before this event he does not seem to be much in request; and feels the anguish of it. "When the Teacher and the monks went into residence at Kosâmbi, great numbers of people flocked thither and said, "Where is the Teacher? Where is Sâriputta? Moggallâna? Kassapa? Bhaddiya? Anuruddha? Ânanda? Bhagu? Kimbila?" But nobody said, "where is Devadatta?" Thereupon Devadatta said to himself, "I retired from the world with these monks; I, like them, belong to the warrior caste; but unlike them I am the object of nobody's solicitude."[8] And then with the help of Ajâtasattu he tried to kill Buddha. When all his attempts failed, he went to the Buddha, and with a view to cause a schism in the Order (*Saṃghabhedaṃ*) made (*C.V.*, VII, 3. 14) a request of five things, which the Buddha flatly refused. He persuaded 500 monks to follow him to Gayâsîsa. Then "Sâriputta and Moggallâna convinced them of the error of their ways by preaching and performing miracles before them, and returned with them through the air."[9] The Magic Power, therefore, of Devadatta was very meagre by comparison with that of Sâriputta and Moggallâna. It has already been related that this he attained after his ordination by the Buddha, and was therefore in a way owing to him, and even that was only *pothujjanikâ*. Other disciples of the Buddha such as Âyasmâ Sâgata (*M.V.*, V, 1. 5-8) and Âyasmâ Pilindavaccha (*M.V.*, VI, 15. 8-9) showed *Uttarimanussadhammaṃ iddhipâṭihâriyaṃ*. On the occasion of the exhibition of the Great Miracle by the Buddha, even his lay disciples, such as Gṛhapati Lûhasudatto, Kâlo Râjabhrâtâ, Rambhaka Ârâmika, Ṛiddhilamâtâ Upâsikâ, and Bhikshuṇî Utpalavarṇâ, offered to exhibit their *ṛiddhi* (apparently *Sarvaçrâvakasâdhâraṇâ*).[10] Gharani, Sulu-anépidu and others offered to show astounding miracles, before which Devadatta's miracles pale.[11] Even the *titthiyas* or heretics, much hated by the Buddhists, seem to have exercised *iddhi*. In the *Cullavagga* (V. 8. 1) and the *Divyâvadâna* (p. 143, *et seq.*) the heretic leaders Purâṇo Kassapa, Makkhali Gosâla, and others claimed to be *arahats* endowed with Magical Power (*aham arahâ c'eva iddhimâ ca; vayaṃ sma riddhimanto....yady ekaṃ çramaṇo Gautamo' nuttare manushyadharme riddhiprâtihâryaṃ vidarçayishyati vayaṃ dve*)[12]. Though nowhere in the Buddhist books are the latter made to show their *iddhi*, abundant references to this are found elsewhere. In the *Bhagavatî Sûtra*, a Jaina book, it is related that Makkhali Gosâla, destroyed by his Magic Power two disciples of Mahâvîra (Nigaṇṭha Nâtaputta), and tried to kill Mahavîra himself, but was for his pains killed by the Magic Power of the latter. The heretics undoubtedly were "utterly wicked"; still they seem to have exercised Magic Power. I therefore do not see anything very peculiar in the attribution of magical power to Devadatta.

References to the cross-cousin system are to be found in the *Brâhmaṇa* and *Sûtra* literature. Westermarck in his *History of Human Marriage* (p. 304) says, "yet in the older literature marriage with the daughters of the mother's brother and sons of the father's sister is permitted" and quotes passages in support of this in the footnote. Weber: 'Die Kastenverhältnisse in dem Brâhman und Sûtra' in *Indische Studien*, vol. X, pp. 75 *et seq.* Pradyumna married the daughter of Rukmî, his mother Rukminî's brother.[13] Arjuna married his mother's

[8] Burlingame, *Buddhaghosa's Dhammapada Commentary* (Proc. of the American Academy: 45—20), p. 504.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 505. Also *C.V.*, VII, 4. 3.

[10] Cowell and Neil, *Divyâvadâna*, pp. 160, 161.

[11] Hardy's *Manual*, p. 297.

[12] See also *Sarabhamiga Jâtaka*, (483).

[13] *Srîmadbhâgavata*, Skandha, X, sl. 22, 23, Uttarârdha, 61.
Vṛtah svayamvare sâkshâdanango'angayutastaya,
râjñah sametân nirjitya jahâraikaratha yudhi || 22 ||
yadyapy anusmaran vairaṃ Rukmî Kṛshṇâvamânitah.
byatarat bhâgineyâya sutâṃ kurvan svasuh priyam || 23 ||

brother's daughter, Subhadrâ (Kṛshṇa's sister). We need not examine here whether Kṛshṇa and Arjuna were Aryans or Non-Aryans, to determine whether the custom was Aryan or Non-Aryan. Anyhow it shows that the custom prevailed in Northern India. Arjuna married her in the Râkshasa form by abducting her, which involved him in a fight with the Yâdavas, his cross-cousin relations. This may point to the rivalry adverted to by Mr. Hocart, but then it militates against the great friendship which existed between Kṛshṇa and the Pâṇḍavas. King Avimâraka in Bhâsa's drama *Avimaraka* marries Kuraṅgî, the daughter of his mother's brother, Kuntibhoja. Mâdhavâcârya in his commentary on *Parâsara Saṃhitâ* says that though marriage with a mother's brother's daughter is against the practice of wise men in Northern India (*Udîcyaçishṭa garhitaṃ*) yet being a good practice in the Dekhan, this system is not indecorous (*avinîta*) in Northern India. The *Çrutis* support it (*mâtûlasutâvivâhasyânugrâhakâh Çrutyâdayah*), and he quotes *Ṛg Veda* (7. 4. 3. 22. 6—*tṛptâṃ jahurmâtulasyeva yoshâ*, etc.), as being the *mantravarṇa* used in that marriage. References to this marriage are also contained in Kumarila Bhatta's *Tantravârtika* (pp. 127—129, Benares edition) and *Vîramitrodaya-Saṃskâra-prakâça* (pp. 139—141, 172, 203)[14]. But as I have not sufficiently investigated this line of evidence, I am unable to say if it strengthens Mr. Hocart's theory of cross-cousin rivalry. Mysterious are the ways in which the seeds and pollen of a myth or custom are carried and propagated and Mr. Hocart's theory demands serious investigation.

CULTURAL, LINGUISTIC AND LITERARY HISTORICAL GLEANINGS FROM THE KAUTILIYA.

BY HERMANN JACOBI.

(From the *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XLIV, 1911—*Sitzung der phil.-hist. Classe vom* 2 November, pages 954—973).

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN, BY NARAYAN BAPUJI UTGIKAR, M.A.

(954) Till recently, the oldest work of Sanskrit literature, that could be dated with reasonable probability, was Patañjali's *Mahâbhâṣya*, belonging approximately to the second part of the second century B.C. Through the discovery and publication of the *Kauṭilîya*, the Book of Polity by Kauṭilya, the chronologically certified basis for cultural and literary-historical investigations is further pushed back to the juncture of the fourth and the third century B.C. The date of the composition of this work becomes well-nigh certain through the personality of its author, Kauṭilya, also known as Viṣṇugupta and Câṇakya. This person is indeed, as he himself says at the end of his work, in a verse breathing proud self-consciousness, the same as the famous minister of Candragupta, who overthrew the dynasty of the Nandas. Now, as Candragupta, the ΣΑΝΔΡΑΚΟΤΤΟΣ of the Greek writers, ascended the throne between 320-315 B.C., the composition of the *Kauṭilîya* must be placed about 300 B.C., or a few years earlier.

However, it is not only the well-established antiquity of the *Kauṭilîya* that makes it a historical source of the first order: to this is to be also added a second important consideration, namely, that its author long occupied the first place in the management and direction of a great state, in the foundation and organisation of which he had the most important part. If such a man endowed with versatile learning writes,[1] after having mastered the works

[14] For the information contained in this and the preceding line, I am indebted to Pundit Harihara Sastri.

[1] Compare the opening words: पृथिव्या लाभे पालने च यावन्त्यर्थशास्त्राणि पूर्वाचार्यैः प्रस्थापितानि प्रायशस्तानि संहृत्यैकमिदमर्थशास्त्रं कृतम ।

of many predecessors, a typical *arthaśâstra*, then he gives us, not any learned compilation[2] but a picture of national affairs agreeing with the actual state of things, intimately known to him from personal experience. Indeed, it is hard to believe that, in his exposition, for instance, of the **(955)** political organisation, of the control of economic life (in the *Adhyakṣapracâra*), and of the administration of justice (in the *Dharmasthîya*), and elsewhere, he had not in view the object of transmitting to the princes and their advisers the principles of Govern ment tested by him. It is for this reason that the *Kauṭilîya* is a much more trustworthy source for our knowledge of the political and social conditions of Ancient India than *Manu* and similar works, where we are often in doubt as to how far the statements and rules contained in them are the theoretical injunctions of their Brahmanic authors, and how far they had had originally a practical significance. This dubious character of so many Brahmanic works, combined with the uncertainty of their date, has given rise, in their case, to a justified mistrust, and in certain quarters, even to their depreciation as against other sources, independent of them. Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids has in his highly valuable work, *Buddhist India*, London, 1903, Preface, p. iii f., enunciated the difference between the two historical conceptions, the one based on the Brahmanic, and the other on non-Brahmanic works, in a manner scarcely agreeing with the circumstances, as though the former alone claimed to be in possession of the truth. "Whenever they (*i.e.*, such sentiments) exist, the inevitable tendency is to dispute the evidence, and turn a deaf ear to the conclusions. And there is perhaps, after all, but one course open, and that is to declare war, always with the deepest respect for those who hold them, against such views. The views are wrong. They are not compatible with historical methods, and the next generation will see them, and the writings that are, unconsciously, perhaps, animated by them, forgotten." In this conflict (supposing it exists) we would call Kauṭilya as the most important witness, because he wrote half a century before the period in which Buddhism attained to predominant political influence. From what he has stated, the conclusion inevitably follows, that the kingdom which he directed, and others before his time, were modelled on those Brahmanic elements, which *Manu*, the *Mahâbhârata*, and generally the later Brahmanical works, postulate, although with some excesses of priestly partisanship. For this purpose we have principally to take into consideration the third Adhyâya of the first Adhikaraṇa, of which I give below as close a translation as possible. After Kauṭilya has enumerated the Vedas, including the *Itihâsaveda* and the six Vedâṅgas, he continues :—

"This well-known knowledge of theology is necessary (for the *Arthaśâstra*), inasmuch as it lays down the duties of the castes[3] and the Âśramas. **(956)** The duty of a Brâhmaṇa is to learn,[4] to teach, to perform a sacrifice, to make others perform a sacrifice, to give away gifts and to receive them. The duty of a Kṣatriya is to learn,[4] to perform a sacrifice, give away gifts, to live by arms, and to protect men ; that of a Vaiśya is to learn,[4] to perform a sacrifice, give away gifts, to engage in agriculture and cattle-breeding, and trade ; that of a Śûdra is to serve the Ârya, to engage in agriculture[5] and cattle-breeding and trade, to follow the profession of an artificer, and that of a bard (Kuśilava).

"The duty of a householder (second Âśrama) is to earn his livelihood by his proper duties, to marry a girl of equal position, but belonging to a different Gotra, to have inter-course with her at the proper time, to give gifts to gods, *manes*, guests and servants, and

2 Compare the concluding verse : अमर्षेण—शास्त्रम्—उद्धृतम्।

3 Compare *Manu*, I, 88—91 ; also *Mahâbhârata*, XII, 60, 8ff. ; 61.

4 That is, to study the Veda.

5 *Vârttâ*, which consists in agriculture and cattle-breeding, and trade, I, 4, p. 8. *Manu*, I, 91, enjoins on him only the duty of serving diligently the remaining castes.

to enjoy the remainder. The duty of a Vedic student (first Âśrama) consists in studying the Veda, serving the fire, taking baths at the proper time, and (staying) to the end of his life[6], with his teacher, or in his absence, with his son, or with a fellow-student. For a Vânaprastha (third Âśrama) it is necessary to observe continence, to sleep on earth, to grow hair and wear deer-skin, to keep fire, to bathe, to worship gods, *manes*, and guests, and to live on forest produce. For a *Parivrâjaka* (fourth Âśrama) the following are necessary: control of senses, not to undertake any work, not to possess anything, to avoid all attachment, begging at different places, to live in a forest, external and internal purity, to abstain from injury to any being whatsoever, truthfulness, freedom from envy or anger, non-wickedness and forgiveness.

"The observance of one's own duties leads to heaven and final beatitude; by their non-performance, the world would be ruined by universal confusion (*Saṁkara*).

"Therefore a king should not allow men to leave their proper duties; since one who observes his proper work is happy in this and the next world.

"Verily, the society that remains within the limits of Aryan behaviour, and is established on the basis of castes and Âśramas, and is guided by the three-fold Veda, prospers; it never decays."

We should observe that in the whole of this chapter, Kauṭilya does not mention any contending views; we may therefore suppose that what he says was also true for his predecessors and was an uncontroverted basic principle. Now as regards the caste system, the theory of mixed castes has also validity for Kauṭilya; he gives the origin of the *Anulomas* and *Pratilomas*, and further admixtures (**957**) between them, in all, of seventeen mixed castes. Still is his enumeration not exhaustive, since he concludes it with the words *ity ete 'nye câ 'ntarâlâḥ*. In this respect also, the *Kauṭilîya* takes the same point of view as the Brahmanic law-books, though indeed the theory of the mixed castes is given in the *Kauṭilîya* only in its broad outlines, and is widely separated from the complicated system of Manu. From this it follows with certainty that in the fourth century B.C. and earlier, the Indian state was based on the Brahmanic foundation, as the European state of the Middle Ages was on the Christian. The social arrangement was regarded as continued from the Veda, (and) the superiority of the Brâhmans and their privileged position was a firmly established fact. A practical statesman must accept the historically developed conditions as a given fact; the *Kauṭilîya* does not lay down any interference with it, nor does it seek to bring the Vedic theory to greater prominence. To change arbitrarily the existing conditions, which rightly or wrongly, but in any case as a matter of fact, were regarded as based on the Veda, was as far away from (the thoughts of) Indian statesmen as to upset the structure of the society was from (the thoughts of) European princes of the Middle Ages. And then, too, if many events in Brahmanical India might agree very little with the Brahmanic theory—which generally has been partly conceded by the Indians themselves, and has been placed under Âpaddharma—still that does not therefore cease to be a principal factor in the historical development; it was just like the ecclesiastical doctrine in our Middle Ages, which very often in practice was very unchristian. For our knowledge of the State in Ancient India, the *Kauṭilîya* remains our most reliable source; in utilising the Buddhistic and the Jain sources, we must always make allowance for their sectarian point of view, limited as it is by the social position of their authors. The non-literary ancient works, such as sculpture, coins and so forth, have value in the first instance for their own time only.

6 Naturally, so long as he does not pass into the householder's stage.

Here is then the point from which we could attain to an objective valuation of the theory of Prof. Rhys Davids regarding the falsification of history by the Brâhmans. The non-literary works begin with Aśoka. It was incumbent on this great Emperor to rule according to principles, for which the Brâhmans were not the authority ; he was a Buddhist, and finally also entered the (Buddhistic) order. The result was that with his death, his kingdom, comprehending approximately the whole of India, broke into pieces. However, in his reign of thirty-seven years, it is possible that the old basic conceptions of the state might have been shaken in some unknown manner ; there occurred the dreaded *Saṁkara* (**958**) against which the politicians had always warned, and which ever turns up as a spectre in the later literature ; this (*i.e.*, the *Saṁkara*) then prevailed for a long period in those parts of the country, the mastery of which had been seized by non-Aryan princes. When, therefore, the reaction set in, the Brâhmans had to regain much lost ground ; the *Kauṭilîya* and other *Arthaśâstras* where such had been preserved, showed them what the Brahmanic state once was, to restore which they laboured. That in this enthusiasm they went too far, is what is to be expected from the nature of the thing : hence the intolerance and the presumption, the extravagance of the Brâhmanic arrogance, which displays itself very often in the later law-books and similar works.—We cannot therefore regard the conditions as they prevailed under Aśoka, and also partially continued for a long time thereafter, as normal. Aśoka's period was only one episode, which indeed left behind far-reaching consequences. However, the Brahmanic view-point of life fought against the non-Brahmanic spirit, and at last secured all but complete victory, mainly under the *aegis* of Kumârila and Śaṁkara. The presumed falsification of history by the Brâhmans, so far as their ideal of the State is concerned, depends on their knowledge of the ancient rules of State-craft, which preserved the acquaintance with the *Kauṭilîya* and probably also other older *Arthaśâstras* ; the falsifying, if it can be designated as such, consists in only this, that they (*i.e.*, the Brâhmans) have expounded the contents of the old *Artha-* and *Dharma-śâstras* in such works as Manu, Yâjñavalkya and others, in accordance with their point of view and the characteristics of their times.

Now, though from the *Kauṭilîya* we only get to know primarily the conditions of the Brahmanic state in the fourth century B.C., we can also draw, on the basis of his statements, conclusions about the conditions prevailing in the preceding period. This is so, because this work is indeed based, as its author tells us in his opening words quoted above, on the work of his predecessors, whom he mentions when he does not agree with their views or rules, in order to refute them in the point at issue, and to improve upon them. If he differs from all of his predecessors or perhaps from a majority of them, he mentions their view with the words *ity âcâryâḥ*,[7] and his own, with the words *iti Kauṭilyaḥ* ; very often, however, he sets himself in opposition to the views of individual writers, mentioned by name. In this way we come to know the names of a number of schools and individual writers on the *Arthaśâstra* (**959**)—or perhaps only on single topics of the same. The schools are the following :—The Mânavâḥ, Bârhaspatyâḥ,[8] Auśanasâḥ, Âmbhiyâḥ, Pârâśarâḥ ; the (individual) authors are:—Parâśara, Pârâśara, Bhâradvâja, Piśuna, Kauṇapadanta, Vâtavyâdhi, Bâhudantîputra, Viśâlâkṣa, Kâtyâyana, Kaṇiṅka Bhâradvâja, Dîrgha Cârâyaṇa, Ghoṭamukha, Kiñjalka, Piśunaputra ; the last six beginning with Kâtyâyana are only mentioned once (V. 5, p. 251 =

7 In III, 7, there follows after this, *ity apare* ; in VIII, 1, after having mentioned the view of the Âcâryas, there are mentioned those of a number of authors, which are each of them refuted individually by Kauṭilya. The views of the Âcâryas are discussed more than fifty times.

8 According to Vâtsyâyana (*Kâmasûtra*, 1, 1, p. 4) the original *Dharmaśâstra* was composed by Manu Svâyambhava, and the original *Arthaśâstra*, by Bṛhaspati.

253 of the edition of 1919) along with Piśuna, who is however mentioned many times, and that too with regard to a subject scarcely belonging essentially to the matter of the *Artha-śâstra, viz.*, striking and therefore significant changes in things.[9] However, even after excluding the last named six authors there still remain over twelve authorities, who, before Kauṭilya, have treated of the *Nîti-* and the *Artha-śâstra.* **(960)** He himself is evidently the last independent author of a *Nîtiśâstra* ; his successors, like Kâmandaki, have only expounded the already finished and firmly-fixed subject-matter of that science in a new form, suited to the times, in doing which they left out what had become antiquated—for instance, the *Adhyakṣapracâra*, or had been treated of systematically elsewhere, like for instance, the *Dharmasthîya* in the *Dharmaśâstras.* The development of the *Kâmaśâstra* presents an interesting parallel to this development of the *Artha*-and *Nîti-śâstra.* If we exclude Nandin,

9 A Cârâyaṇa is mentioned by Vâtsyâyana (Kâmasûtra, I, 1, p. 6) as the author of the *Sâdhâraṇam adhikaraṇam*, and Ghoṭakamukha as that of the *Kanyâprayuktakam*. If the names of the persons mentioned above be a little more closely scrutinised, it would strike us as to how many of them are nicknames : Vâtavyâdhi = one who suffers from gout : Ghoṭakamukha = one who has the face of a horse ; Kauṇapadanta = one who has the teeth of a goblin (Kuṇapa = corpse, Kauṇapa, therefore = goblin) ; Piśuna = a spy : Kiñjalka = the filament, *i.e.*, as thin or yellow as a filament ; Bâhudantîputra = one whose mother's teeth were as long as an arm. In the following three names, there is added on to the names a physical characteristic, which indeed might not be intended to be exactly complimentary = Dîrgha Cârâyaṇa = the tall C. : Kaṇiṅka Bhâradvâja = the tiny B. (Kaṇiṅka = Kaṇika) ; Viśâlâkṣa = the long-eyed one. I might also mention Goṇikâputra from the *Kâmasûtra*, which means the son of a cow, (*goṇî*, according to Patañjali on I. 1.1, *v.* 6, is an Apabhraṁśa for *gauh*). In this name, as in Bâhudantîputra, it is the mother that is insulted, according to the Indian fashion. This mode of bestowing names throws a peculiar light on the literary etiquette of that time, the traces of which are to be moreover discovered already in the Upaniṣads. These names however appear at the same time as *individual* names. It is therefore difficult to believe that Goṇikâputra, mentioned by Vâtsyâyana as the author of the *pâradârikam*, is a different person from the grammarian of the same name, mentioned by Patañjali (on I. 4. 51), all the more so as Gonardîya is also an authority in the *Kâmaśâstra* (on the *Bhâryâdhikârikam*), and a writer of *Kârikâs* of the same name is mentioned by Patañjali (see Kielhorn, *JA.*, 1886, pp. 218 ff.). If this supposition is correct, we secure a chronological clue with regard to these grammarians, since those authorities in the *Kâmaśâstra* are later than Dattaka, who wrote the *Vaiśika* at the desire of the courtesans of Pâṭalîputra. At the earliest therefore, he lived in the latter half of the fifth century B.C., since Pâṭaliputra was first made the capital towards the middle of that century. Finally the fact that grammarians happen to be authorities in the *Kâmaśâstra* too, is not to be much wondered at, inasmuch as a thousand years later, many philosophers have made for themselves a name as writers on poetics as well. Regarding Kauṇapadanta, it has also to be mentioned that according to *Trikâṇḍaśeṣa* (II, 8. 12, *v.* 387) it is a bye-name of Bhîṣma. A Bhîṣma is mentioned as the author of an *Arthaśâstra* (Bhâradvâja, Viśâlâkṣa, Bhîṣma, and Pârâśara) and as a predecessor of Viṣṇugupta in *ślokas* which are quoted in the ancient *Ṭîkâ* (*Upâdhyâyanirapekṣâ*) on *Kâmandaki*, p. 137, Bibl. Ind. It is worthy of note that the author of this *Ṭîkâ* speaks of Vâtsyâyana, the author of the *Kâmasûtra* as "*asmad guru*," p. 136. **(973)** To what is said here, I have still something more to add. The form of the name Bâhudantîputra given in the *Kauṭilîya* (1. 8, p. 14) is also to be found (only with a short *i*) in the *Daśakumârac.* VIII, but as Bahudantîsuta, in *Kâmandaki*, X. 17, while the commentator has (p. 242) Valgudantîsuta. In *Mahâbhârata* XII, 59, Bhîṣma narrates that Brahman had composed a *śâstra* on the *trivarga* and similar topics in 100,000 *adhyâyas*. Siva (Viśâlâkṣa) abridged this *śâstra* in 10,000 *adhyâyas*, and it was called *Vaiśâlâkṣam* ; then Indra further abridged it in 5,000 *adhyâyas*, it being called *Bâhudantakam* ; then Bṛhaspati, in 3,000 *adhyâyas*, called *Bârhaspatyam* ; lastly Kâvya in 1,000 *adhyâyas*. This is a fantastically extravagant parallel to the *Kâmaśâstra*, where the number of the *adhyâyas* is given in the following manner : Nandin, Śiva's attendant, 1,000 adh. ; Śvetaketu Auddâlaki, 500, Bâbhravya Pâñcâla, 150, Vâtsyâyana, 36 Adhyâyas. Whether the sequence of the works given in the *Mahâbhârata* can claim any historical worth, is very doubtful. In the *Mahâbhârata*, Viśâlâkṣa is identified with Śiva, and Bâhudantîputra (whose name is to be postulated from the title of his work, *Bâhudantakam*) with Indra. Of this, however, there is no trace in the *Kauṭilîya* ; there Viśâlâkṣa is often mentioned together with such undoubtedly "human" authors, as Vâtavyâdhi, Piśuna and others (p. 13 f., 32 f., 321 f., 327 f.). Probably some legend, for unknown reasons, has stamped these authors as gods, and later generations have at times been mindful of this, primarily, the Lexicographers (Compare *PW.*, *s.v.* Bâhudanteya and Viśâlâkṣa). *Kâmandaki* mentions (VIII, 21) Indra as an authority in the *Nîtiśâstra* ; whether he means thereby this Bâhudantîsuta is uncertain.

Mahâdeva's attendant, and Śvetaketu, Uddâlaka's son, as being the first two, probably mythical writers of the *Kâmaśâstra*, we (thereafter) find Bâbhravya Pâñcâla as the author of a very extensive *Kâmaśâstra*,[10] then seven writers on individual topics thereof, and last of all, Vâtsyâyana, who brought this "science" to a close, while later authors are simply the revisers of the transmitted material.

The numerous predecessors mentioned by Kauṭilya enable us to conclude that there existed a lively interest in the *Nîtiśâstra* in the fourth and the fifth centuries before Christ, and probably earlier still. The necessary presumption of this interest in political theories—an interest attested by documents—is that it was a period of brisk political development, which gave rise to a theoretical and systematic treatment of the problems and questions that arose. In this connection, the fact that Kauṭilya treats in II. 1 (*Janapadaniveśa*) of the sending out of colonists and the organisation of colonies,[11] deserves special consideration, and in this connection, divisions of the country consisting of eight to two hundred villages are mentioned, which are again divided into districts of ten villages. The laying-out of colonies was therefore an actual problem in the fourth and fifth centuries B.C., with which the teachers of the *Arthaśâstra* were bound to concern themselves. Herein I believe I can find a confirmation of the conclusion to which considerations of a different kind have led me regarding the "expansion of the Indian culture."[12] At the time of Kauṭilya, the Brahmanising of the Deccan must probably have long been accomplished; presumably the East and the South-East, that is further India, was at that time the object of colonising efforts. **(961)** It is therefore probable that the major portion of Further India was once brought under Indian rule, and subjugated to Indian civilization, the traces of which have been however obliterated by the immigrations of the Burmese and the Siamese. The Indian kingdoms of Campa and Cambodia, the existence of which we can, on the strength of inscriptions and monumental works, trace back to the first century of our (Christian) era, must indeed be regarded as standing remnants, which appear isolated through the disappearance of the connecting link.

As an addition to this, it may be mentioned that among extra-Indian countries, I have found mention of China only. That is, in II. 11, (p. 81) are mentioned the silk fabrics of China which are produced in the country of China.[13] This makes it certain that China bore the name Cîna in 300 B.C., which therefore finally disposes of the derivation of the word China from the dynasty of Thsin (247 B.C.). On the other hand, this notice is also of interest, inasmuch as it proves the export of Chinese silk to India in the fourth century before Christ.

With the question regarding the worth of Brahmanic sources for our knowledge of the state of things in Ancient India, there stands another question in fundamental relationship, *viz.*, how far the use of classical Sanskrit prevailed in the early centuries before the Christian era. As is well-known, the oldest inscriptions of Aśoka, and those of many centuries following, are written only in Prakrit. From this it has been concluded that Sanskrit originated much later in the Brahmanic schools, and remained for a long time only

[10] Vâtsyâyana relies on him often in the course of his work, and also expressly says in one of the concluding verses :—

बाभ्रवीयांश्च सूत्रार्थानागमं सुविमृश्य च ।
वात्स्यायनश्चकारेदं कामसूत्रं यथाविधि ॥

On the other hand, an opinion of the Auddâlakas is once contrasted with that of the Bâbhravyas (VI. 6, p. 358 f.). Presumably, Vâtsyâyana has found this notice in the Bâbhravîya (work). According to the commentary (p. 7) the earlier works were indeed lost—*utsannam eva*—that however of Bâbhravya was available in fragments.

[11] (भूतपूर्वम्) अभूतपूर्वं वा जनपदम् (परदेशापवाहनेन) स्वदेशाभिष्यन्दवमनेन वा निवेशयेत्। I put into brackets that portion which does not seem to bear on colonisation proper.

[12] *Internationale Wochenschrift*, V, pp. 385 ff.

[13] कौशेयं चीनपट्टाश्च चीनभूमिजा ।

as a learned language; it only gradually attained to a more extensive use, till from the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. onward, it became the literary language of the whole of India.[14]

Though this theory is, in my opinion, untenable because of the fact that the language of the ancient epic was Sanskrit (**962**), still it would be of interest to put together what we can gather from the *Kauṭilîya* regarding the use and spread of classical Sanskrit. First of all, the fact that the *Arthaśâstra* itself is written in Sanskrit is certain enough: thousands of things, ideas, conditions, etc., of common, political and economic life find their expression in that work in Sanskrit, not in Prakrit. The subjects treated there, with quite a few exceptions, lie completely outside the sphere of priestly schools; if however these latter still treated of such things, they would cease to be "priestly" schools, and would become what we must designate the scientific and literary circles of India. This conclusion holds good not only for the time of Kauṭilya, but also for the preceding period, during which came into existence those works of his predecessors, which he has quoted and utilised.

Paradoxical as the statement may sound, the *Kâmaśâstra* stands in internal relationship with the *Arthaśâstra*, since each of the three objects of the *Trivarga—Dharma, Artha* and *Kâma*—was capable of being treated scientifically or systematically, and as soon as two of these objects were partially dealt with, the treatment of the third followed with a certain necessity. The close relationship between the *Arthaśâstra* and the *Kâmaśâstra* is disclosed externally by the fact that, among works which have come down to us, both have followed the same arrangement, method of treatment, and style of diction, and are therefore to be regarded as belonging to a distinct category, distinguished from other works. To mention only a few instances: both works contain in their beginning the identical words:[15] *tasyâ'yam prakaraṇâdhikaraṇasamuddeśaḥ*: the table of contents consisting in the enumeration of the chapters; and the last section in both is called the secret lore, *Aupaniṣadikam*. Two more verbal resemblances, besides those above pointed out, are to be found: *Kauṭ.* 1. 6, p. 11; *Kâmas.* 1. 2, p. 24; यथा दाण्डक्यो नाम भोजः कामाद्ब्राह्मणकन्यामभिमन्यमानः सबन्धुराष्ट्रो विननाश । and *Kauṭ.* IX. 7, p. 359; *Kâmas*, VI. 6, p. 353: अर्थो धर्म काम इत्यर्थत्रिवर्गः । अनर्थोऽधर्मः शोक इत्यनर्थत्रिवर्गः । *dveṣa* however stands for *śoka* in the *Kâmasûtra*.

In this case, the borrowing party is undoubtedly Vâtsyâyana;[16] he might well be later than Kauṭilya by some centuries, for his mention of Grahalagnabala in III. 1, p. 192, appears to display an acquaintance with Greek Astrology of which (**963**) there is not to be found any trace in the *Kauṭilîya*.[17] Though however our *Kâmasûtra* is later

14 M. E. Senart formulates his view thus:—As for the classical Sanskrit, based in a Brahmanic environment materially on the Vedic language, and caused, as a matter of fact by the first application of writing to popular dialects, it must be placed between the third century B.C., and the first century A.D. Its public or official use began to spread only at the end of the first century or the beginning of the second century A.D. No work of the classical literature can be anterior to this epoch. *JA.*, VIII, t. 8, p. 404. Compare *ibid.*, pp. 334, 339. Prof. Rhys Davids propounds similar views, principally in the eighth and ninth chapters of his work, *op. cit.*; on p. 153, he enunciates the linguistic development of India in thirteen stages, of which the classical Sanskrit is the eleventh. "For long, the literary language only of the priestly schools, it was first used in inscriptions and coins from the second century A.D. onwards; and from the fourth and fifth centuries onwards, became the *lingua franca* for all India."

15 *Kauṭilîya*, p. 1: *Kâmasûtra*, p. 7.

16 In *Kâmasûtra*, 1. 2, p. 13, he relies upon the *Adhyakṣapracâra*, by which very probably is meant the second *adhikaraṇa* of the *Kauṭilîya*.

17 In his definition of Kâma (p. 13), Vâtsyâyana proceeds on the ideas of the *Vaiśeṣika*, a system which Kauṭilya, however, does not know. श्रोत्रत्वक्चक्षुर्जिह्वाघ्राणानामात्मसंयुक्तेन मनसाधिष्ठितानां स्वेषु स्वेषु विषयेष्वानुकूल्यतः प्रवृत्तिः कामः । Compare *Vaiśe. Darśana*, V. 2. 15. The idea underlying this statement is made clear by the following explanation of the *Tarkasaṃgrahadipikâ*। आत्मा मनसा संयुज्यते मन इन्द्रियेण इन्द्रियमर्थेन तत प्रत्यक्षं ज्ञानं संपद्यते ।

than Kauṭilya, still the *Śâstra* as such is certainly very much older than he. Mention has above been made of the development of the *Kâmaśâstra* before Vâtsyâyana, and in the second note on p. 959 (p. 132, note, of this translation), reference has already been made to the point that Cârâyaṇa, the writer on *Sâdhâraṇam Adhikaraṇam* (*Kâmas.* 1. 1, p. 6) *i.e.*, the way in which a lover should conduct himself, and Ghoṭakamukha, the author of the Kanyâ-prayuktam (*ibid.*) *i.e.*, the way in which one should have to wife a maiden, are probably identical with the authors, Dîrgha Cârâyaṇa and Ghoṭamukha, cited by Kauṭilya ; [18] accidental similarity of names is indeed improbable, since the same accident must be supposed to have happened in two cases. If therefore the existence of two parts or lectures of the *Kâmaśâstra* (*Adhikaraṇas* 1 and 3) is likely for the time of Kauṭilya, it is certain for the sixth lecture (the *Vaiśika*)[19], because on the occasion of treating of the instruction of the courtesans, Kauṭilya mentions (II. 27, p. 125) वैशिकक्लाज्ञानानि गणिका दासी रङ्गोपजीविनीश्च ग्राहयतो राजमण्डलादाजीवं कुर्यात् । That, however, the predecessors of Vâtsyâyana wrote in Sanskrit cannot indeed remain a matter of doubt ; otherwise Vâtsyâyana would certainly have preferred the claim of being the first to teach his science in Sanskrit.[20] None would however assert that the *Kâmaśâstra* was cultivated only within the limits of the priestly schools. This appears to me to be excluded in the case of the *Dharmaśâstra* too. That such a one (*i.e.*, a *Dharmaśâstra*) existed at the time of Kauṭilya is certain, because he mentions it in a passage to be referred to once more. The contents of it, in so far as things spiritual did not belong to it, we come to know in details from the third *Adhikaraṇa* of the *Kauṭilîya, viz.*, the *Dharmasthîya* (pp. 147–200), which we **(964)** must regard as a piece of legislation for the kingdom of the Mauryas. Therein occurs the consideration of the most diverse facts of the practical life, the knowledge and understanding of which would be found least of all in the priestly schools. If, in spite of this, the *Dharmaśâstra* was composed in Sanskrit—and of this there cannot be any doubt—then Sanskrit was no more an exclusively school dialect, but a literary language understood by all classes. *Dharma, Artha* and *Kâma*, whose systematic treatment has been laid down in the Sanskrit works, referred to all men, and not to the learned only, much less to the priestly schools alone.

And more than this : Sanskrit was also the official language which the prince used in his letters and decrees. The proof of this statement is to be found in the *Śâsanâdhikâra*, II. 28, pp. 70–75. This chapter treats of the letters and orders proceeding directly from the king, which his private secretary, the *Lekhaka*, has to prepare, *i.e.*, to compose and copy fair, according to what the king may have said. A *lekhaka* should possess the qualifications of a king's minister *amâtyasampadopetaḥ* ; what these consist in, is mentioned in I. 9, p. 15, para. 1.[21] He should be, among other things, *Kṛtaśilpaḥ* and *Cakṣuṣmân*, *i.e.*, he should know the arts and should possess *Śâstracakṣuṣmattâ* ; in other words, he should thoroughly understand the *Śâstras*. The knowledge of different local languages is not ordained, as would necessarily have been the case, had diplomatic correspondence been carried on in Prakrit. Now, in a great political action of one king against his neighbours and rivals, there was involved the consideration, besides these, of the four princes (kingdoms) situated in front of him,

18 That is, in that part of V. 5, which treats of the marks of royal disfavour. That part is introduced with the words, *bhûyaś ca vakṣyâmah*, and could therefore be a completion, originating from Kauṭilya himself of what his predecessors had taught.

19 According to *Kâmasûtra*, I. 1, p. 7, among the seven parts of the *Kâmaśâstra*, the *Vaiśika* was the first to be ever independently treated, and that was done by Dattaka.

20 Reference is made, in a different connection, to the difference between Sanskrit and Desabhâsâ, where it is said of a *nâgaraka* (I. 4, p. 60) :—नात्यन्तं संस्कृतेनैव नात्यन्तं देशभाषया ।
कथां गोष्ठीषु कथयंल्लोके बहुमतो भवेत ॥

21 Compare, VI. 1, p. 255 f. (= 257 f. of the 1919 edn.).

and the four, in rear of him, as also of the neighbouring princes on both sides and of the neutrals (VI. 2, p. 258=260 of the edition of 1919).[22] In the time of Kauṭilya therefore, the political area bound by sympathy was the whole province of Hindustan and more, where were spoken even at that time at least three or four different Prakrits. **(965)** It is, however, evident that in diplomatic transactions we employ that language which combines the possibility of great precision and susceptibility of fine distinction. A language acquires these peculiarities only through long literary use, and they were present in the classical Sanskrit, with regard to which it has now been proved that it was in common literary use at the time of Kauṭilya. A direct indication that at least certain letters were written in Sanskrit, is to be gathered from the fact that the solemn concluding formula for these letters is in Sanskrit. The rule is: *lekhanaparisaṁharaṇârtha iti sabdo vâcikam asya iti ca.*[23] "The letter should conclude with the word *iti* or with the words *iti vâcikam asya,*" the latter being used when the actual words of the king make up the contents of the letter. We can, however, also see from the instructions which Kauṭilya gives in the abovenamed section regarding matters linguistic and stylistic, that he had in mind a secretary whose main function was to compose letters in Sanskrit. However, I shall not dispute the view that other writings proceeding from the same Secretary, (and directed) to inferior persons might have been written in Prakrit, in accordance with the rule laid down in such cases (p. 71) *jâtim kulam sthânavayassrutâni . . . . samîkṣya kârye lekham vidadhyât puruṣânurûpam.* However, in the theoretical injunctions which Kauṭilya regards it necessary to give in this section, he appears to hold it an essential qualification for a *lekhaka* to possess a correct knowledge of the literary and learned language, *i.e.*, the classical Sanskrit, inasmuch as he then says about himself, that he wrote his rules about the *Sâsana* for the benefit of the kings after having thoroughly investigated all the *śâstras* and having borne in mind the practice in the matter.[24]

(*To be continued*).

MISCELLANEA.

A POETICAL FRAGMENT IN PRAISE OF THE PEN.

قطعہ

قلم گوید کہ من شاہِ جہانم
قلم کس را بدولت میرسانم
اگر بدبخت باشد من چہ دانم
ولی یکبار با دولت رسانم

Qita :—

Qalam goyad ki man sháhe jahánam,
Qalam kash rá ba daulat me rasánam ;
Agar bad bkht báshad man che dánam.
Vale, ekbár bá daulat rasánam.

Translation :—

The Pen says, "I am king of the universe ;
To him who holds me I bring wealth ;
If he be unfortunate, yet through me
He attains once to the shore of riches."

[This verse was found among miscellaneous papers left by the late Dr. W. Crooke. Its authorship is unknown.]

22 I regard it as being more correct to proceed on this idea of the *Kauṭilîya* than to rely (in my argument) on the extent of the kingdom of Candragupta. Even if, at the time when the *Kauṭilîya* was composed, the power of this king might have really extended from Bengal to the Panjab and still further, then even in that case, the doctrine mentioned by Kauṭilya regarding the Vijigîsu (king) and his *maṇḍala*, would not be meaningless and without any practical interest ; since in the lands subservient to him, there were hereditary princes, who, following the Indian custom, might have continued to exercise authority. A great state did not arise by a conquest proper; such were confined to annexations of smaller provinces (compare XIII. 14, 15). The dependent princes in the empire of the Mauryas must have likewise tought among themselves, like the Satraps in the Persian Empire, despite the suzerainty of the Emperor ; and in such wars, the rules of the *Nîtiśâstra* came into operation.

23 Page 72. The edition reads *lekhaka* and *śabdau*.

24 Page 75. सर्वशास्त्राण्यनुक्रम्य प्रयोगमुपलभ्य च । कौटिल्येन नरेन्द्रार्थे शासनस्य विधिः कृतः ॥

BOOK-NOTICES.

Census of India, 1921. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands, by R. F. Lowis, Government of India Press, Calcutta.

This Report, which shows much careful investigation into the life and conditions of the people, is by the late Deputy Superintendent of the Islands, who, it is understood, was specially asked by the Government to postpone taking his pension that he might conduct the Census and write the Report. The work falls mainly into three sections, dealing respectively with the Andamanese, the Nicobarese, and the Penal Settlement of Port Blair.

The Census could not possibly be taken synchronously throughout the islands, and indeed nothing better than approximate guesses could be made as to the numbers of the wild tribes, *i.e.*, the Jarawas of South Andaman and North Sentinel Island, the Önges of Little Andaman and Rutland Island, and the Shompen of the interior of Great Nicobar.

It would seem probable that within a very few decades the Andamanese race will have vanished, at least from off the face of Great Andaman. Even since the taking of the last Census one of the tribes has vanished, and five other tribes unitedly now number only 25 souls, while the population of the remaining four friendly tribes has diminished over 47 per cent. during the last decade. The wild tribes, too, the Önges and Jarawas are probably also declining in numbers. This primitive Negrito people, who in the remote islands are still in the stone age, and who do not know how to generate fire, but must carry it carefully with them in their frequent migrations, do not take kindly to civilization, and the tribes which have been brought into close contact with civilization are fast vanishing. But the tribes that began by being hostile, remain so still. The Jarawas not only shoot at sight any stranger (Andamanese or foreigner) whom they find in the jungle, but also make raids on men peacefully at work in the Penal Settlement. In one raid in 1920 no less than five convicts were killed whilst engaged in cooking their food.

The Andaman Islands possess most valuable forests and excellent harbours. The soil and climate is well suited for growing cocoa-nuts, rubber, and coffee ; whilst the experiments with Sisal hemp, Manilla hemp, and sugar-cane have been very satisfactory. Should all the convicts be withdrawn eventually from Port Blair, it is to be hoped that the islands will not really become derelict, but rather that cultivation may be widely extended by free labour.

The Census Report of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands of 1901 was so full that the later Reports are by comparison meagre ; but our knowledge of the life and conditions of the people, or at least of the Nicobarese, has been steadily growing, and we are here introduced to a considerable amount of fresh information. It would seem, however, that the account in it of "Folk-lore stories obtained from Mr. E. Hart" is erroneous, as they are not new and are not his. With one exception they have been already published by Mr. C. W. Whitehead in this Journal. See *ante*, vol. L, pp. 234, etc.

Despite the necessary administrative report of the work of the Census, and the Tables which ordinarily can interest only statisticians, there is in the Census Reports generally, and in this work of Mr. Lowis in particular, so much that is of interest to all who take the study of human nature as their province, that it is much to be regretted that the Indian Census Reports are not more generally read and studied by the reading and thinking public.

R. C. Temple.

Hatim's Tales, by Sir Aurel Stein and others: London, John Murray: pp. lxxxvi, 525.

In the story of international and interreligious relationships there can hardly be a more striking instance of collaboration than this. A Hungarian, an Irishman, and Englishman and two Kashmiris ; a Jew, two Christians, a Musalman and a Hindu—all have worked harmoniously in the production of this memorable volume. The Hindu, a fine old Kashmiri Pandit, is alas ! no longer with us, and Sir Aurel Stein pays a touching tribute to his memory. Hatim is a professional Kashmiri story teller, as nearly as possible a human gramophone, able to repeat a story after the lapse of many years without altering or omitting a syllable. He told the stories, Sir Aurel Stein and the Pandit wrote them down, and the latter furnished a word for word Sanskrit translation. All the MSS. were sent to Sir George Grierson who undertook the preparation for the press. The kernel of the book is contained in about 50 pp. of large print, recording some of Hatim's tales. Opposite each page is an English translation by Sir George Grierson. In the next 165 pages is a transcription of the same tales as written down by Pandit Govind Kaul with an interlinear translation. Sir George Grierson has added a grammatical vocabulary (149 pages) in which each word is explained. Finally there are two indexes. Dr. Crooke contributes an introduction on the folklore of the tales, and Sir George Grierson one on the language.

Sir Aurel Stein laments the limitations of his ear and phonetic training. Indeed he tells us that he might not have attempted the task at all, if he had not been assured of the Pandit's competent assistance. One does not know whether to admire more

the author's modesty in recognising the disabilities under which he labours, not peculiar to him, but common to other Europeans who have gone to the country after their organs of speech and hearing have become fixed, or the courage with which, in spite of these difficulties, he undertook the work and brought it to a successful conclusion. He is heartily to be congratulated on both. The limitations to which he alludes are seen in his treatment of retroflex consonants and of aspiration ; instances will be found of retroflex sounds recorded as dental (sometimes as rolled), and a much smaller number of the reverse process, together with a number of cases of mistaken insertion or omission of aspirates. But these are comparatively small matters, for correction can be made by reference to Govind Kaul's transliteration, except in the case of retroflex *ṛ*, which though common among Muhammadan Kashmiris is never heard from a Pandit. On the other hand we have an unusually accurate record of the vowels to which evidently much thought has been given.

It is truly an idyllic picture which this eminent scholar and explorer draws for us, his little camp in the mountains, the genial pandit, the grey-headed story teller, the everlasting hills and valleys all round—who that knows Kashmir cannot imagine the scene ? And the book is worthy of the setting. It is a treasurehouse of information on the language. Sir George Grierson's thorough work on Kashmiri grammar is already well known, he has once again brought his powers to bear on the elucidation of grammatical minutiae, and the missionary or other student who consults this work will frequently have cause to express gratitude to him.

As one reads through the Kashmiri of these tales one is carried back to many journeys amid the hills of a beautiful country, among a people who speak a beautiful language—and they are after all a lovable people. The words bring back to memory many faces seen for an hour or a day or a month and never seen again. But for those who live in the country and daily feast on its beauty this book is a lasting treasure, or to change the metaphor, a key which will help them to open at least one of the doors to the heart of those among whom they work. The speech is not exactly that of every day life, for professional story tellers use words and expressions which are obsolete or belong to neighbouring dialects, yet it must not be understood that it is alien to present day villagers : it is quite modern and is very close to what they now speak.

To conclude. We have here to do with a notable work, finely conceived and carried out with a thoroughness and care which reflect great credit on those who have contributed to its success. The printing, paper and binding are worthy of its contents.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

THE KONKAN AND KONKANI LANGUAGE, by RAO SAHEB DR. V. P. CHAVAN, L.M. & S. A Paper read before the Anthropological Society, Bombay, on August 1st, 1923.

Dr. V. P. Chavan, a well-known member of the Bombay Anthropological Society, who combines his professional work as a doctor with the study of Sanskrit and other literary subjects, has published in pamphlet-form the result of a close and diligent inquiry into the origin and character of the curious dialect or language, which serves as the mother-tongue of the Christians of Goa and Mangalore, the "Navayats" or Muhammadans of Kanara, and the Gaud Sarasvat Brahmans of Kanara, Malabar, Cochin and the Karnatak. The author prefaces his linguistic study with a discussion of the derivation of the name 'Konkan,' and while ultimately he finds himself obliged to leave its true significance unexplained, he suggests a derivation from the Sanskrit words *Kim kinvam* (*i.e.,* what is this intoxicating drug ?) which he assumes may have been used by the Aryans, when they first became acquainted with the toddy and toddy-tree of Western India. This meaning-making strikes me as wholly unconvincing and unacceptable. It is impossible to dogmatize on a matter so obscure, but I should be inclined to draw an analogy between the Kanarese words *Teṅka, Tenkaṇa,* meaning 'the south,' 'southern,' and *Konkaṇa*. *Koṅka* in Kanarese is equivalent to *koṅga,* and the primary meaning of *koṅga* or *koṅgu* is the country of Kerala, especially the part around Coimbatore. Is it impossible that the name *Koṅk Koṅga,* with the suffix *ṇa,* as in *Teṅka-ṇa,* which originally signified a tract on the western sea-board of the modern Madras Presidency, was subsequently extended in common parlance to embrace the coastal tract to the north of that area ? The history of the word *Karnataka* or the Carnatic shows how a geographical term can come erroneously to signify a district other than that to which it was originally applied.

The real origin and nature of Konkani has been obscured to some extent by the fact that it was called *Lingua Canarim* or *Canarina* by the early Portuguese and has therefore been assumed to have close affinities with the *Kannada* or Kanarese language. Actually, as Dr. Chavan points out, it has no connexion with any Dravidian language, though it may have adopted Kanarese words into its modern vocabulary and may occasionally in modern days be written in the Kanarese character. At the date of the Portuguese invasion of Goa, Konkani was written in Marathi or Devanagari characters, and it shows a far closer relationship with Marathi and Sanskrit than with the non-Sanskritic languages of Southern India. Dr. Chavan's inquiry leads him similarly to reject Sir George Grierson's opinion that Konkani is simply a dialect of Marathi, which branched off from the common parent Prakrit at a relatively early date,

and he endeavours to show in the second part of his paper that Konkani is an older language than Marathi and was formed independently of the latter. He gives various examples indicating that while the original basis of both Marathi and Konkani is Sanskrit, the transformation of Konkani has progressed on different though parallel lines, the difference being particularly noticeable in some of the grammatical forms, in the nominative plural of certain feminine nouns, and in the matter of genders, in which Konkani shows a far closer affinity with Sanskrit than with Marathi. Many of the words used by the old Marathi poet Jñanadeva are much nearer modern Konkani than modern Marathi, and speaking generally Dr. Chavan's examples are meant to indicate that Konkani grew independently out of a Sanskrit origin and is not, therefore, a mere dialect of Marathi as has hitherto been assumed. On the other hand there is no question as to which is the more vigorous language of the two, and Marathi has the additional advantage of possessing a fine literature of its own and two well-recognized scripts. Konkani has no literature, except of the modern type, and no recognized script of its own. Despite this, Konkani has shown considerable vitality and is still the mother-tongue of an appreciable population in South-Western India. But we entirely agree with Dr. Chavan that its ultimate survival is problematical. If the idealists' dream of an Indian nation ever comes true—which I am inclined to doubt—ancient survivals like the Konkani language are almost certain to disappear. Dr. Chavan has produced a suggestive paper which bears evidence of study of this somewhat technical subject.

S. M. EDWARDES.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

DEVAKS IN THE DECCAN AND KONKAN.

In Vol. III of *Tribes and Castes of Bombay* a list of *devaks*, commonly found among the tribes and castes of the Marathi speaking parts of the Presidency, is given in the article dealing with Marathas. Since this list was compiled, additions and corrections have been made. Publication of the revised list may stimulate further enquiries; I therefore subjoin the list in its latest form for the information of readers of the *Indian Antiquary.*

LIST OF COMMON DEVAKS.

No.	Name.	Botanical or other equivalent.
1.	Adad (Udid)	*Phaseolus mungo.*
2.	Agada (Aghada) ..	*Achyranthes aspera.*
3.	Ahir	A fish.
4.	Amba	Mango.
5.	Anjana	*Hardwickia binata.*
6.	Apta	*Bauhinia racemosa.*
7.	Arai	*Mimosa rubricaulis.*
8.	Arati	*Mimosa hamata.*
9.	Asoka (asopalava) ..	*Polyalthia longifolia.*
10.	Avala	*Phyllanthus emblica.*
11.	Babul (Dhamak) ..	*Acacia arabica.*
12.	Balde	A bird.
	Banyan	See Vad.
13.	Beheda	*Terminalia belerica.*
14.	Bel	*Ægle marmelos.*
15.	Bharadvaj	Coucal or Crow pheasant (*Centropus rufipennis*).
16.	Biju	Polecat.
17.	Bor (Borati)	*Zizyphus jujuba.*
18.	Chas (Tas)	Blue jay (*Coracias indica*).
19.	Chat	Spinning Wheel whirler.
		A shell of peculiar shape.
20.	Chinch..	Tamarind.
21.	Coral	(?) Coral tree No. 80.
22.	Davana	*Artemesia phalleris.*
23.	Devnal	*Phragmitis communis*
	Dhamak	See Babul.
24.	Dive (tin-she-sath) ..	360 lights.
25.	Dukar	Pig.
	Durva..	See Haryali.
26.	Gangudli	A bird.
27.	Garuda	The eagle.
28.	Garudvel (gulvel) ..	*Tinospora cordifolia.*
29.	Ghana..	The oilmill.
30.	Ghoda	Horse.
31.	Ghondan	*Cordia rothii*
32.	Halad	Turmeric.
33.	Harina	Mouse deer.
34.	Hola	Ringed turtle dove.
35.	Haryali (Arkhe) ..	*Cynodon dactylon.*
36.	Hastidant	Ivory.
37.	Hati	Elephant.
38.	Hivar	*Acacia leucophlœa.*
39.	Ingli	*Gymnosporia emarginata.*
40.	Jambhul	*Eugenia jambolana.*
41.	Jowari	*Sorghum vulgare.*
42.	Kabuta	Pigeon.
43.	Kadamb (Kalamb) ..	*Anthocephalus cadamba.*
44.	Kamal	Lotus.
45.	Kandyanchi Mal ..	A garland of onions.
46.	Karanj	*Pongamia glabra.*
47.	Kasav	Tortoise.
48.	Kasod	*Cassia sumatrana.*
49.	Ketak (Kegad) ..	Screw pine (*Pandanus odoratissimus*).
50.	Khair (Khadira) ..	*Acacia catechu*
	Khijado	See Shami.
51.	Knife.	
52.	Kocha	Turmeric bulb
53.	Kohala	Pumpkin.
54.	Konbada	Cock.

55.	Koya	*Cacomantis passerinus.*
56.	Kudal	A hoe.
	Kumbhar Kukde ..	See Bharadvaj.
57.	Kunda..	*Andropogon intermedius.*
58.	Kurhad	An axe.
59.	Magar	Crocodile.
60.	Mandarache phul ..	Flowers of the Rui (*q. v.*)
	Mango	See Amba.
61.	Maryadvel	*Ipomoea biloba.*
62.	Mhas	Buffalo.
63.	Mor (Morache pis) ..	Peacock.
64.	Musal	Rice pounder.
65.	Nag	Cobra.
66.	Nagchampa	*Mesua ferrea.*
67.	Nagvel	Piper betel.
68.	Nandruk	*Ficus retusa.*
69.	Narel	Cocoanut.
70.	Narvel..	*Premna integrifolia.*
71.	Nim	*Melia azadirachta.*
72.	Nirgundi	Vitex negundo.
73.	Pach (Pachna) ..	*Pogostemon patchuli.*
74.	Padwal	*Tricosanthes anguina.*
75.	Pahar	Iron bar.
76.	Pair	*Ficus rumphii.*
77.	Pala	*Ehretia buxifolia.*
78.	Palas	*Butea frondosa.*
79.	Panch Palvi	Leaves of five trees.
80.	Pangara	*Erythrina indica.*
81.	Pankanis	Reed Mace (*Typha angustata*).
82.	Paratinicha pankh ..	Pied wagtail's wing (*Motacilla madaraspatana*).
84.	Phal	Potter's patter.
85.	Phanas	Jack tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*).
86.	Phankani	Blowpipe.
87.	Pipal	*Ficus religiosa.*
88.	Pipri	*Ficus tsiela.*
89.	Pithiche Bavle ..	A doll made of flour.
90.	Purtak (Perkut ?) ..	*Euphorbia tortilis.*
91.	Rajahansa	Goose or swan.
92.	Ruchkin	(?) Rui (*Calotropis gigantea*).
93.	Rudraksha mal ..	*Elæocarpus ganitrus.*
94.	Rui (Mandar) ..	*Calotropis gigantea.*
95.	Rupen	Silver.
96.	Sag	Teak (*Tectona grandis*).
97.	Salunkhe	A bird (cormorant ?) *gracula religiosa.*
98.	Sandas	Pincers.
	Saundad	See Shami.
99.	Sayar	*Bombax malabaricum.*
100.	Shami	*Prosopis spicigera.*
101.	Shankh	Conch shell.
102.	Sheli	Goat.
103.	Shinde	Palm (*Phoenix sylvestris*).
104.	Shishechi gol.. ..	A leaden ball.
105.	Sone	Gold.
	Sonkavale	See Bharadvaj.
106.	Survad	Rosha grass (*Andropogon schenanthus*).
107.	Surya phul	Sunflower.
108.	Tad	Palm (*Borassus flabellifer*).
	Tamarind	See Chinch.
109.	Tamba	Copper.
	Tambul	See Nagvel.
110.	Tarvad	*Cassia auriculata.*
111.	Tarvarichi dhar ..	Sword blade.
	Thapatne	See Phal.
112.	Tulsi	Sweet Basil (*Ocymum sanctum*).
	Udid	See Adad.
113.	Umbar	*Ficus glomerata.*
114.	Unta Kantari.. ..	Camel thorn (*Echinops echinatus*).
115.	Vad	*Ficus indica.*
	Vagh	See Wagh.
116.	Varul	White-ant's nest.
117.	Vasanvel	*Cocculus villosus.*
118.	Vel	Bamboo.
119.	Vet	Ratan cane (*Calamus rotang*).
120.	Wagh	Tiger.

Enquiry may fruitfully be directed to the following points arising from this list.

No. 3. *Ahir*—This is alleged to be a totem among the Bhils, and to be the name of a certain kind of fish. I have not been able to discover what fish is so called.

No. 12. *Balde*—This is a bird totem, also found among the Bhils. I cannot identify the bird so named.

No. 21. *Coral*—This is found as a totem among the Sangameshwari Vanis. I am not certain whether the reference is to real Coral or to the Indian Coral tree (*Pangara—Erythrina indica*).

No. 90. *Purtak*—This is the name of a totem among the Parits. It may be a slip for *Perkut* (*Euphorbia tortilis*). I have been unable to find any other equivalent for it.

No. 92. *Ruchkin*—This is a totem among Bhois and Mahârs. I cannot find a tree of this name in works of reference. Possibly it is connected with the *Rui* or *Mandar*, i.e., *calotropis gigantea*, a common *devak*.

No. 97. *Salunkhe*—This is a very important *devak* name, and is found among Marâthas, Kunbis, Bhils, Chitrakathis, Malis and Vanjaris. According to Molesworth, it is the *gracula religiosa*, apparently one of the cormorants; but in view of the importance of this *devak* it is desirable to secure more precise details.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.

Arakanese and Portuguese.

310. In 1661 the Arakanese pirates seized the treasures of Shah Shuja, son of Shah Jahan and Governor of Bengal, who having rebelled against his father and taken refuge with the King of Arakan, had been forced by the latter to flee from his kingdom and had been killed in his flight,[62] whether by the King's troops or the pirates is uncertain (*Stewart*, p. 281). According to Hamilton (II. 5). certain Portuguese banditti, who were among his followers, formed a kind of settlement at the mouth of Rogues' River, 12 miles above Saugor, and committed piracies on the trade of the Hugli.

311. Gautier Schouten (II, 63—7) tells us that when he was at Pipli with the Dutch fleet in January 1663, twelve well-armed Arakanese vessels put in there. They were full of slaves whom they had taken, on their way through the passage of the Sunderbunds, in the towns and villages of which they had made a great booty of gold, silver and precious stones. These and the slaves they offered for sale to the Dutch, saying that the latter might visit them freely at Thieves' Island [? Rogues' River] if they wished to make purchases. "The Arakanese" says Schouten "are so cruel that they keep their prisoners tied hand and foot in their galleys, and even put a rope round their necks so that they cannot turn round or move. They keep them thus, half choked, lying on their backs under the rowers' benches, in a condition which is quite unbearable, and they suffer an inexpressible martyrdom." The Arakanese took only the young and strong, as the old people and children were unsaleable. They sold their prisoners to Moors, Christians and Hindus "to a cruel slavery, which however is preferable to lying in their galleys amidst their own ordure." Their galleys were long and narrow, built chiefly for swiftness, had no sails but as many as 38 or 40 oars. They were generally commanded by Portuguese captains who had handsome cabins. They paid tribute to the King of Arakan (*see para.* 180 *above*) in return for his protection, and from this he drew a large revenue. The Governor of Pipli was terrified of them, and as none of his people dared go near their ships, he was forced to send a Portuguese priest as his ambassador. He had good reason to be frightened, for though this visit of the pirates had been long expected, there was nothing to oppose them but a mud fort with ridiculously thin walls and a miserable armament. To avert an attack he was compelled to allow them to trade freely for their slaves and booty, they, in return for this privilege, giving him one tenth of the money they received. Schouten (II, 141—3) saw these pirates again at Jellasore in January 1664, but in this year Bengal at last received a Governor sensible and capable of his duty. Shaista Khan immediately set about preparations to deal with the pirates. He persuaded the Dutch Governor of Batavia to co-operate with him and, informing the pirates that the Dutch were about to attack them, offered his protection if they would submit without fighting. Some, under a certain Captain Moor joined him[63] (Mukherji, Campos, pp. 164—166). Dilawar Khan (? Dilal Raja. *See Imperial Gazetteer*; or Dilal Khan,, Campos, p. 157) of Sandwip was defeated and made prisoner, Sandwip taken in December 1665, and the Arakanese fleet destroyed (*Calcutta Review*, LIII, 71—73). Having got the Portuguese into his power, Shaista Khan, says Bernier, treated them "not as he should but as they deserved" (Pinkerton, VIII, 126). Many of the pirates were carried inland and settled in the interior of the Dacca District, where small Christian communities of their descendants are still to be found.

N.B.—Manucci's account of these matters (II. 117—8) is very inaccurate.

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62 It was also said that Shah Shuja escaped from Arakan and took refuge in the Island of Sulu, where his tomb was to be seen over a hundred years later (Orme, *Hist. Frag.*, p. 49).

63 I suppose that this is not a name but the Portuguese equivalent for Captain-Major.

312. Of Dilawar Khan, the Editor of the *Statistical Account of Noakhali*, says (p. 240) :—" The last pirate of note was one Dilal, Raja of Sandwip, who kept a small army in his pay. It is related of him that he used to pay great attention to the intermarriage of his subjects, with a view to producing a high physical type. He considered that the Hindu unbroken descent within the same individual caste was as deleterious to the race as intermarrying in the same family ; and it is said to be from the measures he adopted that the castes of Sandwip have become confused and mixed." He was eventually captured by the Nawab of Bengal (Shaista Khan) and ended his days in an iron cage at Murshidabad.

313. Though the power of these pirates was now broken, they did not cease to be very troublesome. An entry in the *Diary of Streynsham Master* (I. 322) shows that in 1676 there was a fort at Great Thana in the Hugli River for defence against the river pirates, Maghs or Arakanese. No one dared live below this fort for fear of being carried off and sold as slaves at Pipli. Nor did these wretches limit their outrages to the rivers. Fryer (*Hak. Soc.*, II. 152—3) writes :—" No part of these seas are without these vermin [*i.e.*, pirates], the Bay of Bengal being infested [in 1676] as much as the coast of Coromandel by outlawed Portugals and a mixture of that race, the most accursedly base of all mankind, who are known for their bastard brood, lurking in the mouths of the Ganges by the name of Racanners [*i.e.*, Arakaners]."

314. A letter from Dacca, dated 24th December 1678, says that the Maghs had taken 14 boats near Chittagong, and another letter from Hugli, dated 11 May 1679, says that the English Council objected to lend the Company's sloops " on all occasions to fight against the Arakanners till they are conquered, which according to all likelihood will never be." On the other hand, the Company, in a letter to Bengal, dated 28th September 1687, expressed the opinion that the threat of letting loose these pirates upon the Moors in all parts of the Ganges was a protection for the English against the Mughal Government (Bowrey, *Hak. Soc.*, S. 2., XII. p. 212, n. 2).

315. In the year 1737 it is said that a very large number of the inhabitants of the Sandarbans (Sunderbunds) deserted their homes out of fear of the Magh raids. In the time of Aliverdi Khan (1740-56) the Naib Subah of Southern Bengal, Sadakat Muhammad Khan, planned an expedition against Arakan in reprisal for the piratical attacks of Magh or Arakan fleets. One of these, consisting of 50 or 60 boats, apparently en route for Luckipore, he had surprised and destroyed. The expedition was however recalled before it crossed the frontier. (*As. Ann. Reg.*, 1799, *Misc. Tracts*, p. 165).

316. On the 27th September 1760 the District was ceded by Mir Kasim to the British and was surveyed. James Rennell's Map of 1772 shows a large tract marked as desolated by the Maghs. Mr. Beveridge and many other authorities doubt the statement that the Sandarbans were ever largely peopled (Campos, p. 25).

317. Even British control did not immediately put an end to this nuisance, for in June 1777 Major R. E. Roberts wrote from Chittagong that, in the preceding February, Maghs or Arakaners had carried off 1800 men, women and children from the south of Bengal as slaves to Arakan. The best of these, *viz.*, the artisans and artificers, were appropriated by the Raja, the rest were sold in the market at prices varying from 20 to 70 rupees. It was reported that about three-fourths of the inhabitants of Arakan were either natives or descendants of natives of Bengal, who had been carried away and who constantly prayed for the arrival of the English to free them from their slavery (*Asiatic Annual Register*, 1799 ; *Misc. Tracts*, p. 160). A little later, Mr. Francis Law, Chief at Chittagong, reported on the 23rd November 1777, that having sent some persons to make enquiries as to the forces of the Raja of Arakan, they

had been arrested at "Akkeeaff" (? Akyab) on the borders of the Chittagong District and had narrowly escaped being put to death for not having brought any presents with them. These men reported that the Raja kept up a standing force of only 300 men, of whom a few had matchlocks. The revenue of the country was only about Rs. 80,000. There were four weak *killas* (forts) containing 700 or 800 guns which had been taken when Chittagong was under the Mughal Government, but were of little use. There were also many ships' guns, anchors and grapnels taken out of ships which they had captured (Cotton, *Chittagong*, p. 225).

318. Other traces of the Portuguese seamen, who were once the terror of Bengal, may be found in the lists of the crews of the East India Company's ships, for it was not uncommon for these to fill up deficiencies in their crews by natives of Eastern ports. A very uncomplimentary reference is found in the Log of the *Stringer Galley*, Isaac Pike Commander, under date 29th September 1711:—"This alteration proceeds from the severity of the weather . . . . the Sea is not altogether so short as before but very high, violent and dangerous, breaking often on the ship, must need be a great strain to her and we ship much water. Our China sailors and some of the Portuguese are ready to give up the ghost and proffer to take no wages for their voyage so they be excused comeing on deck, but so bad example to the rest must not be allowed, tho' they do noe good when they be here." So far they retained the name of Portuguese, but soon they were to be lumped with Asiatic seamen under the common title of *Lascars*. Thus, in the Log of the *Britannia* (John Somner, Commander) to Fort Saint David, Bombay, Surat, Bengal and Madras, 1748-52, there is entered after the list of seamen another list of *Lascars*, all of whom, except two, have Portuguese names. The other two names are English (Ind. Off., *Marine Records*).

319. Portuguese sailors in Calcutta seem to have acquired a reputation for lawlessness, if we are to believe such statements as the following:—"The cool, deliberate and frequent assassinations of our countrymen by that accursed, despicable, revengeful race, the Portuguese sailors, calls aloud for their extermination from this country" (*India Gazetteer* or *Calcutta Public Advertiser*, 17th January 1785).

Chinese.

320. Koxinga had long cherished the hope of driving his old masters the Dutch from Formosa, and the hatred he always felt towards them had been further inflamed by their readiness to assist his Tartar enemies against him. They on the other hand were now in a poor state to resist an attack, for, owing to a quarrel between Governor Cojet and Van der Lahn, the Commander of a small fleet sent to support him in July 1660, Van der Lahn had withdrawn his ships (*Chin. and Jap. Repos.*, 3rd April 1864, p. 224). At last, in May 1661, with a fleet of 600 junks Koxinga attacked the island, committing the greatest cruelties, not only upon the Dutch, both men and women, who fell into his hands, but also upon the Chinese peasantry. The small Dutch fleet that was present was overpowered and all attempts to introduce reinforcements proved unavailing, At last, after a vigorous defence, seeing that there was no hope of succour and fearing to expose the women and children who were with him to the horrible tortures which Koxinga inflicted upon any prisoners whom he captured, the Governor, Frederick Cojet, on the 1st February 1662, surrendered the Fort of Zeelandia upon terms of capitulation (which were honourably observed by Koxinga), and the Dutch retired from Formosa.[64] Cojet, in spite of his gallant defence, was disgraced and imprisoned until the year 1674 (Dubois, 213). The Dutch accounts of this disaster mention various prodigies which foretold it. A Chinese account (H. E. Hobson, *R.A.S. North China Journ.*, 1876,

[64] Cojet's capitulation apparently did not secure the release of the prisoners already in the hands of Koxinga, for in 1663 Koxinga's son offered Bort to deliver up about 100 Dutchmen and women and grant freedom of trade in Formosa to the Dutch in return for alliance against the Tartars. (Valentyn, quoted in *Chin. Repos.* XX, 544).

N.S., XI, p. 37), instead of the merman seen by the Dutch, tells us of a whale which appeared before the fort bearing on its back a human figure with dishevelled locks and dressed in *red* garments. This account says that Koxinga's attack was much facilitated by some plans brought to him by Cojet's Linguist or Interpreter, Hopin (Burney, III, 244, calls the traitor Pincqua) who had run away after embezzling some thousands from the Treasury. Koxinga fixed his residence at Zeelandia, which he renamed Gan-ping ching or the City of Peace, and flushed with success, threatened the Philippines and demanded tribute from the Spaniards. The latter agreed to withdraw from Zamboangam in Mindanao although it was their only defence against the pirates of that island and of Sulu (de Morga, 360 ; Careri in Churchill, IV, 389 ; Duhalde, I, 91-2 ; Zuniga, I, 302). Fortunately for the Europeans, Koxinga died in 1663 (2nd July 1662. *Chin. and Jap. Repos.* I, 428; Imbault-Huart, p. 75), it is said of vexation on hearing of the conclusion of an alliance between the Dutch and the Tartars, the discovery by the Spanish of a conspiracy of his partisans in the Philippines (for complicity in which several thousand Chinese had been put to death), and finally the seduction of one of his wives by his own son (Careri, Churchill, IV, 390).[65] He was succeeded by his son Ching-Ching or Ching-king-may (Macgowan, p. 527 ; Duhalde, I, 92) or as Dubois (p. 214) calls him, Simpsia or Sepoan. Though the Dutch lost Formosa, a fleet of thirteen ships from Batavia cruised this year against the Chinese pirates on the coast of China and Formosa (Schouten, I, 441).

Dutch.

321. In 1660 the Dutch took Macassar in the Celebes, and in 1661 Cochin and Cannanore in India from the Portuguese (Schouten, II. 53). In 1662 their Admiral Keizerzoon attempted to follow the example of Weddell at Canton and force a trade, but was repulsed by the Chinese with Portuguese assistance (*Anc. and Mod. Hist. of China*, p. 72).

322. In 1663 the Spaniards abandoned the Moluccas (Dubois, p. 164).

English.

323. On the 9th July 1662 the *Vierge de Bon Port*, one of the four vessels which formed the first expedition of the French East India Company, on its return voyage to France, was taken by English corsairs off Guernsey. The Captain, Truchot de la Chesnaie, is variously stated to have died in captivity in the Isle of Wight and to have returned to France in 1667 (Jules Sottas, p. 19).

324. The first permanent English Factory at Surat was founded in 1612. From a very early date the Factors issued passes. For these they charged a regular fee of ten rupees (*Letter from Surat to Calicut*, 24th May 1660, Foster, *English Factories*, 1655-60, p. 342). But when Bombay was ceded to England, the question arose as to the relations between the Company's Agents in India and the King's officers at Bombay. The Governor of Bombay, Sir Humphrey Cooke, encroaching upon the rights, including the power to grant passes, previously enjoyed by the Company, the latter obtained an order from Charles II that his officers should not interfere with the Company's servants (*Court to Surat*, 7th March 1665). In 1668 the Crown made over Bombay to the Company, and in 1687, Mr. Henry Gary, then Governor of Bombay, which now became the seat of the Presidency, forbade the Factors at Surat to issue passes. Apparently these passes were merely certificates of honesty and did not entitle the ships carrying them to anything more than immunity from attack by English vessels, for in a letter of the 15th October 1696, Sir John Gayer mentions that Delhi allowed to English, Dutch and French ships for convoy (*i.e.*, protection) from Surat to Mocha and Jeddah, Rs. 10,000 for small and Rs. 15,000 for great ships, together with the right to carry what

[65] Brinkley (X. 179) says that in 1662 the Spanish ordered an indiscriminate massacre of the Chinese living in the Philippines on suspicion of connection with Koxinga, who was then threatening an attack on the islands. Koxinga was buried at Amingkang, a large village a mile south of Amoy, where his tomb is shown to visitors (Mayers, Treaty Ports, p. 256).

freight they could get. These terms were not remunerative. The Dutch computed that they had lost Rs. 10,000,000 and the French refused to furnish convoys. On the 4th November 1719 the Court of Directors wrote to Bombay, pointing out that Angria was charging a pass duty of one rupee a khandi [560 lbs.] whilst the British charged the Suraters one rupee a ton [2240 lbs.] and suggesting that the suppression of Angria would be good business (*Bomb. Gaz.*, XXVI, I, 24-28, 259).

Malays.

325. In December 1663 Schouten was at the islands of Seier and was told that the inhabitants used to raid the coast of Queda (in the Malay Peninsula) for booty and for slaves, some of whom they ate (Schouten, II, 141).

Barbary Rovers.

326. I have already mentioned that homeward-bound Indiamen were exposed to attack from the Barbary pirates. The Sieur Dubois says (p. 8) that on the 18th April 1669 he saw two of them between Capes Finisterre and St. Vincent, the usual haunt of Turkish corsairs. They approached under Dutch colours, but hauled off as soon as they saw the French flag "which they feared more than any other."

327. On the 24th December 1675 the Court of Directors ordered the Captains of the *Eagle*, *Falcon* and *Johanna* to keep a course thirty leagues west of the Madeiras in order to avoid Turkish and other pirates who lay in wait about those islands and in 1674 had nearly surprised one of the Company's ships (*Streynsham Master*, I., 217). On the 17th February 1681—2 they instructed Captain Wildey of the *Welfare* to keep company with the *Dorrill* and other Company's ships until out of danger from Algerine pirates (Hedges, III, x).

Arabians.

328. In 1670 a fleet of Muscat Arabs raided and plundered Diu, but were finally driven out with great slaughter by the Portuguese (Hamilton, I. 137-9).

329. About this time an Arabian trader, who had killed a Portuguese gentleman at Mozambique, made his escape in a boat, which chance conducted to the island of Johanna. There, by his ability and the assistance of a few of his countrymen, he made himself Prince of the island (Raynal, I, 332). Apparently the Arabs now established themselves as a ruling race in Johanna. (*See para. 755 below*).

Malabarese and Sanganians.

330. Of the Malabar pirates in 1670, the Sieur Dubois writes (p. 31) :—" There are some of the Malabars along this coast who, with numbers of dhows will attack the vessels they see, of whatever nation they may be : and when they can take a vessel there's no quarter for those who are therein ; otherwise for the most part they cut the nerves of their hams and then keep them as slaves to water their beasts : they cut the sinews of their legs in order that they cannot run away and save themselves. The vessels of Europe do not fear these Malabar pirates because they are fine vessels well armed. They have several times attacked our French vessels, who have given them such a warm reception that they have not dared to attack others." Monsieur Dellon (p. 115) speaks more specially of the Muhammadans of the Malabar coast, where he found himself in 1670, denouncing them for their cruelty towards their slaves.[66] According to him, they respected no passes, by whomsoever they might be given, no religion, no nation, nor did they spare their own friends or neighbours if they met them at sea. In taking out a new vessel, their first object was to initiate it with the blood of the first Christian they took prisoner. They would ransom others, but not Christians. Unlike other Malabar

66 M. Dellon, in describing the miseries of the prison at Damaun, where he was detained in 1673, says that some years earlier certain Malabar pirates were incarcerated there and the horrible famine which they suffered induced forty, out of about fifty, to strangle themselves with their turbans. (*Inquisition at Goa*, p. 28).

pirates, they wore beards, turbans and vests. In their *paros* (galley shaped vessels carrying from five to six hundred men) they infested the Indian coast as far as the Red Sea, but rarely attacked European vessels, of which if they took any, it was generally by surprise. In June 1670, he tells us (p. 132) of Cotta or Cognali (*i.e.* Padepatam or Kunhale; *see para.* 168 *above*), which gave its name to "the most famous pirate in those seas" and of one Couleas Marcal of Bargara, "a rich Mahometan merchant and famous pirate in these parts", whom he visited on business. Dellon was himself, when travelling by boat, taken and pretty roughly treated by the followers of Cognali, but was set free after a few days, the French having made a treaty with the Zamorin who was Cognali's overlord. On page 169 Monsieur Dellon says that the Malabar corsairs had recently taken a Hoy belonging to the French Company (and worth £2000), which they had sold to the King of Achara, a little north of Goa.

331. Among certain proposals made to the Company by the President and Council of Surat, relating to the Island of Bombay (Forrest, *Bomb. Records*, I, 52) is one, *viz.*, No. 5. dated Surat, 5 Feb. 1671 :—"That for the greater security of the port against Malabars, Sangonas and Arab pirates certain sea-laws be established for encouragement of privateers to go out in search of said pirates, to whom the Company may lend a frigate or other vessels, which they would build, on certain conditions, *viz.*, the said vessel or frigate to have so many shares of what prizes shall be taken and the rest to be divided among the adventurers according to their respective proportion. It will be seen that 24 years later (*see para.* 446 *below*), it was on this very principle that Captain Kidd was sent out to catch pirates. The "Sangonas" just mentioned were, of course, the Sanganians. So notorious were these at this time, that in Ogilvy's *Atlas* (1670) Cutch is described (p. 293) as Sanga (*Bom. Gaz.*, XIII, ii, 713 n). Fryer (II, 152) writing in 1676, says :—"We braced our sails close, in expectation of the southern gales, which met us about the 19th degree of North Latitude. Here in this large field of water the Singanian pirates wreak their malice on the unarmed merchants, who, not long able to resist their unbounded lust, become tame slaves to their lawless rage and fall from the highest hopes to the humblest degree of servitude. These are alike cruel and equally savage as the Malabars, but not so bold as to adventure longer in those seas than the winter's blasts have dismissed them, retiring with their ill-got booty to the coasts of Sinda, where they begin to rove nearer their dens of thievery, not daring to adventure combat with the Malabars, or stir from thence till the season makes the Malabars retire."

Chinese.

332. In 1670 the English obtained permission to establish a Factory at Amoy. This proving to be a loss, owing to the extortions of the local authorities, the ruinous system of barter adopted, and the interference with trade by the Chinese pirates, after nineteen years it was abandoned. (*Anc. and Mod. Hist. of China*, p. 73).

333. After Koxinga had taken Formosa, the Dutch attacked and disabled a large junk of his with 300 men on board. It however escaped into Nagasaki but with only nine men alive. Koxinga complained to the Japanese, who made the Dutch then in port pay compensation. On the other hand, when in 1672 the Dutch ship *Kuylenberg* was stranded on the coast of Formosa, the crew murdered and the cargo plundered, the complaints of the Dutch at Nagasaki were completely ignored (Kaempfer, II, 67—68).

334. In 1673 Ching-king-may, son of Koxinga, defeated the King of Fokien and in 1674, took the Pescadores. In 1678 he again invaded China and died in 1681 (*Chin. and Jap. Repos.*, I, 428), being succeeded by his son Ching-ke-fan or Ching-k'i-shwang (Dubois, I, 92). Macgowan (p. 532) says by his brother Ko-shwang.

335. In 1682 the Tartars having reduced Fokien, the Manchu Governor Yau offered a free pardon to the Chinese who had followed Koxinga to Formosa, and when many of them had deserted Ching-ke-fan, Yau's fleet took the Pescadores and forced Ching-ke-fan (in July

1683) to surrender Formosa and to retire into honourable captivity at Pekin with the title of Prince (Duhalde, I, 92). In the *Factory Records* (*China and Japan*, vol. 2) it is stated that Simponcan, King of Tywan, was defeated by the Tartar Admiral Sego, (or Shih Sang, *see* Le Ung Bing, p. 372), and so compelled to give up Formosa. A letter from Messrs. Mose and Dubois to the Madras Council dated 30th December 1686 (*Letters to Fort St. George*) says that Formosa was conquered by the then Governor of Amoy called "Jonkon Tolloyaw." Macgowan (p. 533) says that the Chinese commanders were Shi-lang and Yau K'i-shang and that they were assisted by the Dutch.

336. Four or five Dutchmen, with their families, "prisoners for many years to Coxsing" were released by the Tartars, when they took Formosa, and sent in the English ship *Delight* to Siam (*Samuel Baron to Madras*, date Siam, 15th Nov. 1684).

337. Before they took Formosa, the Chinese heard that there were gold mines in the eastern part, so, on its reduction, they sent an expedition for their discovery. The commander failing to find the mines, but seeing some ingots in the huts of the peasants, invited the latter to a feast, made them drunk, and cut their throats. In reprisal, the natives raided the Chinese portion of Formosa and did much damage (*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, XVIII, 426).

In 1687 Captains Williams and Howel, Englishmen in the service of the King of Siam, were ordered to expel a number of Chinese who, driven from their country by the Tartars, had taken refuge in Cambodia and maintained themselves by piracy. The two captains carried their prisoners to Macao and handed them over to the Tartar authorities (*Collection of Voyages*, by Capt. William Dampier, printed by James and John Knapton, 1729, Vol. II, pp. 105—106).

Dutch.

338. In 1672 the East India Company sent out the *Experiment* (Captain Limbrey) and the *Return* (Captain Delboe) to open a trade at Taiwan in Formosa and in Japan. The *Experiment* was captured by the Dutch on the 9th December. The *Return* arrived at Nagasaki on the 29th June 1673, but was refused permission to trade on the grounds (cleverly suggested by the Dutch) that the King of England had married a Portuguese Princess (*see para.* 268 *above*), and that the cross on St. George's ensign argued a similarity of religion with the Portuguese (Bruce II, 347-8). As war had been declared before the capture of the *Experiment*, this was not technically piracy, but as it ignored the usual allowance of time for warning, it was a piece of sharp practice, very much like piracy.

Arabians.

339. In February 1674 Muscat Arabs attacked Bassein and plundered the houses and churches (Orme, *Hist. Fragments*, p. 46 ; Anderson, p. 180).

340. On the 16th January 1677-8, Henry Gary wrote to the Company that a ship under English colours (Captain William May) and belonging to Callian, in Sivaji's territory, had been seized by Arabs in the Road of Cong. These Arabs had four ships cruising off Babelmandeb to intercept the Portuguese ships bound for Mecca (*Hedges*, II, 327).

Malays.

341. In 1675 a small English vessel (Captain Samuel Ware) was taken off Queda by some pirates known as Saleeters. Ware and two of his men were killed. These Saleeters were, apparently, natives of the coast islands of Malacca (*see para.* 405 *below*), and were accustomed to cruise off Junkceylon and Pulo Sambila (Bowrey, pp. 237, 262).

342. In April 1677 the Agent, Mr. Samuel White, and a number of other Englishmen were murdered at Bantam by Javanese pirates (Bruce, II. 404).

Malabarese.

343. In 1674 Dr. John Fryer was present at the rescue of a Dutch ship from Malabar pirates between Vingurla and Goa. Later on, in 1676, his ship was attacked near Goa by a

large Malabar pirate, from which they had rescued a grab. The pirate carried about 60 fighting men besides the rowers " who threw stink pots and plied chambers and small shot, flung stones and darted long lances and were with difficulty driven off." The pirate captain and three or four chief men were killed in the fight (II, 16. 29).

344. Fryer (I 144) tells us that a rocky island near Mangalore was known as Sacrifice Island because of the butchery on it of some Englishmen by pirates, whose chief lived at Dharmapatam in the Malabar District. Hamilton (I, 305) says that the rock took its name from the massacre of a number of Portuguese by the people of Kottika when the Portuguese first came to India. Forbes (I, 203) ascribes the name to the massacre of an English crew early in the 17th century. John Pike in his *Journal* (f. 179 b) says that Sacrifice Rock was an island off Calicut, and Cornwall (*Observations*, p. 26) places it three leagues off shore from Calicut. (*See para*. 78 *above*).

345. In 1676 a large Malabar vessel, after a hot engagement off Diu with a Portuguese took refuge in Bombay harbour. The Portuguese Captain-General of Bassein threatened to attack Bombay if she was not given up, but meekly accepted the Deputy Governor's refusal (*Bom. Gaz.*, XXVI, 61, 64).

346. Between 1675 and 1707 Khem Sawunt, namesake and descendant of the founder of the Savantvadi dynasty (*see para*. 250 *above*), established his independence of the Mughal Government (*Bomb. Sel.*, N.S., X, 1).

347. In 1677 Ali Raja, a chief of Kota[67], having taken an Englishman in a Daman vessel, put him to a cruel death when Mr. Bourchier refused to ransom him. In June an expedition was sent to punish him. Another Englishman, Isaac Watts was, murdered by the Cota pirates because he refused to turn Muhammadan (*Bom. Gaz.*, XXVI, i, 65, 76, 80 ; *Anderson*, p. 178). Ali Raja was a title meaning, in Tamil, Lord of the Sea, and taken from the fact that though only a subject of Colastry the Chief so named was Lord of the Laccadive Islands. The Dynasty came into existence about the tenth century when Muhammadanism was introduced into Malabar and according to one account a Colastry Prince was converted to that religion, or according to another account, a Colastri Princess married one of the Muhammadan immigrants. At any rate the line of descent was through the sister according to the Malabar Hindu custom, and each succession needed ratification from Colastry. The family name of these Princes appears to have been Mamale or Mamarke. Canter Visscher gives it in Turkish or Moorish as Mahomet Ali Caamo (Logan's *Malabar*, I, 193, 238, 362n. Van Rheede's *Memorandum on the State of Malabar* in India office, *Home Miscellaneous*, 456 B, p. 271. Adrian Moens' *Memorandum*, p. 147) Van Rheede, says (p. 141) that Cotta was one of the places of refuge, which were to be found in every Malabar Rajaship or Kingdom, to which no criminal, however great his crime, could be pursued.

348. In 1679, in reprisal for the English allowing the Mughal fleets to shelter near Bombay, Sivaji occupied the island of Kenery (Khanderi) whilst the Sidi occupied that of Henery (Underi), thus presenting a constant menace to that port. In October the English unsuccessfully attempted with a small contingent to drive Sivaji's force out of Khanderi. Sivaji's men easily put to flight the native boats included in the English squadron, but were repulsed with great slaughter when they attempted to take the *Revenge* commanded by Captain Minchin (Anderson, p. 174).

349. During the course of this year the Bombay Government armed three ***shibars***, or native trading boats, with 40 men of the garrison as a protection against pirates (Orme, ***Hist. Frag.***, p. 79).

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67 I presume this was Ali Raja of Cannanore, the Raja of Kadattanad (between the Mahé and Kotta Rivers, originally part of Kolattiri. Innes. *Malab. Gaz.*, pp. 131, 133).

CULTURAL, LINGUISTIC AND LITERARY HISTORICAL GLEANINGS FROM THE KAUTILIYA.

BY HERMANN JACOBI.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN, BY NARAYAN BAPUJI UTGIKAR, M.A.

(*Continued from page* 136.)

Regarding the *śâstras,* it is particularly of importance for our question, to know what Kauṭilya says about things grammatical. He begins with explaining the letters : *akârâdayo varṇâs triṣaṣṭiḥ*. The number of the Sanskrit letters varies according to the different authorities between sixty and sixty-five. In the commentary to the *Taittiriya Prâtiśâkhya,* (*Bibl. Ind.*, p. 4) the following statement of the *Śikṣâkâra* is given : *triṣaṣṭiś catuḥṣaṣṭir vâ varṇâḥ Śambhumate matâḥ*, and the number sixty-three is also given in *Harivaṁśa,* 16161. Had the *lekhaka* written Prakrit, then a reference to the forty-six letters in the Prakrit language (cf. Bühler, *Indisc. Paläographie,* p. 2) would have been in place, and not that to the sixty-three letters of the Sanskrit language. After the explanation of the *varṇas* follow those of the *pada, vâkya,* and of the four (966) kinds of words : Nâma, Âkhyâta, Upasarga and Nipâta. His definition of *Upasarga* runs : *Kriyâviśeṣitâḥ prâdaya upasargâḥ,* an undoubted imitation of Pâṇini I. 4. 58, 59 : *prâdayaḥ upasargâḥ kriyâyoge*; and he similarly bases his definition : *avyayâś câdayo nipâtâḥ* on Pâṇini, I. 4. 56, 57, (*prâg îśvarân*) *nipâtâḥ câdayo'sattve,* combined with I. 1. 37 : *Svarâdi nipâtam avyayam.* We see therefore that already in the fourth century B.C., Pâṇini was recognised as a grammatical authority. This chronological clue is of great significance in the uncertainty which has long been prevailing about the date of the great grammarian.[25] Hopkins could indeed say with justification (*The Great Epic of India,* p. 391) :—" No evidence has yet been brought forward to show that Pâṇini lived before the third century B.C." Here we have the " evidence " required, if it were still to appear necessary, after what we know regarding the literature intervening between Pâṇini and Patañjali.[26]

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that Kauṭilya limits the meaning of *Apaśabda* to the wrong use of the gender, number, tense and case (*liṅgavacanakâlakârakâṇâm anyathâprayogo'paśabdaḥ,* p. 75), and that he does not use the word in the sense of Apabhraṁśa as Patañjali does on Pâṇini I. 1. 1, *vârttika* 6.[27] The explanation यथावदनुपूर्वक्रियाप्रधानस्यार्थस्य पूर्वमाभिनिवेश इत्यर्थक्रमः । II. 9, seems to refer to a kind of syntactical rule, as it was later urged by the Mîmâṁsakas and Naiyâyikas, which if I understand it correctly, means : " Arrangement is the mentioning of a theme of which the subject and the verb stand in mutual sequence." [28] The meaning of *Pradhâna* as a grammatical subject is to be found in Hemahaṁsagaṇi's *Nyâyasaṁgraha,* II. 29.[29]

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25 Cf. J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik,* I, p. lix. Kielhorn's opinion was "that Pâṇini stands much nearer to the Vedic than to the so-called classical literature, and that he belongs to a period when Sanskrit was something more than a language of the learned."—*Göttingen Nachrichten,* 1885 p. 186.

26 Cf. Kielhorn, *Der Grammatiker Pâṇini,* G. N., 1885, pp. 187 ff.

27 Kauṭilya himself often uses the Absolutive in *tvâ* in the case of verbs joined with prepositions, against Pâṇini, VII. 1. 37 : निस्तारयित्वा (231), उन्मन्थयित्वा (243), आवाहयित्वा (253), प्रार्थयित्वा (386), अवघोषयित्वा (387), अपकारयित्वा (405), all in the causal mode. He also forms पापिष्ठतम (295, 328).

28 [Shamashastri translates this passage (p. 81 of his English translation) as :—The act of mentioning facts in the order of their importance is arrangement.]—N.B.U.

29 Commentary, p. 78 : यस्य क्रियया सह सामानाधिकरण्येण (? न) प्रयोगस्तत्प्रधानम् । यथा राजपुरुषोऽस्ति दर्शनीयः......य एव हि पुरुषस्याधिकरणं स एवास्तिक्रियाया अपीति क्रियया सह सामानाधिकरण्यप्रयोगेण पुरुषशब्दस्य प्रधानत्वात् । Hemahaṁsagaṇi wrote in 1454 A.D. The work is published in Benares, Vîrasaṁvat, 2437 = 1911 A.D.

The *Arthakrama* is one of the six requisites of a writing (*lekhasampad*) : *arthakramaḥ* (disposition), *sambandhaḥ* (subsequent connection of the same), *paripûrṇatâ* (correct and conscious completion), **(967)** *mâdhuryam* (unartificial, happy ideas and expression), ***audâryam*** (choice language), and *spaṣṭatvam* (easy intelligibility). With these merits, we must enumerate the faults to be avoided (*lekhadoṣâḥ*, p. 75), *viz.*, *akântiḥ* (clumsiness, see below), *vyâghâtaḥ* (opposite of *sambandha*), *punaruktam* (repetition), *apaśabdaḥ* (grammatical mistake, see above), and *samplavaḥ*.[30] The ideas which find expression here, are further developed at great length in the *Alamkâraśâstra : mâdhurya* and *audârya* under identical names, *spaṣṭatva* as *prasâda* (cf. *Bhâmaha*, II. 3), *vyâghâtaḥ = apakramam* (*ibid.*, IV. 20), *punaruktam* (*ibid.*, IV. 12), *apaśabdaḥ = śabdahīna* (*ibid.*, IV. 22). The definition of *paripûrṇatâ* : अर्थपदाक्षराणामन्यूनातिरिक्तता हेतूदाहरणदृष्टान्तैरर्थोपवर्णना श्रान्तपदेति परिपूर्णता, excludes by its first part, the *vâkyadoṣa* न्यूनाधिककथितपदम् (*Kâvyaprakâśa*, VII. 53), and by its second part, (*hetû0*), opens up a question which Bhâmaha treats at great length in his fifth Pariccheda, but which Daṇḍin (III. 127) would rather leave undiscussed, as being irrelevant to the Alamkâra. From the parallels quoted above, it follows that there existed a stylistic method at the time of Kauṭilya, which has later probably merged in the corresponding portions of the *Alamkâraśâstra*, and which, in so far, can be regarded as precursor of the latter. Be this as it may, the stylistic requirements as they are specified in the *Śâsanâdhikâra* can, in any case, be laid down, only with reference to a language, which by long literary use, has been brought up to no small perfection ; and this was indeed the classical Sanskrit ; it would be absurd to expect a stylistic fineness of that sort in a popular dialect, as it is to be had in the inscriptions of Aśoka.[31]

The conclusion at which we have arrived on the strength of the foregoing considerations, *viz.*, that the classical Sanskrit was the official, if not perhaps the only language in the king's office, seems to stand at variance with the fact mentioned above, **(968)** that the classical Sanskrit is first used in inscriptions from the second century A.D. onward. In order to remove this conflict, we cannot urge that there might have been two entirely different categories of royal decrees, since Kauṭilya mentions among the eight kinds[32] of *Śâsanas* also the *parîhâra*, documents of royal favour. I however think that the difficulty can be carried nearer to

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30 The meaning is not quite clear. The definition is :— अवर्गं वर्गकरणं वर्गे चावर्गक्रिया गुणविपर्यासः संप्लवः । A *varga* is explained (p. 72) as एकपदावरस्त्रिपदपरः परपदार्थानुरोधेन वर्गः कार्यः । Probably the fundamental idea is similar to that in *Vâmana* : पदार्थे वाक्यरचनं वाक्यार्थे च पदाभिधा । on II, 2. 2, in connection with the property belonging to *ojas*. Vâmana understands by *vâkya* here connected words which express an idea. Varga seems to signify something similar—the expression of an idea by words ranging between one and three. The *samplava* is a fault in the true mode of writing, but if managed with art, is a quality of pathetic poetry (compare also *ekârtham*, *Vâmana*, II. 2. 11).

31 What sense there can be in laying down *audâryam* (= *agrâmyaśabdâbhidhânam*) as a requisite of popular dialect ? According to *Vâmana*, (II. 1. 7) *grâmyam* = *lokamâtraprayuktam* ; under this would fall in all likelihood all words of the popular dialect !

32 They are :

प्रज्ञापनाज्ञापरिदानलेखाः ।
तथापरीहारनिसृष्टिलेखौ ॥
प्रावृत्तिकश्च प्रतिलेख एव ।
सर्वत्रगश्चेति हि शासनानि ॥

The definition of a *parîhâra* runs thus :—

जातेर्विशेषेषु परेषु चैव ।
ग्रामेषु देशेषु च तेषु तेषु ॥
अनुग्रहो यो नृपतेर्निदेशात् ।
तज्ज्ञः परीहार इति व्यवस्येत् ॥ (Page 73.)

solution in the following way :—The first of the *lekhadoṣas* is *akânti*, clumsiness of the document ; it means having a black leaf (*kâlapatrakam*), and bad, uneven, and faded letters (*acâru-viṣama-virâgâ'kṣaratvam*). Therefore what is intended here is only letters or documents which are written on leaves[33] in ink ; there is no mention either here or anywhere else in the *Kauṭilîya* of inscriptions on stone or copper-plates. These appear to have been introduced or at least to have attained to common use, first under Aśoka. The employment of the popular dialect on such documents, to be available to the commonalty, followed as a matter of course, and at least did not stand in conflict with ancient custom. It is possible to suppose that this use survived long, till the official language here also pervaded the King's private scribes and suppressed the Prakrit.

In what precedes, many literary-historical questions have already been referred to; we shall now try to exhibit in a connected manner, what can be gleaned from the *Kauṭilîya*, regarding the condition and extent of the Sanskrit Literature in the fourth century before Christ. The enumeration of what constitutes[34] the *trayî*, *i.e.*, the theology, proves that the Vedic literature had come to a close : the four Vedas, and the six Vedâṅgas. The *Itihâsaveda* was regarded as the fifth Veda, as it is already so called in the *Chândogya Up.*, VII. 1. 4 ; 2. 1 ; 7. 1 : *itihâsapurâṇaḥ pañcamo vedânâm vedaḥ* (while in *Bṛhadâr. Up.*, II. 4. 10 ; IV. 1. 2 ; 5. 11, *Itihâsa* and **(969)** *Purâṇa* are sometimes mentioned as two words, and sometimes, as a compound). One cannot now unreservedly regard *Itihâsa* and *Itihâsaveda* as identical, as I had formerly done through inadvertence[35], since what Kauṭilya understands by *Itihâsa*, is mentioned by him in 1. 5, p. 10 : *purâṇam itivṛttam âkhyâyiko'dâharaṇam dharmaśâstram arthaśâstram ce'tîtihâsaḥ*. The inclusion of the *Arthaśâstra*, which does not belong to the *Trayî*, but forms a *vidyâ* by itself, proves, that not all that is *Itihâsa*, is also therefore *Itihâsaveda*. We can have a clear idea of the *Itihâsaveda*, if we bring before our mind the *Mahâbhârata*, since we find in it, the expressions *vedâḥ . . . . âkhyânapañcamâḥ*, III. 2247 ; V. 1661 ; and *vedâḥ . . . . Mahâbhâratapañcamâḥ*, I. 2418 ; XII. 13027 ; these expressions evidently stand on the same line as the expression *itihâsapurâṇaḥ pañcamo vedânâm vedaḥ* of the *Chand. Up.* If we however regard, that all the constituent parts of the *Itihâsa*, including the *Dharma-* and *Artha-śâstras* are included in the *Mahâbhârata*, then we see no possibility of sharply differentiating the *Itihâsa* and the *Itihâsaveda*. Itihâsa seems to denote all that which rests on oral tradition, excepting the Revelation proper, and which is not the subject of logical demonstration. If such things bore a religious character, then they may be assigned to the *Itihâsaveda*. Now, as regards the individual component parts of the Itihâsa, the difference between *purâṇa* and *itivṛtta* might have consisted in this, that the first was legendary, while the latter was more or less historical. A minister was to avail himself of these in bringing to the right path a

33 *Patrakam*, a leaf, represents the paper. In II. 17, p. 100, it is said : तालीतालभूर्जानां पत्रम् । *Tâli* is *Corypha umbraculifera*, *tâla*, according to *PW*. is *Borassus flabelliformis* ; however, Hoernle has pointed out in his article : "An epigraphical Note on Palm-leaf, Paper and Birch-bark," *JASB*., LXIX, pp. 93 ff., that the wine-palm *Borassus fl.* has been introduced in India only late from Africa ; as a matter of fact, no kind of palm is mentioned in the chapter of the *Kauṭilîya* treating of spirituous drinks (II. 25, p. 120f.). Which kind of palm is to be understood by *tâla*, is uncertain, since we do not know any palm except those mentioned, whose leaves were used as paper. A Bhûrjapatra naturally signifies the bark of the birch, which even now is called *bhûrj-patr*.

34 सामर्ग्यजुर्वेदास्त्रयस्त्रयी । अथर्ववेदेतिहासवेदौ च वेदाः । शिक्षा कल्पो व्याकरणं निरुक्तं छन्दोविचितिर्ज्योतिषमिति चाङ्गानि । 1. 3, p. 7.

35 In the *Sitzungsberichte der kön. Prus. Aka. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Classe*, 1911, p. 739.

prince who had gone astray: *itivṛttapurâṇâbhyâm bodhayed arthaśâstravid*, V. 6, p. 255. The examples mentioned in I. 6, p. 11 (of which more below), which are intended to illustrate the downfall of kings through one of the six passions, *kâma*, *krodha*, *lobha*, *mâna*, *mada* and *harṣa*, appear to belong to the purâṇa-type; those on the other hand, mentioned in I. 20, p. 41, for showing the evil ways practised by women, bear a more historical character and may well therefore be *itivṛttas*. An *Âkhyâyikâ* should have been a narrative in prose, and should correspond to the later *âkhyâyikâ* and *kathâ*. Finally the *udâharaṇas* were probably moral lessons and narratives such as those that are often introduced in the *Mahâbhârata* with the verse: *atrâpyudâharantî'mam itihâsam purâtanam.*

We could regard the *Mahâbhârata* as a redaction of the *Itihâsaveda*, as a *saṁhitâ* thereof. That however such a *saṁhitâ* existed at the time of Kauṭilya, is very doubtful, or at least cannot be proved. In any case the *Mahâbhârata* did not still exist in its present or any approximately similar form, as J. Hertel seems to consider in *WZKM.*, XXIV, p. 420. Indeed, the mention of the names Duryodhana, Yudhiṣṭhira and Râvaṇa, proves that the story of the (970) *Mahâbhârata* and the *Râmâyaṇa* was known; probably epic poems too, of their contents, already existed. This does not however imply that the stories and legends of the *purâṇa* type existed in (the form of) a collection which should have been merged in the *Mahâbhârata*. Two reasons go against such a theory. In the first place, only some of the legendary stories mentioned by Kauṭilya, are to be found in a corresponding manner, in the *Mahâbhârata*, *viz.*, those of *Aila* I. 75, Duryodhana, Daṁbhodbhava, Haihaya Arjuna (= Kârttavîrya), Vâtâpi and Agastya, and Ambarîṣa Nâbhâga; other stories however are wanting in the *Mahâbhârata*, *viz.*, those of Dâṇḍakya,[36] Tâlajaṅgha and Ajabindu Sauvîra. In the second place, one story as indicated by Kauṭilya is different from that as standing in the *Mahâbhârata*. Thus Kauṭilya 1. 6, p. 11: *Kopâj Janamejayo brâhmaṇeṣu vikrântaḥ;* the *Mahâbhârata*, however has: *abuddhipûrvam âgacchad brahmahatyâm*, XII. 150. Further, Kauṭilya has IV. 8, p. 218: *Yathâ hi Mâṇḍavyaḥ Karmakleśabhayâd acoraḥ coro'smi iti bruvâṇaḥ;* the *Mahâbhârata* however says (I. 107. 9): *na kimcid vacanam râjann abravît sâdh'vasâdhu vâ.* More important is the fact to which Lüders has drawn my attention, that according to Kauṭilya, the Vṛṣṇis maltreated Dvaipâyana (*atyasâdayat*), this being in agreement with the original form of the story,[37] while in the *Mahâbhârata*, XVI. 1, they only jeered at Viśvâmitra, Kaṇva and Nârada. In the last verse of the chapter from the *Kauṭilîya*, referred to above, it is said:

शत्रुषड्वर्गमुत्सृज्य जामदग्न्यो जितेन्द्रियः ।
अम्बरीषश्च नाभागो बुभुजाते चिरं महीम् ॥

The *Mahâbhârata* (as also the first book of the *Râmâyaṇa*) know nothing to the effect that Jâmadagnya was ever a King. Finally, there is this following fact. In the *Kauṭilîya*, VIII. 3, p. 327, there is mentioned the view of Piśuna that hunting is a greater vice than gambling, since in gambling one can win, as instanced by Jayatsena and Duryodhana. "No," says Kauṭilya, "the instances of Nala and Yudhiṣṭhira show that in gambling one of the two parties has to lose,"[38] *i.e.*, if one gains in gambling, his opponent naturally loses. Kauṭilya contrasts what Yudhiṣṭhira lost, with what Duryodhana gained, and therefore also what Nala lost with what Jayatsena gained. In the *Mahâbhârata*, however, the brother of Nala who deprives him at gambling of his kingdom, is called Puṣkara, while according to Piśuna and Kauṭilya he is called Jayatsena. This name does not occur in similar relation in the *Mahâbhârata*; it is however by itself not improbable that the brother of Nala might originally

[36] The story of Dâṇḍakya is mentioned in the *Râmâyaṇa*, VII. 79-81, where however the King is called Daṇḍa, and in the *Jâtakas*, where his name occurs at Daṇḍakin.—*ZDMG.*, LVIII, p. 691.

[37] See Lüders, *Die Jâtakas und die Epik*, *ZDMG.*, LVIII, p 691.

[38] तयोरप्यन्यतरपराजयोऽस्तीति नलयुधिष्ठिराभ्यां व्याख्यातम् ।

have been so called, because his father was called Vîrasena, and his two children were called Indrasena and Indrasenâ, *i.e.*, they had names connected with (the word) *sena*. If, therefore, of (**971**) the legends contained in the *Kauṭilîya*, six occur in a corresponding form in the *Mahâbhârata*, five in a divergent form, and three are wanting there, we must therefrom conclude, that the stock of legends had passed through a change during the period intervening between the time of Kauṭilya and its redaction in the *Mahâbhârata*; the older form of the story preserved by Kauṭilya regarding the destruction of the Vṛṣṇis, proves in particular that there did not still exist a redaction of the *Mahâbhârata* ascribed to Vyâsa Kṛṣṇa *Dvaipâyana*, or that it had not still attained to any canonical recognition in the Brahmanic circles.

However from another point of view, it can be proved from the *Kauṭilîya* that the art of epic poetry itself had reached a high degree of perfection in the fourth century B.C. The metre of the *Kauṭilîya* generally agrees exactly enough with that of the *Râmâyaṇa*.[39] In the three hundred *ślokas* in the *Kauṭilîya*, there are to be found the following numbers of Vipulâs: I, 36; II, 27; III, 53; IV, 3. In the second Vipulâ, the final syllable is always long, in the first, only one short, p. 217; in the third, twelve times, in the fourth, twice. The caesura in the third Vipulâ falls six times on a *saṁdhi* vowel, once, on the fourth. For comparison, I may mention the same phenomena in the *Râmâyaṇa* (the first hundred pages of Schlegel, part II) and those in *Nala*, the numbers in the brackets giving the vanishing cases of the short final syllable. *Râmâyaṇa*. I, 50 (1); II, 50 (0); III, 40 (12); IV, 2 (1); *Nala*, I, 136 (8); II, 59 (2); III, 60 (27); IV, 17 (3); V, 1 (⏑ ⏑ – ⏑). The receding of the fourth Vipulâ, and the marked continuance of the long vowel at the end of the second and fourth Vipulâ in the *Kauṭilîya*, place that work in closer relation to the metrical practice of the *Râmâyaṇa* than to that of the *Mahâbhârata*. In this direction too, point the seven Triṣṭubh *ślokas* to be found in the *Kauṭilîya*: they are correct Indravajrâ and Upendravajrâ *ślokas*; and none of them of a free construction. Probably the *Âdikâvyam*, the *Râmâyaṇa* was already existing, under the influence of which, the decisive employment of the śloka metre in poetry seems to have been brought about. It can however be supposed that there also existed then other Kâvyas. Though indeed we do not come across anything regarding Kâvyas and literary dramas[40] in the *Kauṭilîya*, still (**972**) the dramas and the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa make it plausible that these classes of literature had behind them a long development before the second century B.C., and that therefore they may reach back to the fourth century.

Finally I may bring together what we can gather from the *Kauṭilîya* regarding the contemporaneous literature. Besides the Vedic literature and what belonged to it, the Trivarga was treated of in systematic works: *Dharmaśâstra* (mentioned I. 5, p. 10; III. 1, p. 150), *Arthaśâstra* and *Kâmaśâstra* (see above, p. 963 f.=p. 134 f. of this translation). Of the philosophical systems there were existing, Sâṁkhya, Yoga and Lokâyata, though we know

[39] There is a *pâda* of seven syllables on p. 413, which is probably an error of the MS. or of the edition. Two nine-syllable *pâdas* occur on pp. 418 and 420 in magic formulæ. These I naturally leave out of consideration. Verse 4 on p. 249 (= 251) is presented in its second *pâda* in a garbled form.

[40] There is of course no question here of professional bards, story tellers, mimic-actors, who are mentioned often enough; compare Hertel, l.c., p. 422, but only of authors (to mention whom, Kauṭilya had no occasion). As regards the Sûtas and Mâgadhas, I might mention that there were two classes of them to be distinguished from each other: (1) the usual, who according to the theory are *pratiloma* castes (namely, Vaiśya and Brâhmaṇî, Kṣatriya and(?), and (2) those called *Paurâṇika*, arising from the inter-marriages of the first two castes. (III. 7, p. 165).

not how far these systems had received a literary treatment.[41] The Grammar *Vyâkaraṇa* as the Vedâṅga) was represented by Pâṇini's work. Besides this, there was Method or Rhetoric which treated of questions of syntax and style. The *Jyotiṣa* is mentioned as a Vedâṅga ; the statements in II. 20 appear to have been taken therefrom. The oft-mentioned Mauhûrtika (pp. 38, 245) proves the pre-existence of primitive astrology ; the *tithis* and the *nakṣatras* (p. 349) play an important part in it ; and the planets were already known, of which Venus and Jupiter are expressly mentioned (p. 116). Other branches of Divination are to be deduced from the names of their representatives, Kârtântika and Naimittika, who along with the Mauhûrtika were employed at the court on a fixed salary(V. 3. p 245 = 247 of the 1919 Edition). Among other *śâstras*, there is also expressly mentioned the *Dhâtuśâstra* (II. 12, p. 81). This particular thing, in itself appearing petty enough, is however of general importance inasmuch as it shows, how much all conceivable subjects found at that time exposition in the form of śâstras : all things worth knowing could be the subject of a śâstra. We have seen that Kauṭilya himself put into use all (pertinent) śâstras concerning his rules about the writs (*Śâsana*) of the king, and that, he insists on the King's adviser (amâtya) having a thorough knowledge of the Śâstras. He says (I. 9, p. 15) : *Samânavidyebhyaḥ śilpam śâstracakṣuṣmattâm (amâtyânâm parîkṣeta), i.e.*, the king should satisfy himself, with the help of specialists, whether the royal advisers know the arts, and possess the mastery of the śâstras. For those who are here implied by the word *samânavidya* (the same expression recurs at p. 246, l. 10 = p. 248, l. 11) and are called *vidyâvantaḥ* on p. 246, l. 7 (= 248, l. 7), the epithets paṇḍita and śâstrin were usual in later times. **(973)** As is well-known, the classical period falls under the purview of the śâstra, and the Paṇḍit is characteristic of that period. From the *Kauṭilîya*, we see that at its time, the *śâstra* had already attained a position dominating the intellectual life of India. Thus we arrive at the conviction that the fourth century B.C. should belong to the classical period, maturing to full development. The Vedic period was however at that time long concluded, and belonged to an antiquity lying very far behind.

THE ECONOMIC IDEAS FROM THE KAMA-SUTRA.

BY PROF. J. N. SAMADDAR. B.A., F.R.E.S., F.R.HIST.S., M.R.A.S.

VATSYAYANA'S *Kâma-Sûtra* has generally been viewed with aversion as being a book which deals with erotics only—a *Vade-mecum* for a gay lothario ; but here and there we do get sufficient indications in the work giving prominence to economic topics and ideas, so that we may review many of the actions described from the economic point. It may be said, indeed, that, even in this book which deals principally with *Kâma*, there are questions treating of wealth and that sufficient importance is attached to the necessity for wealth, proving that the principles underlying production, distribution and consumption of wealth received due attention from the *Âchâryas* in ancient India, who are generally considered to have oriented all their studies towards philosophy exclusively.

The very beginning of the *Kâma-Sûtra* supports our contention. The author commences his book by saluting the three *vargas—dharma, artha* and *kâma*. Though the last was the main theme of his discourse, he does not forget that there are three main purposes in

41 I have referred to the fact (these *Sitzungsberichte*, 1911, p. 741) that the later writers claimed for the *ânvîkṣikî* that it was an *âtmavidyâ*. Kauṭilya does not theoretically put forward this claim, but practically; in so far as the education of the princes is concerned, he too is of the same view as his successors ; since, according to I. 5, p. 10, the prince, after his *Upanayana*, should learn the *trayî* and *ânvîkṣikî* from the *Śiṣṭas*. The *śiṣṭa* must have been careful to see that the prince learnt no heterodox philosophy.

one's life ;[1] *dharma*, *artha* and *kâma* are really inter-dependent to bring about success in life—all these three have to be studied, after the manner of the great teachers who have propounded the principles of these three principal objects which a man should strive to attain in life. Evidently with this object in view, Vatsayana recommends that a man's lifetime is to be divided into three periods and each period is to be devoted to the pursuit of one of the *Trivargas* in such a manner as they may conduce to their harmonious combination with one another, so that the pursuit of any one of them is not detrimental to the interests of the other two. Although the *Âchârya* suggested that of the three *vargas—dharma* is preferable to any other coming next *i.e.*, *dharma* to *artha*, or *kâma*, or to both, and *artha* to *kâma*, he has opined that this order of preference is not to be strictly adhered to. He mentions, in support of this suggestion,[2] the case of a king, to whom *artha* is more important than the other two, inasmuch as the very existence of the state—its social order and the administration of the country, depend solely on wealth. And he, therefore, recommended that suitable means of earning wealth have to be studied, not only by depending on the *Śâstras*,[3] but one should also learn from the Superintendents of Departments and from merchants and others well-versed in the art of commerce and trade and from persons experienced in agriculture and other vocations of life.[4]

Vatsyayana, tries to treat of *kâma*, but he does not forget that *artha* is more important. He discusses the arguments which are put forward against pursuing *artha*. People are of opinion, he states, that "even if one exerts himself with all his strength, one sometimes does not succeed in getting wealth. On the other hand, one sometimes gets wealth with no effort whatever, even by mere chance. All this is due to Fate." Vatsyayana strongly opposes such dependence on Fate or Time. He says, "It is not so. All the gaining of all objects in this world chiefly depends on human enterprise ; a knowledge of the various means of securing these objects is as much the cause as Time. Even in the case of things that are predestined to happen, they can be realised only through manly efforts. No good comes to such as are inactive."[5]

Indeed he goes further. He practically forbids recourse to *kâma*, for it is detrimental to the progress of the other two objects, viz., *dharma* and *artha*, which should not be neglected;[6] and he goes on to suggest that a man may learn *Kâma-Sûtra* and the arts, but he should do it in such a manner that the time spent on them may not conflict with that devoted to the study of *dharma* and *artha śâstras* and the other branch of learning related thereto, a knowledge of which he is bound to gain primarily.[7] As we have already observed, he advises that the following verse may be studied with advantage :—"Man pursuing the *Trivargas* will secure an abundance of unmixed happiness in this as well as in the other world ;[8] one should not attach undue importance to only one of the *vargas*, but there should be the harmonious development of all of them."

Vatsyayana's definition of wealth is also very interesting. "Education, land, gold, domestic animals (cows, etc.) grain, domestic vessels and utensils ; friends, and so forth, are *artha*, as also the means of securing and increasing the above.[9] He has evidently improved upon the explanation of the term, and as we have said elsewhere[10] it is indeed interesting to note what wealth (*artha*) included then, and what a close resemblance there is in his definition to what we mean by wealth now, being anything which has an exchange value.

[1] 1. 1. 3-4. [2] 2. 1. 2. 15-17. [3] 1. 2. 18-21.
[4] 1. 2. 10. [5] 1. 2. 38-39. [6] 1. 2. 40-42.
[7] 1. 3. 1. [8] 1. 2. 4j. [9] 1. 2. 1.
[10] *Lectures on the Economic Condition of Ancient India*, Calcutta University, p. 87.

That the author was particularly keen about the means to acquire wealth is manifest throughout his book. Let us, for example, consider what he recommends regarding the selection of a bride. One of the main considerations was that the bride was to be one born in a rich family. That wealth was practically the *summum bonum* in life is evident when we find him giving definite instructions to the ideal wife who was to be, what we may term, an "economist." "If the husband spent too much or made an improper expenditure, she was to advise him."[11] The wife was to consider the annual income, and incur expenditure accordingly;[12] and, during her husband's absence, she was not only to be attentive to the proper expenditure over items of daily and occasional occurrence, but she was also to increase the wealth of the family by purchases and sales economically carried on, by employing honest and obedient servants and by reducing expenditure through her own intelligent efforts.[13]

Definite instructions are given in the *Kâma-Sûtra* how expenditure could be reduced by the wife, by the timely securing of utensils for domestic use—as earthenware and metallic vessels, baskets, wooden and leather articles at proper places; and by the timely deposit of salt, oil and scents. This care for economy is carried to the minutest details, *e.g.*, "from the curd that remains after their daily consumption, she should extract its essence; as also oil from oil-seeds, sugar and jaggery from sugarcane; spinning of the thread from cotton and weaving cloth with them, the securing of '*Sikya*' of ropes or strings or barks, looking after pounding and grinding of paddy, etc." In all these she was to be expert.[14] Further, "knowledge of the wages of servants and their disbursements, the care of cultivation and welfare of cattle; knowledge of constructing conveyances, looking after sheep, etc., the reckoning of daily income and expenditure and making up a total of them"—all these constituted the duties of an ideal wife and show that the author was not at all unmindful of the economies of life.

Vatsyayana has also laid down instructions as to the ways of earning money.[15]

These are—

(1) Receiving gifts in the case of Brâhmans.

(2) Conquest in the case of Kṣatriyas.

(3) Buying and selling in the case of Vaiśyas.

(4) Wages for work done in the case of Sûdras.

A list of professional men has also been given, *viz.* washermen, barber, flowerman, dealers in scents, vendor of wine, mendicant, cowherd, supplier of betel-leaves, goldsmith, story-teller, priest and buffoon.[16] Just as king Ajâtaśatru gave to Buddha a list of persons ministering to the needs of the king, evidently we have here also a list of men whom the gay lothario needed, and as such this list does not contain the names of all professional men who constituted the society of the time. But even then, the list, incomplete as it is, gives us a glimpse of the society of that age.

The side-lights which these quotations give us, are indeed incomplete, but they prove at least that ancient Indians and their *Âchâryas* specially, did not devote themselves exclusively to the study of philosophy only, neglecting all mundane things. The economic ideas of the ancient Indian teachers may be crude and mixed up with the treatment of other subjects—their delineation may be unscientific, but they furnish us with clear germs of much serious economic thought which can be disintegrated and analysed as more or less pure economic ideas.

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11 IV. 1. 14. 12 IV. 1. 32. 13 *Ibid.*
14 IV. 1. 33. 15 I. 4. 1. 16 I. 5. 37-38.

FURTHER NOTE ON RITUAL MURDER AS A MEANS OF PROCURING CHILDREN.

BY KALIPADA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

I read with much interest the article written by Sir R. C. Temple entitled "Ritual Murder as a Means of Procuring Children," *ante*, vol. LII, p. 113. Such belief does not seem to be confined to Northern India only, but prevails in Bengal also. I was at once reminded of two instances, one of which is reported in *Calcutta Weekly Notes*, vol. XXV, pp. 676–677; *King Emperor* vs. *Bharat Bapari and another*, and the other was related to me by a friend as having been heard before the Sessions Judge of Hooghly about ten years ago.

1. The facts of the case are :—Bharat Bapari and his wife had had a certain number of children, all of whom died in their infancy. They were thus led to believe that there was an evil influence brooding over them and their children and in order to exorcise this evil influence, they offered their new born son (about one month old) to the crocodiles in a tank known as Khan Jahan Ali Tank, otherwise known as Thakurdighi, in the Sub-Division of Bagerhat. The child was placed near the water's edge, and the crocodiles were called. Two crocodiles appeared, and one immediately seized the child in its mouth and disappeared into the water. They never appeared again, and doubtless the child was devoured. The explanation of their action by the accused during their trial before the Sessions Judge of Khulna, was that they had been led to believe that if they made the offering of this child to the crocodile or crocodiles in the Khan Jahan Ali Tank "with a pure heart" and "fortified by faith", the crocodile, though it would doubtless take the child away, would return it unharmed, and that thereafter the child would lead a charmed life and attain to a good old age.

Though the accused were charged under section 302, I.P.C. (murder), the Jury accepted the statement of the accused that they were possessed by this superstitious belief and acquitted them both. But the Sessions Judge, disagreeing, referred the case to the High Court. Their Lordships held that, although the accused had no intention of causing death, what they did they did with knowledge that their act would result in the death of the child, and therefore convicted the accused under section 304, I.P.C. (culpable homicide not amounting to murder) and sentenced them to two years' rigorous imprisonment.

2. I have forgotten the details of the second case but the main facts are as follows :— A certain couple had no children born to them for a long time. They offered *pûjâ* to many deities and performed religious rites for procuring children, but in vain. Then the husband was told by a *Sannyâsi* that his wife would bear children to him if he could perform a *tântric* rite known as *śaba-sādhanī* (*i.e.*, practising meditation sitting on a corpse), on a particular new moon day (*amâvasyâ*) at the *śmaśâna* (crematorium), on the bank of a neighbouring river. Both were to be pure in body and mind and should fast on the day appointed. They were to be clad in red apparel and worship the goddess Kâlî with red flowers. The husband should cut off the head of his wife and sit on her body, repeating certain incantations which would make her fertile, and issue would never fail her. He was assured that a charm which the *sannyâsi* imparted to him would, when repeated, bring her back to life and no apprehensions need be entertained. The unfortunate husband induced his wife to come to the crematorium where, he said, he was going to perform certain rites for procuring children, without disclosing to her their exact nature. The hapless wife, absorbed in meditation at the *śmaśâna*, was beheaded; and the husband, sitting on her corpse, followed the formula taught to him. Meanwhile the dawn arose, and the man repeated the life-bringing charm frantically, but of course without any effect. He became mad at the thought of what he had done; and his frantic efforts to resuscitate his wife were observed by peasants who had come at early dawn to plough the land on the bend of the river. He was subsequently tried by the Sessions Judge of Hooghly, but with what result, I do not now remember.

THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION OF THE ANDAMANESE.

BY P. W. SCHMIDT, S.V.D.[1]

Argument.

I.—The opposition in the statements of E. H. Man and A. R. Brown and an estimation of the subject *quoad personas* and *quoad res.*

II.—The chief differences in Religion and Myths between the North and South Andamanese.

III.—The establishment of the ethnological age of the Northern and Southern groups.

IV.—The Austronesian influences in the (Northern) Andamanese mythology.

V.—The moral character of Puluga, the Supreme Being of the Southern Andamanese.

VI.—The demarcation of the seasons on the Andaman Islands and the signification of the Monsoons in myths and religion.

VII.—The moral character of the commands of Puluga, the Supreme Being of the South Andamanese.

VIII.—Richness and complexity of the religious situation of the Andamanese.

I.

A Comparison of the Statements of E. H. Man and A. R. Brown and an Estimation of the subject *Quoad Personas* and *Quoad Res.*

Following the description made by E. H. Man of the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, hitherto looked on as classic, and which he first published in vols. XI and XII (1882 and 1883) of the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,* and then as a separate work *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands* (London, 1883), it was customary to credit the Andamanese with the knowledge and worship of one really Supreme Being called Puluga, more especially as two other good authorities on these tribes, M. V. Portman and Sir Richard Temple, were not known to have substantially contradicted these statements.[2] It was therefore a little exciting when A. R. Brown, who had in the years 1908–1909 undertaken a research expedition in the Andamans, after praising, it is true, in the periodical *Folk Lore* (XX, 1909, pp. 258–271) Man's other discoveries, took up a position against his representation of the religion and especially against the characterization of Puluga as a Supreme Being. He prefaced his opposition with the following remark :

> "Mr. Man's researches were in many ways excellent. I have tested as far as possible every sentence in his book,[3] and can speak with ungrudging praise of it. But there are certain matters on which I am compelled to dissent from Mr. Man's opinions, and one of the most important of these is his interpretation of certain religious beliefs of the Andamanese."

Of the controversy between Brown and myself, with which at that time this position was mixed up, I have spoken in another place.[3]

Since then Brown's complete work on the Andamanese has appeared,[4] in which Brown stands by his opinion and strives still further to elaborate it. It is therefore necessary to go again into Brown's representation. The great interest of the point sufficiently justifies its being done here in a detailed manner. It is not enough only to make sure of valuable old discoveries ; we might gain important new knowledge and learn much in all directions.

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1 Translated from the German in *Anthropos* (vol. XVI–XVII, 1921-22, pp. 978–1005) *Die religiösen Verhältnisse der Andamanesen-Pygmäen.*

2 See my detailed accounts thereon in "*Stellung de Pygmäenvolker in der Entwicklungs geshichte der Menschheit.*" . Stuttgart 1910, p. 193 ff.

3 See *Anthropos*, XVI–XVII, 1921-22, pp. 1079 ff.

4 A. R. Brown, *The Andaman Islanders.* Cambridge. 1922. University Press.

In this case we have two investigators whose observations have led to quite opposed views, and we cannot help first glancing at the qualifications that each sets forth for the realization of their propositions. Let us then examine firstly the question of the time of their stay among the Andamanese, and we shall learn the following.

The whole of Brown's expedition lasted from the end of 1906 till the beginning of 1908. Of that time 3 months were spent in the Little Andaman Island, and owing to insufficient knowledge of the language, Brown left it. He thus spent only a year in Great Andaman. On the other hand, E. H. Man's stay there lasted 11 years,[5] which he spent in constant intercourse with the inhabitants. During that time he spent 4 years as Director of the Andamanese Home. Just for this reason E. H. Man gained a considerable advantage. This was increased by the fact that he particularly concentrated his researches on the Southern Branch of the tribes, more especially the Aka-Bea, whilst Brown worked as well at the Middle and Northern tribes, but could obtain less information about the Southern tribes, especially that of the Aka-Bea with whom Man had been working. Moreover, Man during this long time, gained a detailed knowledge of the language and could associate directly with the inhabitants, an indispensable condition to real searching investigations of the natives. Brown, on the other hand, was most of the time only able to communicate with the inhabitants through an intermediate language—Hindustani, which he was not master of himself, and which only the young Andamanese spoke, and those only as he himself said "more or less perfectly." Only in the last weeks did he meet an inhabitant who spoke English and with whose help he could get better information.[6]

To all that it must be added that, whilst in Man's time the individual tribes lived entirely separated one from the other, so that really exact research of an individual tribe was still possible, the tribes, according to Brown's own statement had, on the contrary [at the time of his visit], in many cases intermingled, and consequently their speech and customs had naturally lost considerably in purity, distinctness and certainty. So that in every way Man was, so to speak, in an incomparably better position than Brown. Therefore, for this reason, from the first, Man's information deserves, at least, the same confidence as Brown's. Sir Richard C. Temple, who is acknowledged also by Brown as one of the best judges of the Andamanese, expresses himself on Brown's book in the following terms:

> "The first part of the book is harmed because the author lays too much weight on his own observations and too little on those of his predecessors, especially on those of such a very scrupulous describer as Mr. E. H. Man, who had extraordinary opportunities for observation, which lasted for many years." (*Man*, 1922, p. 121.)

So if Brown declares that Man, through his Christian convictions, let himself be betrayed into colouring his observations with Christianity, then one must oppose to it that such a thing never occurred; for Man brings forward in all sincerity also a number of rare and even grotesque particulars about Puluga, the Supreme Being, that are truly not to be found in any profession of faith of any of the Christian denominations. Moreover, one could retort that Brown could be equally reproached with the fact that his own unprejudiced mind was obscured by the opinions of the school of evolutionists for the time being dominant.

According to the statements of E. H. Man, the Andamanese pygmies, who certainly belong to the oldest people of South Asia, now worship a real Supreme Being, named Puluga, who created the world and men, omniscient moral judge of their doings, but who is also good and helpful and to whom the good people will go after death. Against that Brown declared he had discovered that not one, but two, high gods exist, Biliku (Puluga) and Teria (Daria). Neither are supposed to represent anything other than the two chief prevailing winds there,

[5] Over 30 years—Ed.

[6] Compare Brown's own statements referring to them, pp. 170, 176.

the former the North-east Monsoon, the latter the South-west Monsoon. Puluga-Biliku who represents the chief person is, however, supposed to be feminine and only later in particular tribes became masculine. She is not supposed to possess any sort of moral qualities and was originally considered as inimical to humanity; for from her came the devastating storms, whilst the rain came from Teria.

If Brown's assertions as to these facts are true, then the character of a Supreme Being could no longer be ascribed to Biliku-Puluga. But with regard to Brown one must differentiate between the facts that he adduces and the interpretation that he gives them.

Now the truth is that Brown, besides being interested in the tribes of the South, the Akar-Bale, and especially the Aka-Bea, which Man investigated, was also interested in the Middle and Northern tribes, and he prides himself on showing how [in the Andamans] on a comparatively small space, among such an insignificant number of human beings, who are among the most primitive peoples, widely differing views of religion exist in individual tribes. The highly instructive fact of this characteristic difference ought, however, to have been demonstrated as clearly as possible and in no way obscured or effaced, as often occurs in the interpretations which Brown gives; since he does not sufficiently regard the great difference of religion between the Southern and Northern tribes. The result of all this is that his representation of the religion of the Northern tribes may be perfectly just, while it is not so as regards the Middle tribes; and that of the Southern tribes in points of capital importance must be considered as not in accordance with the facts. Since his first interpretation in *Folk Lore*, this characteristic has become more pronounced, for whilst formerly he was still lec by the fresh impression of the facts he had observed, he has since become more influenced by theories that he has formed, which in the end unfavourably affect his statement of facts, as we shall see further on.

I will now give a few of these obscurities of which Brown has been guilty. He describes Bilik as essentially inimical to man (p. 369 f.) and soon afterwards he writes:

> "Yet there is no doubt that at times, and more particularly in the Southern tribes, the natives do regard Puluga as the benefactor and even the creator of the human race" (p. 370).

But it is inexact to say "*more particularly* in the Southern tribes." If we uphold the sources of the myths especially, then Puluga is a benefactor and creator of men *only* among the Southern tribes. The same remark holds good of Brown's utterance: the idea is that Puluga-Biliku gave man fire, and by its help the source of life "has been developed more in the South than in the North" (p. 372). According to the myths, it was *only* among the Southern tribes that Puluga gave man fire willingly; among the Northern tribes Biliku guarded it jealously, and it had first to be filched from her by cunning and force.

We will now set to work to show in a short classification the most important differences between the Southern and Northern tribes.

II.

The Chief Differences in Religion between the Northern and Southern Andamanese.

1) *Let us first observe the sex of Puluga-Biliku and of her partner Daria-Tarai and their connection on either side with the two monsoons* (pp. 147 ff.).

NORTHERN TRIBES.

North-east monsoon (*Biliku boto*).

South-west monsoon (*Tarai boto*).

Aka-Chari Aka-Kora Aka-Bo Aka-Jeru	Biliku is feminine and wife of Tarai; her son is Perjido. This is the customary hypothesis; elsewhere Perjido is considered as the husband of Biliku, or Biliku is unmarried, her son is Perjido and so on.

MIDDLE TRIBES.

North-east monsoon (*Bilik to*).
South-west monsoon (*Teriya*).

Aka-Kede	In the Northern area: Biliku feminine, Tarai masculine; in the South: Biliku masculine.
Aka-Kol Aka-Juwoi A-Puchikwar	Generally Bilik is masculine and Teriya as well: more seldom, Bilik is feminine, Tarai is her husband; or there is a masculine and a feminine Bilik, who are husband and wife; or Bilik is masculine with a wife In-Charia. In A-Puchikwar, there is a Bilik for each of the winds except the South-west, for which last is Teriya.

SOUTHERN TRIBES.

North-east monsoon (*Puluga to* [*a*]).
South-west monsoon (*Daria*).

Akar-Bele Aka-Bea	Puluga is masculine and Daria is his Brother: "and this was apparently also the common belief of the Aka-Bea" (p. 151.)

From this table it follows that: (1) Biliku is always feminine in the Northern tribes and Puluga is always masculine in the Southern tribes. In the Middle tribes Bilik is sometimes masculine, sometimes feminine, so this is really a typical transitional region. (2) Only in the north are both the Monsoons more strongly personified, as only there are they recognised as a Biliku-wind and a Tarai-wind, whilst in the Middle and the South only the North-east monsoon bears the personifying description, the South-west monsoon being called simply Teriya (Daria). (3) Everywhere Biliku-Puluga is only connected with the North-east monsoon and Tarai-Daria only with the South-west. Only among the A-Puchikwar are there *many* Biliku, to which *all* the winds except the South-west, are assigned.

On this last point Brown builds his whole interpretation of the Puluga Belief. He suggests that not only the North-east monsoon, but also the stormy changeable time, which preceded and followed this monsoon, originally belonged to Puluga's dominion. But his hypothesis is weakened by the other opinion which he had already put forward, namely, that the acceptance of several Biliku among the A-Puchikwar was only a fairly recent innovation (pp. 167 and 374). To this it must be added that the A-Puchikwar belongs to that transitional group, which in its fluctuations certainly shows no primitiveness. Brown's promise to show that an "approximation to this view is also to be found in the rest of the tribes" (p. 356) is not fulfilled in any way.

But the situation can be cleared up still more thoroughly. In his earlier publication in *Folk Lore* (p. 260),[7] Brown brought forward the following myths of the Akar-Bale:

> "Puluga (Big Puluga) has two brothers called Jila Puluga and Kuacho Puluga (East Puluga and West Puluga). The one sends all the Easterly winds and the other sends all the Westerly winds."

These myths are no longer to be found in Brown's new publication. But they are compared with a version given there of the Bilik myths of Aka-Kol and A-Puchikwar: "There is a male Bilik and a female Bilik, who are husband and wife. Their children are

7 From this point I will quote the earlier publication in *Folk Lore* (1909) as I., and the newer publications in the work *The Andaman Islanders* as II.

Koicor-ton Bilik, Koico Bilik, Jila Bilik, Metepur Bilik, Tartear Bilik, and Teriya " (p. 151). One can see that the two brothers of Akar-Bale are identical with the two children of Aka-Kol and A-Puchikwar. So these myths of both groups have in common the important circumstance that a (big) Puluga-Bilik stands *above* the North-east as well as *above* the South-west winds, and is not identified with either one of them, and so this *higher* Puluga also stands opposed to no other being.

This position of things is also shown in yet another of the Akar-Bale myths, which Brown gives in II, p. 151 :

> " Once upon a time Puluga and Daria were great friends, but they quarrelled. Puluga said that he was the bigger (more important), Daria said that he was. So now they are always quarrelling. Puluga sends the wind for one period, then Daria sends his wind."

There was then a time when there was no opposition between the (North) East and South-west. But the thought that now Daria laid claim to be the greater is without doubt singular[8] in the whole of the Andamanese literature and for that reason cannot be primitive. This much Brown himself acknowledges when he says : " I venture to think, however, that the southern myth is not quite so satisfactory, as the northern one " (p. 367). If only we had the same state of affairs among the Akar-Bale of the Southern tribes as among the Aka-Kol and A-Puchikwar of the middle tribes, *viz.*, that a great Bilik-Puluga existed, who was not bound up with the opposition of the two monsoons because he stood above them, then what Brown wrote himself in I, p. 267 [9] would perhaps be valid for these two groups ; certainly at any rate for the Aka-Bea tribe :

> " There seem to be no legends whatever about Tarai, and in the South he is generally ignored, all storms being attributed to Puluga whether they come from the North-east or the South-west."

The case, where Daria no longer exists, anyhow not as a mythical person, we already came across in the above version of the Aka-Bea myth, where we found a pair of brothers, East and West Puluga, who were equal to, but not under, the great Puluga. A version of the Aka-Kol and A-Puchikwar legend also exists, where Bilik is masculine and his wife is called In-Charia, but where there is no mention of Teria (I, p. 260 ; II, p. 151). It, however, comes out most distinctly among the most Southern of the Southern tribes, the Aka-Bea. For in the report which E. H. Man gives of them, there is no mention of such a personality, and Brown infers their existence only indirectly and without any sort of proof, in these words : " and this (that Puluga and Daria are masculine) was apparently also the common belief of the Aka-Bea " (II, p. 151), a decision at which he had not arrived in his first publication.

If, however, in addition, we consider that, in general, in all the South and Middle tribes only the North-east monsoon bears the personifying name of Puluga-wind, and that the South-west monsoon does not, it is easy to understand that originally, in this case also, only one personal being existed to whom all storms were attributed, but after whom the North-east wind was especially named ; not because it brings the most storms, but just on the contrary because at the time of the North monsoons, and only at that time, do the finest and brightest days set in.[10]

Formerly Brown himself acknowledged this. It is true that even then he had begun to form the theory that Biliku and Tarai were no other than personifications of the two monsoons : Biliku of the North-east, Tarai of the South-west. And he had already written the sentence :

8 Why it comes up here we shall see further on ; comp. II, p. 195 : *Man*, 1910, p. 36, note.

9 I do not find this passage in II.

10 See further on about this.

"There is complete unanimity through all the groups, on this point, that bad weather is the result of Biliku's anger" (I, p. 261). But he acknowledged quite honestly at that time that "What is particularly puzzling is that the South-west monsoon is the rainy monsoon, and during the North-east monsoon the weather is generally fine" (I, p. 267). Since then, however, relying on the Biliku of the A-Puchikwar tribe, he has formed the idea of an extension of the North-east monsoon season, so that it is increased at the beginning and end by a stormy period, and on this extension he has in his new book built up an extremely artificial and complicated theory. That the reliance on the A-Puchikwar is frail we have already seen above. That the theory also has gaps and flaws and that it has to have recourse to a considerable derangement of facts, we shall see below.

For the present we will only emphasise the important fact, that among the Southern tribes, not two higher but only one Supreme Being exists; who is said to be masculine; who stands above the opposition of the two Monsoons; after whom the Monsoon of the fine bright weather is called; but who also brings storms, thunder and cyclones.

(2) *Let us now examine as to how the creation, especially of man, is explained in the individual tribes* (II, p. 192 ff.).

NORTHERN TRIBES.

AKA-BO—The first man Jutpu (=Alone) was born as a small child in the knee of a big bamboo. He grew up and made himself a wife out of a nest of white ants; she was called Kot. Out of clay he made other ancestors, to whom he and his wife taught accomplishments.

AKA-JERU—1. *First version*: same as the Aka-Bo.

2. *Second version*: Poichotubut, the first man, was born in a buttress of a *Sterculia* tree. He had no wife, but cohabited with an ants' nest (*Kot*) and had many children from this union, who became the ancestors of the Andamanese.

3. *Third version*: Tarai was the first man and his wife was Kot. Their children were Tau (sky), Boto (wind), Piribi (storm), Air (foam on the sea).

4. *Fourth version*: Maia-chara was the first being. He created the earth and peopled it. He also created the Sun and Moon. His wife was Nimi. Their children were Cho (knife), Loto Luk.

MIDDLE TRIBES.

AKA-KEDE—Biliku made the world and the first human beings.

AKA-KOL—The first human being was Ta-Peti (Monitor-lizard). His wife was the civet cat, and their children were the Tomo-la (ancestors).

A-PUCHIKWAR—1. Ta Petie was the first ancestor. He obtained a wife from a black piece of wood that he brought home. They had a son, Poi. Later Ta Petie was drowned and turned into Karaduku (shark).

2. At first there were only men. Ta Petie cut off the man Kolotot's genitals. She became his wife and their children were the Tomo-la.

3. The first man was Tomo(-la). He made the world and peopled it with the ancestors. He made the moon (Puki), who became his wife. Both invented all the arts and accomplishments. After his death he went to live in the sky, where all the souls of men go as well. There it is always day and beautiful weather. How Tomo originated is unknown: first there was Tomo, then Biliku.

4. Tomo was the first man and his wife was Mita (dove), He made bows, arrows and canoes; she made nets and baskets and discovered red paint and white clay. How both originated is unknown.

5. Tomo was made by Bilik. His wife was Mita and the children Tomola.

6. Koi was the first man and son of Tomo. His wife was Mita.

7. Ta Petie was the first man. His wife was Mita.

8. Ta Mita was the progenitor of the Andamanese.

SOUTHERN TRIBES.

AKAR-BALE—1. Puluga made the first pair of human beings, Nyali and Irap. He gave them fire and taught them all the accomplishments.

2. The first man was Da Duku (monitor-lizard) and the first woman was In Bain (civet-cat).

AKA-BEA.—1. Puluga made the first man, Tomo. His wife, Chana Elewadi (crab), was created by Puluga, who taught Tomo how to propagate his race.

2. Chana Elewadi swam in from the sea.

3. Chana Elewadi landed pregnant at Kydd Island and became the demi-goddess of cultivation. Later Tomo was drowned and changed into Karadaku and his children into Duku.

Here again we find much the same grouping as before:

(*i*) In the Northern group no sign of any idea of creation; in one version Tarai is the first human being.

(*ii*) In the Middle group the idea of creation only comes up occasionally and indistinctly.

(*iii*) In the Southern group it is clearly expressed everywhere.

But wherever there is a mention of creation, it is traced back to Bilik-Puluga, never to anyone else. Only once in the third version of the A-Puchikwar story does Tomo transcend Bilik; but this is quite an exceptional occurrence, and even here the creation of man is not traced back to Tomo. Altogether the A-Puchikwar legend shows here also great unsteadiness.

Ta Petie appears, in the Middle as well as in the Southern group, as the name of the first human being; so does the name Tomo. Also the name of the first woman, Civet-cat, appears in both groups; whilst Mita (dove) is confined to the Middle group. On the whole the Middle group is more intimately connected with the Southern than with the Northern group. We can conclude that in the Middle tribe the idea of creation is indecisive, but in the Southern group it is completely established.

Finally we can conclude also that the idea of creation is most clearly and strongly enunciated where, as among the true Southern tribes, not two Supreme Beings but one Supreme Being exists, *i.e.*, Puluga, who stands above all natural phenomena, to whom the celestial phenomena are attributed.

(3) *Let us now consider whence Fire came to the particular tribes and in what relationship humanity stood with Bilik-Puluga* (II, p. 201 ff.).

NORTHERN TRIBES.

AKA-CHARI—Biliku produced fire by the striking together of a red stone and a pearl shell. She lighted wood with it. Whilst she slept Mite (bronze-winged dove) stole the fire and gave it to the people.

AKA-JERU—1. Whilst Biliku slept Lirchitmo (Kingfisher) stole the fire from her. She threw the pearl shell at him and cut off his head, whereupon fire came out of his neck. From that time mankind had fire.

2. In other versions, other beings discovered fire, but it only reaches mankind through force and cunning.

3. Biliku lived in enmity with mankind, ate up their food and killed them in a variety of ways.

AKA-KEDE—1. Lirtit (Kingfisher) steals the fire from the sleeping Biliku. She throws a pearl shell after him and cuts off his tail and wings. Mite (dove) throws a firebrand into the sky and there it becomes the sun.

2. Biliku (masculine) looks at the people to see if they have eaten his food, which consisted of certain plants, and kills them when they have. The people then get together and kill him and his wife, and drive Mite, his child, towards the North-east.

AKA-JOWOI—The imperial pigeon stole a firebrand from the sleeping Bilik and gave it to mankind.

AKA-KOL—Luratut (Kingfisher) steals the fire from the sleeping Bilik.

A-PUCHIKWAR—Luratut steals the fire from sleeping Bilik. She took up a " lighted brand " and threw it at Luratut. She was enraged and went away to live in the sky.

SOUTHERN TRIBES.

AKAR-BALE.—1. Puluga (according to another version: the Skink) gave the fire to the first human beings Da Duku and In Baia.

2. The fish Dim-Dora stole the fire from Puluga's platform (another version: from the land of departed spirits). He threw it at the people who were burnt; they rushed away and became fishes of a red colour.

3. In the old times Puluga lived in Jila (East) and the Andamanese in Pulugu-l'odbaraij. Puluga was always angry with the people and used to destroy their huts and property. So the people sent him out of the world saying: " We do not want you here any longer." He went to the North-east.

AKA-BEA—1. Luratut stole the fire from the sleeping Puluga, but let it fall and burnt Puluga with it. He took the firebrand and burnt Luratut with it. The ancestors received the fire.

2. Puluga gave the fire to the first human being Tomo, after he had created him and taught him how to use it. He himself obtained fire by bidding the sun to come and set fire to a stacked up pile of wood.

3. Puluga let the first human beings themselves prepare a pyre and then struck it, on which the fire was kindled. The spirit Lachi Puna Abolola, who accompanied Puluga, then instructed Tomo how to cook food.

4. The fourth version is substantially like the first, only its taking place is postponed till after the great déluge which extinguished all fires.

The following general conclusions are established:

1. The myth showing that the fire was stolen from Bilik-Puluga, mostly by the Kingfisher, is to be found in all the tribes.

2. In the two Southern tribes, especially in Aka-Bea, an essentially different form is found as well; *i.e.*, that Puluga gave mankind the fire willingly and kindly, and taught them how to use it.

3. In the Northern tribes and in the most Northerly of the Middle tribes, Bilik throws a pearl shell at the robber, and in the remainder of the Middle tribes and in both the Southern tribes he throws a firebrand.

4. In the Northern tribes Bilik is essentially inimical to man. In the Middle tribes and the Akar-Bale tribe in one version, he is at first perhaps friendly, but afterwards an end was made of Puluga's rule, and he himself was either chased away or killed. Among the Akar-Bale in another version, and also among the Aka-Bea, the people had no reason at all to depose the kindly generous Puluga and had sufficient veneration to keep them from doing so.

Here then it is shown that once in the Middle tribes a religious (and cultured) revolution must have taken place, when the people got weary of the severity and autocratic rule of the old Supreme Being and did away with it. What motives contributed towards this we shall see further on. The movement emanated probably from the middle tribes, whose belief is the myth of the fire theft. Its home is said both by the Aka Kol and the A-Puchikwar, and also in one version of the Aka Bea, to be Tol-loko-tima, while mankind in those days lived in Wota-emi to the south-west on the other bank of a Sea-route. Both places however lie in the A-Puchikwar region (II, p. 200 ; compare also the myth of Aka Bale, II, p. 201).

If we have to fix a more definite time, we notice that among the Aka-Bea, according to E. H. Man, the fire theft only took place after the great deluge. In those times the people were also enraged with Puluga on account of the destruction of all their fellow creatures, and made up their minds to kill him. Puluga frightened them away. He was as hard as wood, their arrows could not pierce him. He explained to them that the reason of the fate of those who had perished was that the race of that time disobeyed his commands which the primitive people had always observed. If they now became as ungodly, the same punishment would infallibly overwhelm them. This was the last time that Puluga was visible to mankind, but his warning was regarded and his commands were kept from that time.

All these myths I believe should be interpreted as follows : After a great flood, in which many Andamanese perished and much was destroyed, the belief in Puluga began to wane, starting among the A-Puchikwar, carrying with it the whole of the Middle tribes, and penetrating even to the Southern tribes as far as the Aka Bea itself. But here the revolt was brought to a stop. The cataclysm was recognized as the punishment of Puluga, and in consequence the old obedience and the earlier reverence towards Puluga, which here also had been shaken, were re-established, perhaps in even greater strength.

4. *There are also a number of myths about this great deluge in which a tribal diversity is evident.*

Northern Tribes.

AKA-JERU—1. The first man Mimi Chara made a noise one evening when the *cicada* was singing. Thereupon a great storm arose, which killed many people and turned others into fishes and birds. Mimi Chara and his wife Mimi Kota climbed up a hill to a cave, and hid the fire under a cooking pot till the storm had passed.

2. The people made a noise at night whilst the *cicada* was singing. She went to her mother Biliku, who threw her pearl shell and sent a heavy rain storm, and destroyed the whole world. Maia Taolu saved the fire on this occasion.

MIDDLE TRIBES.

AKA-KEDE—A bird who had had no honey given it, made a noise at night whilst the *cicadæ* were singing, and disturbed their song. A great storm arose; it rained heavily, and the sea rose over the land. The people took refuge in the top of a *Dipterocarpus* tree (the highest tree in the Andaman Islands). Mima Mite (dove) saved the fire under a cooking pot.

AKA-KOL—The ancestors were playing one evening and making a noise while the *cicada* was singing. Then Bilik got angry and sent a great cyclone. All the people were turned into animals.

A-PUCHIKWAR—AKA-BALE—Da Kolwot (tree-lizard) got furious whilst dancing and drove the people violently away, so that they were turned into all sorts of animals. Berep (a small crab) in the end held him tightly by the arm.

SOUTHERN TRIBES.

AKAR-BEDE—Da Kwokol becomes furious whilst dancing and drives the people into the sea and bushes, so that they turned into animals there. Da Berag bit hard into his arm, so that he died. At that his mother was furious and cut down the plant *tokul*, at which Puluga became so angry that he sent a great storm which killed the mother and all the people in that place.

AKAR-BALE—AKA-BEA—Kolwot gets furious at a dance and drives the people in all directions, so that they turned into animals. Berebi comes and bites deep into his arm; he dies. At that his mother becomes so furious that in her pain she asks the people to do things that would enrage Puluga: "Burn the wax, grind the seed of the *Entadu*; destroy the *Caryota*; dig up the various yams; destroy everything." At that Puluga became extremely angry and sent the flood which killed all living things with the exception of two men and two women.

AKAR-BALE—In a great storm and mighty deluge Da Duku (monitor-lizard), the first man, tried to save the fire by climbing a tree, but he could not climb with it. Then In Baia (the civet-cat) took the fire up a hill and saved it.

AKA-BEA—After the death of Kolwot, who was the first to spear and catch turtles, the people grew more disobedient, and as Puluga ceased to visit them, they became more remiss in the observance of his commands. Then Puluga's wrath burst forth, and without warning he suddenly sent a great flood that covered the whole land and destroyed all living. Only two men and two women, who happened to be in a boat, saved themselves and landed in Wota-emi. When the flood subsided, Puluga recreated everything.

The characteristic differences between the Andamanese myths of the deluge can be summarized as follows:

1. Everywhere the violation of Bilik-Puluga's commands is the cause of the great flood.

2. In the North, taking in the Aka-Kede as well, it is the disturbing of the *Cicada* song.

3. In the South, beginning with the A-Puchikwar, it is an incident connected with Kolwot, at whose death his mother destroyed the plants protected by Puluga, and incited others to do so as well.

4. In the Aka-Bea legends it was the universal ungodliness of the people that produced the catastrophe.

5. The saving of the fire through the woman and her cooking pot is characteristic of the Northern and Middle tribes, whilst in the South there is no mention of the cooking pot.

In one of the Middle and two of the Southern tribes there is a myth which tells how the killing of the *Cicada* and a species of caterpillar brought about the first darkness of night. In the A-Puchikwar and Aka-Bale tribes it is the first man who discovered the yams and the resin, and found a *Cicada* which he crushed in his hand, and at whose cry night came;—through the song of the ant the day came back, and since then day and night come alternately. Whilst here the people could evidently help themselves again, and there is no mention at all of Bilik-Puluga, yet Puluga decidedly reappears in the Aka-Bea myth. Here it is two women who get so enraged by the summer heat that one of them kills a caterpillar and the other destroys the *utura* plant. This displeased Puluga and as a punishment he sent the night. Thereupon the Chief Kolwot invented dances and songs in order to make Puluga believe that the people did not mind. So Puluga created the alternate periods of day and night and later on created the moon to make the night yet lighter.

Taking together all the facts established into these four important points by our researches, it will be clear beyond doubt that *in the Southern tribes*, especially among the Akar-Bale and the Aka-Bea, there is quite a specifically different religion from that of the Northern tribes. In the South there are not two beings, but only one great being, who stands above all other beings and there is no reason to doubt that it is always masculine. This Supreme Being is not ill disposed towards humanity, but is essentially benevolent, so that the wind of the bright beautiful season is called after him. Puluga is the creator of all things and also of humanity, on whom he has bestowed benefits and to whom he has taught all that is necessary for them. He also gave them fire of his own free will and taught them how to use it. But Puluga was enraged by acts which caused a devastation and waste of things created by him, and then, besides storms, he sent as punishments thunder and cyclones. Once he destroyed the whole world in this way.

In contradistinction to this, *the Northern tribes* have a religion in which there are two figures personifying the two monsoons. Of these the feminine North-east monsoon is the higher, as here generally the feminine comes to the fore. Here Bilik is no creator and is inimical to humanity, and the fire has to be stolen from her. She shows no moral features.

In *the Middle tribes* there is a wavering between the two views, but also a clear remembrance of Puluga's former preponderance, until a sharp falling off from him arose, evoked perhaps by even more progressive influences from the North.

(To be continued.)

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PUNJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.
SERIES IV.

By H. A. ROSE, I.C.S. (*Retired*).

(*Continued from page* 112.)

Pabain : a kind of *chukrî*, 'rhubarb' : Ch., 222.

Pachhân : to-night ; as in '*Juma-rât kadan*' ? '*Pachhân.*'

Pachsera : a weight of 5 *sers* used for buying, but of 4 *sers* when used for selling : SS., Bashahr, 60.

Pâda : the 2nd rite of the 1st *châr* at a wedding. It resembles the *pahlâ bishtar* or 1st *châr*, but in this repetition of it blades of grass, saffron, *sarvân shadhe* and flowers are cast into the water, and while the priest recites *mantras* the father of the bride sprinkles water on the feet of the pair : Ch., 143.

Pâduka : a foot-print pillar, consisting of a pile of stones, covered by a flat slab on which is carved a trident with a foot-print on each side, in front of a temple or by the road-side : Ch., 49.

Pag-bhâî : = Dharm-bhâî ; a brother made by Pagwaṭ : Gloss., I, p. 905.

Pagran : 'to hold,' see Nali. Dandâ pagran, a game in which each player holds a club (*dandâ*) between his feet and endeavours to wrest the other's *dandâ* from him with his hands : B.,

Pagwaṭ : exchange of turbans, effecting a tie like kinship : Gloss., I, p. 905.

Pahrâlî : a *machân* or platform erected for watching crops : Ch., 225.

Pagtî : a sort of gown : SS., Bashahr, 41.

Pâhrî : a guardian of the records in a State office, also of revenue in cash or kind ; a temple attendant : Ch. 264 and 131.

Pairâhan : a gown for everyday use : Ch., 205.

Pâî : in Tank :— 4 *topâs* = 1 *pâî*.
2 *pâîs* = 1 *monâ*.
20 *pâîs* = 1 *chattî* in Kulâchi).
2 *monâs* = 1 *andâ*.
2 *andâs* = 1 *chatti*, or ox-load of 2 sacks ; also used as a land-measure : D. I. K.

in Hazâra :— 1 *pâî* = 16 *chohâs* or *odîs*.
1 *adhpâî* = 8 *chohâs* or *odîs*.
{ Measures of capacity only in use among the Dhunds of the Dannah *ilâqa*.

See also under Topa.

Pâiyâ jins : a system by which the cultivator was compelled to sell his grain to the State at reduced prices : SS., Kuthâr : Cf., Pâyâ.

Pâja padam : a tree : Sirmûr, 26 : P. D., p. 839, *s.v.*, Paddam.

Paju : a piece of muslin tied round the bridegrooms' caps : SS., Bashahr, 17.

Palag : greens ; also a tree : Simla, S. R. xli-ii.

Palâî : fr. *pâla*, 'frost' ; land frequently visited by frost and cold : Sirmûr, App. 1.

Pâlak : a boy brought up but not adopted : comp. SS. ? = bâlak.

Palâkh : a wild fig, *Ficus Rumphii* : Ch., 239.

Pâlasrâ : an official, below the *wazîr*, now abolished : Ch., 264 : Cf., Pâlsarâ in III.

Palela : a tax on oil-presses : Suket, 42.

Pallo : the border of a shawl ;—pawan, 'to spread out the end of one's shawl,' to invoke a blessing, to break off a feud : Gloss., I, p. 906.

Pallopallî : the observance in which the bride's skirt is kept fastened to the bridegroom's at the wedding : B., 111.

Palnâ : to sharpen : Ch., 138.

Pân : a climbing plant : Sirmûr, 76.

Pân-mohla : lit. 'dye and mortar', an observance at which the clothes are dyed for a wedding : B., 108 : Add to P. D., p. 856 : Cf. p. 757.

Panch-bala : an offering of 4 male animals with a pumpkin : Cf., Sat-bala ; **Kângra** : Gloss., I, p. 356.

Pand : see under Topa.

Pandran : a kind of tree : SS., Balsan, 4.

Pandre : *Picea Webbiana* : Simla, S. R., xliii.

Panglot : a fee levied from a stranger taking a bride out of the State : Suket, 42.

Panihâr : a stone fountain, built of slabs of stone ; smaller than the Nahun : Ch., 198. (Correct Pânîhâr in III).

Paniyâru : the day of the *kiria karm* : Ch., 155.

Panjobal : moist land : Sirmûr, App. I.

Panjserî : a weight, = 5 *sers* : Ferozepur.

Pâp : soul ; *v.* Newa.

Pâpra : lit. 'sin' ; also an imp : Sirmûr, 53.

Pâplî : stony soil with a layer of earth over it : Sirmûr, App. I.

Paraina : the 5th form of marriage, = Gâdar : a *purohit* is employed, but Ganesh is not worshipped, the bride doing reverence to the bridegroom's door and hearth, and obeisance to his parents : SS., Kumhârsain and Bashahr, 13.

Parala : sunny open land, opposed to Shila : SS., Jubbal, 16.

Para-phutdî : the true dawn : B., 191 : Syns. Bhabhâk and Poh-phutdî.

Parara : a small tree : Simla, S. R., xliv.

Parat : a circular wooden vessel of capacity ; also called Âsa : Hazâra.

Parâtha : not defined ; used in B., (180) as an offering at a shrine.

Parbat : land on a hill-top : SS., Jubbal, 16.

Parchâva : evil influence : Ch., 196.

Parima : a method of measuring (land) by capacity : SS., Kumhârsain, 9.

Parkhatt : a child(? son) born in its stepfather's house: Comp., 114 :Cf., Niâmar and Gadhelra.

Parn : a wedding : B., 156 : on, 'at a wedding' : Cf., P. D., p. 874, s.v. Parnahn.

Paropi : one-fourth of a Topa : Ferozepur.

Paruna : Dâj, in Peshâwar : Comp., 63.

Parûnevesh : *chundavand*, in Peshâwar Comp., 71.

Parwa : a cess, of one *batti* of grain for each rupee of revenue : SS, Kunhiâr, 10.

Pashâj : a demon or genie B, 187.

Pashkora : an observance at weddings ; the bridegroom is measured with the *nauli* which is placed on his sister-in-law 's tray and regarded as his *rakh* or protector : B., 110.

Pashwâj : a gown, with a short bodice and numerous folds, almost touching the ground : Ch., 205.

Pâṭh : ? reading, used to avert ill-omens : Simla Hills : Gloss., I, p. 438.

Pasni : the custom of giving clothes, etc., with ornaments to a prospective son- or daughter-in-law (among Bhâbras) : cf. Subhâ : B., 107.

Patha : the area which can be sown with 2 *sers khâm* : SS., Bilâspur, 21.

Pathî-mundrî : a set of bangles and a ring : B., 104.

Pâtî : a long narrow field : Sirmûr, App. I.

Pâtis : (? Patîs), a kind of herb, (? gentian) ; cf. Tila : Ch., 222.

Patriân : square pieces of silver worn round the neck. = Dawâtin : B., 105 : for Paṭri v. P. D., p. 888.

Patrorû : a kind of bread made of flour with salt and spices, and spread on *bhajjî* or *kachâlû* leaves. It is eaten on the Patroru kî sankrânt or 1st. Bhâdon in honour of forefathers : Ch., 156 and 215.

Pattar : a bowl : Sirmûr, 50.

Patthalli : 'squatting on the ground cross-legged' : Attock Gr., p. 113.

Pattûârî : an office-bearer who had *pattû*, 'woollen blankets,' made for the Râjâ : Ch., 265.

Paulao : a rite of condolence ; Sirmûr, 61.

Paulia : a gate-keeper : Cf., Paulî in III : Sirmûr, 63.

Pâyâ : a cess imposed in lieu of the old custom of buying the cultivator's grain at reduced rates : SS., Bilâspur, 23.

Pechrî, paichrî : a basket, narrowing towards the top, used for storing ; like a Partâra : Simla, S. R. xlvi.

Pedî : a very poor soil with a thin layer of earth over the stones, generally found on the banks of streams : Sirmûr, App. I.

Peka : used by a woman for her own father's house or village : Syn. Pihar.

Peshwâ : *murshid* or *pîr* among Qâdirî *faqîrs*, in Ludhiâna.

Peṛa : a dish of Piṭhî, *mâsh* or pulse finely ground : Gloss., I, p. 797.

Petâ rathu : a glutton. Ch., 124.

Petar : *Juniperus communis* : Ch., 240.

Peṭha : pumpkin, Kângra : Gloss., I, p. 356.

Phag : a cess, levied for the expenses of the Holi : SS., Bashahr, 74.

Phagura : a wild fig, *Ficus palmata* : Ch., 240.

Phâgli : (1) a fair held in Phâgan, (2) a place of origin of a *deota* ; Kulu : Gloss., I, pp. 326 and 433.

Phak : bran, husks : Ch., 139.

Phakhî : 'assent' ; = *ditî*, 'has given assent' ; used of a bride's parents' consent to her betrothal : Ch 157.

Phallî : a plot left fallow in the autumn in Brahmaur ; = Paindh : Ch., 224.

Phalsî : (? or) dhaman : *Grewia asiatica* : Sirmûr, App. IV, iii.

Phand : stew : Bashahr, 41.

Phangat : a cow or bullock iron-grey in colour with black spots on the whole body, and unlucky, like the Megat : Jullundur, S. R., 55.

Phânt-biahlari : a benevolence levied to meet the cost of marrying the Râjâ's children Sirmûr.

Phant : a special levy to defray the cost of a festival : SS., Bashahr, 28, an occasional levy for State purposes, 72.

Phap : a kind of yeast imported from Ladâkh, used in making *lugri* : Mandi, 32.

Phâphrâ : *Fagopyrum sativus* : Sirmûr, 66.

Phar : the middle storey : SS., Bashahr, 43.

Pharâlu : an earring : Ch., 208.

Pharîr : a thong, which attaches the yoke to the plough ; = Bolcha : Simla, S. R. xlv.

Pharolta : a small basket, holding about 8 *sers* ; = Chatra : Simla, S. R. xlv, xlvi.

Pharria : *Grewia oppositifolia* : Sirmûr, App. IV, iii.

Phatíng : porridge, in Kanâwar ; =Laphî : SS., Bashahr, 41.

Phera : a custom of levying revenue, apparently a levy of grain and cash over and above the land revenue for the *wazîr's* benefit, on his triennial visit ; in Lahul : Ch., 274.

Phernû ghirnû :=*muklâwâ* (?) : Sirmûr, 29.

Phetî : fem., a past part., =reversed, as in *phetî qalam-wâlâ*, one who writes from right to left, *i.e.*, the Persian script : Mandi, 26.

Phingola : cripple : Ch., 139.

Phoa : a drop : Gloss., I, p. 355.

Phirannî : the ceremonial visit paid by a bride and her husband to her parents within a month of the wedding : Ch., 158.

Phul : the first distillation of barley spirit : SS., Bashahr, 77.

Phulan : phullan, *Fagopyrum emarginatum* : Ch., 8 and 222.

Phulech : a fair held at various places in Bhâdon ; it is in honour of the souls of deceased ancestors, but is closely associated with flowers (*phul*) : SS., Bashahr, 39 and 44.

Phullan : a crop grown on the higher uplands : Ch., 202.

Phullu : an ornament for the toes : Ch., 20.

Phumb : wool : Ch., 138.

Phungni : also called Tikar-jag, Paret-pûjan and Jogni, a feast offered to the *jogni* to cause rain ; Kulu : Gloss., I, p. 436.

Piâk : alder, *Alnus nepalensis* and *nitida* : Ch., 1236.

Piaman : *Eugenia, operculata* : Sirmûr, App. IV, v.

Pichaik : apparently =Soi, *q.v.*

Pichak : a brooch, worn by women in Kanâwar : SS., Bashahr, 42.

Pîhar : =Peka, *q. v.*

Pikhli : a pure spirit : Sirmûr, 59.

Piklî : red pepper : Simla, S. R., xli.

Pindirî : a flour cake, eaten at the Basua festival : Ch., 151.

Pindli : an idol having no special shape : SS., Keonthal, xi.

Pingh : a swing : Ch., 196. —jhûta.

Pingyat : hawthorn (Pângi), *Crataegus oxyacantha* : Ch., 238.

Pinjoli :=Mehar, the headman of a *gaṛh* : Mandi, 59.

Pinni : a rite performed 10 days after death : Mandi, 34.

Pinti : a cess in kind, of *ghi* : SS., Bashahr, 70.

Pir bahin : a sister in religion, by affecting the same pir : Gloss., 8, p. 907.

Pirhâî : a public drummer : SS., Nâlâgarh, 18.

Pirî : a large basket ;=Ganorî : Simla, S. R., xlv.

Pirinda : a silk cord for tying a woman's hair ; a charm for long life : Gloss., I, p. 911.

Pirktu : an open basket, =Chatrî, *q.v.*

Piṭâr : a round basket,=Tong : B., 196. Cf., P. D., p. 927.

Piṭhî : *mâsh* finely ground : Gloss., I, p. 797.

Poh : a conical stack : Sirmûr, 68.

Poh-phutdî : = Bhabhâk, *q.v.*

Poksha :=Khadu, a grazing-tax taken in sheep or goats : SS. Bashahr, 754.

Porestang : =Sanskr. *pratishtha*, 'dedication,' performed when a new roof is put on a temple in Kanâwar : SS., Bashahr, 37.

(*To be continued.*)

FOLK-TALES FROM NORTHERN INDIA.

[The following folk-tales and fables were collected by the late Dr. William Crooke, C.I.E., and were probably intended to be published in book-form. After his death, they were forwarded to Mr. S. M. Edwardes, on the chance that he might be able to make use of them. As the tales are numerous and possess a value for students of folk-lore, it has been decided to publish a selection of them in this *Journal*. In nearly every case Dr. Crooke had entered above each story the names of the persons who told it and recorded it. These names have accordingly been reproduced, as well as a few notes by Dr. Crooke appended to some of the stories.—ED.]

1. The slave discovered.

(Told by Lâla Sankar Lâl of Sahâranpur and recorded by Pandit Râm Gharîb Chaube.)

A nobleman once had a slave who absconded with a large sum of money. Some time later his master found him by chance in a distant city. When he took him before the Kâzi, the slave said :—" I am not this man's slave, but he is my slave." The master was confounded at his insolence. So the Kâzi sent his servant outside. Then he made the master and man put their heads through a slit in the wall, and he called to his servant :—" Cut off the slave's head with your sword." The slave blenched at the order and drew in his head, while his master remained unmoved. Thus the Kâzi decided which of them was the slave.

2. The man and the loaves.

(Told by Lâla Devî Prasâd of Aligarh and recorded by Pandit Râm Gharîb Chaube.)

A certain man used to buy six loaves daily at the baker's shop. To a friend who enquired how he consumed all this bread, he replied:—" One loaf I keep ; one I throw away ; two I give in discharge of a debt ; and two I lend." The friend asked him to explain, and he answered :—" The loaf which I keep, I eat myself ; the loaf I throw away I give to my wife ; the two for the discharge of debt I give to my parents ; and the two which I lend I give to my children."

3. The cuckoo and the owl.

(Told by Ganêsa Lâl, Schoolmaster, Digh, Fatehpur District.)

A cuckoo and an owl once dwelt in the same tree. One day the cuckoo flew to the court of Indra and sang so sweetly that he and all his fairies were delighted and gave him many presents. " Who are the other sweet singers in the land of men ? " asked Indra Râja, and the cuckoo replied :—" The peacock, the bumble bee, the maina and the nightingale, the parrot and myself are the six great singers."

When the cuckoo returned and showed his presents to the owl, the latter was envious and flew himself to Indra's court, and alighting on a tree began to hoot. Indra, hearing him, thought some Râkshasa had come to trouble him. So he called him and said :—" Who are the great singers in the land of men ? " The owl replied :—" The owl, the ass, the dog, the jackal, the crow and the cat—these are the best singers in the world." So Indra drove him forth with blows, saying, " You with your hooting would alone destroy the land of fairies. The earth must be made of iron to stand you and your five friends."

4. The two Fakirs.

(Told by Misra Gomati Prasâd of Bânsi, Basti District.)

One day a Hindu fakir came to the court of Akbar and presented some holy ashes (*râkh*). Then came a Musalman fakir who presented some sweet basil (*sabz, sabja*). The Muhammadan courtiers remarked " How much better is the gift of the Musalman He

brought a green plant, but the Hindu ill-omened ashes." A Hindu answered them :— "*Râkh* is a lucky gift, for it signifies 'Keep all things safe'; but *sabja* means 'let everything go (*sab jâ*).'"

5. The defeated Pandit.

(*Told by Dulâse Lâl Brahman and recorded by Jagat Bahâdur Lâl of Basitpur, Hardoi District.*)

Two Pandits once had a dispute about capping one another's verses, and one of them, having defeated the other, took all his goods. The defeated Pandit then fetched his brother, who managed to defeat the other. Then in view of the whole village he pulled a hair out of the moustache of his defeated rival, and when they asked why he did this, he said :— "The hair of the moustache of this Pandit is excellent for keeping demons out of the house." Hearing this, everyone in the village wanted a hair; and therefore, they fell upon the unfortunate Pandit and pulled out every hair of his beard and moustache.

6. Life as an inn.

(*Told by Lâla Sankar Lâl of Sahâranpur and recorded by Pandit Râm Gharîb Chaube.*)

The King of Balkh and Bukhara was sitting at the gateway of his palace, when an old Fakir appeared and insisted upon forcing his way in. When the attendants prevented him, he said :—"Why should I not enter an inn, if I please?" "This is not an inn," said the king. Then the Fakir asked him to whom the palace belonged before he was born, and he replied, "To my grandfather and to my father." "And to whom will it belong after you depart from the world?" "To my son and grandson," quoth the king. "Then," said the Fakir, "a house which has so many owners is naught but an inn."

7. The honest man and the rogue.

(*Told by Gauri Sankar and recorded by Gopâl Sahai of Morâdabad.*)

A good man and a rogue were friends, and the former recked not of the roguery of his friend, who was planning how he could injure him. The honest man was about to marry his son, and asked his friend to join the procession to fetch the bride. But the latter made an excuse, intending to rob the house while every one was absent. Only the wife of his friend was at home, and in the night she heard someone breaking through the wall. She rose, and when the thief came in, legs foremost, through the hole, she cut off his legs with a sword.

The thief crawled to his house and gave out that he had had to cut off his legs, because a snake had bitten him. When the husband returned from the wedding, his wife saw him mourning the misfortune which had overtaken his friend. So she took out the legs, which she had kept in a jar, told him the whole story and said :—

"*Kapati mit na hoya, bala sâncho shatru bhala :*
Yamen kachhu na goya, sab lahate nij karm phala."

i.e., "May you never have a treacherous friend—An open enemy is better than he—Certain it is that everyone reaps the reward of his actions."

8. The two brothers.

(*Told by M. Abdul Wâhid Khân, Sadr Qânungo, Sahâranpur.*)

There were once two girls who said they would not marry anyone with money, but that their husbands should agree to submit to a daily shoe-beating from them. No one would consent to this, till two youths, who were very poor and could not get anyone else to marry them, agreed to the conditions.

So they were married and started for home with their brides. They halted at an inn, and during the night the elder brother heard an ass bray. So he arose, drew his sword and cut off its head. Soon afterwards he heard a cat mew under his bed : so he arose and killed it too. When his wife saw this, she realised that he had a hot temper, and made no attempt to beat him with shoes.

Meanwhile the younger brother used to be thrashed daily by his wife, and at last, finding his brother so much better off, he asked his advice. When his brother told him how he had managed, he ran home and forthwith killed the cat with his sword.

His wife laughed and said :—

" *Garbah kushtan roz avval* "

i.e., " If you go to kill the cat, it is better to do it the first day." After that she never troubled him.

[This story appears in Fallon's *Dictionary of Hindustani Proverbs.*—ED.]

9. The Brahman and the money-bags.

(*Told by Râmdhan Misra, schoolmaster, Gonda.*)

A Brahman, walking through a jungle one day, saw four bags of money. " These are four witches," he said and went his way. Soon after he met four sepoys who asked him if the road was safe. " There are four witches ahead, " said he : " you had better be cautious." When the sepoys saw the bags of money, they exclaimed, " What a fool that Pandit was. He calls these money-bags witches." Two of them stayed with the treasure, and the other two went to the bazar to buy food. The two latter planned to put poison in the sweets, so that their companions should die and all the treasure be theirs. The other two made a similar plan, and when their comrades arrived with the sweets, they attacked them with their swords and slew them. Then they ate the sweets and died also.

After a while the Brahman returned to see how the sepoys had sped with the treasure, and found all four lying dead beside it. He took pity on them, and, cutting his little finger, poured some nectar into their mouths, and they came to life. They cast themselves at his feet and said, " Verily, these are witches indeed." So they gave up the world and became disciples of the Brahman.

10. The death of Sheikh Chilli.

(*Told by Mukund Lâl, clerk, of Mirzapur.*)

Once upon a time Sheikh Chilli asked a Pandit when he was likely to die. The Pandit replied, " You will die when a red thread comes out of your back." One day it happened that Sheikh Chilli entered the shop of a *Pathera* or silk thread maker, and a thread stuck to his back. Seeing it, he thought to himself, " I am now certainly dead." So he went to a grave-yard and dug himself a grave ; then sat beside it and put a black pot on his head. A traveller who passed by asked Sheikh Chilli the way to the city. Replied the Sheikh, " I would gladly have told you, but don't you see that I really cannot, because I am dead." The traveller went his way, laughing at his folly.

[" In the Turkish jest book which purports to relate the witless sayings of the Khoja Nasr-ed-dîn, he is persuaded to be dead and allows himself to be stretched on a bier and borne to the cemetery. On the way the bearers, coming to a miry place, said, " we will rest here," and began to converse ; whereupon the Khoja, raising his head remarked, " If I were alive, I would get out of this place as soon as possible,"—" an incident which is also found in a Hindu story-book." Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions,* II. 33.—W. CROOKE.]

11. The Rani and the snake.

(Told by Gajâdhar Misra of Bhua Kalan and recorded by Chheda Lâl, Khapraha school, Jaunpur.)

There was once a Râja who had two wives ; the elder he used to neglect, and loved the younger. One day the neglected Râni was sitting weeping in the courtyard, when a snake appeared before her. She took a jar and shut up the snake in it. She put the jar away and thought nothing of it, till one day she was looking for something in the house, and by chance she put her hand into the jar, and the snake bit her, so that she became insensible. When they went to the Râja and told him, he was much distressed and sent a message to say that He was coming at once to see her. Hearing this she recovered and said, "One never knows what may help one in trouble. The snake that I imprisoned has been the means of reconciling me to my husband."

12. The woman and her child.

(Told by Pandit Râmnâth of Sahâranpur.)

A woman with her child was once passing through a village notorious for the wickedness of its inhabitants. She was afraid, and putting the child on her shoulder walked along with her eyes downcast. A man saw her and quietly followed her. She did not hear him walking behind her, and as she went along he kept giving sweets to the child. After a time he shouted out, "Help, brethren ! This woman is carrying off my child." She protested that the child was her own. So the elders of the village collected and said, "Make the man and woman sit down, and give the child to a third person ; towards whichever of the two claimants the child stretches out its hands, to that one the child properly belongs." When the child saw the man who had given it sweets, it stretched out its hands to him, and all the people said, "Surely the child belongs to him." Soon after he gave the child back to the woman and said, "I merely wished to show you that the people here are both fools and knaves. It went to me because I gave it sweets—sweets are dearer to a child than its mother." Hence they say, *Khâi mîth ; mâi nahîn mîth* (Food is sweeter than a mother).

13. How the dancing-girl was outwitted.

(Told by Pandit Chandrasêkhara, Zilla School, Cawnpore.)

There was once a dancing-girl, who lived in a Brahman village ; and one morning when she looked outside her door, she saw all the Brahmans engaged in offering oblations to their dead ancestors. When she enquired what they were doing, they said :—"This is *Pitripâksha* or the fortnight sacred to the sainted dead, and we pour water in their honour." Thinking it would be a good thing if she did the same for her own ancestors, she sent for one of the Brahmans and asked him to officiate as her priest. He refused to act for so improper a person, and she could find no Brahman in the whole village who would perform the rites for her.

At last a *Bhânr* or buffoon thought he would take a rise out of her. So he dressed himself up as a learned Pandit, put on a big turban and a sacred thread, and with a bundle of books under his arm walked past her door. He fell into conversation with her and said, "I am a very learned Brahman just come from Benares – I am looking about for a wealthy client." So she induced him to stay in her house, and fed him well and gave him a handsome present. And daily he made her perform the oblations to her ancestors, while he mumbled some gibberish which she thought were the appropriate texts. At last when the ceremony was over and he had got as much as he could out of her, he departed, addressing her as he went in the following verse :—

" Kuâr badi pandravîn bhai, khûb urâi khâur ;
Âshikh de ghar jât hain, tum Vesya, ham Bhânr."

i.e., " Up to the fifteenth of the month *Kuar* I enjoyed myself and was fed on sugar—I now leave you with my blessing. You are a dancing-wench and I a buffoon."

14. Iron and gold.

(Told by Kâzi Shamsu'ddîn of Bâbugarh, Meerut District.)

Iron and gold once disputed which of them was the greater, and as they could not settle the matter themselves, they asked Râja Bhoj to arbitrate. Said Iron :—" What qualities dost thou possess, that thou dost not fall down and worship me ? " Said Gold :—" Why should I fall down and worship thee, seeing that I am much superior to thee. I am measured by the *rati* and thou by the *ser*. I am the ruler and thou the slave." Said Iron :—" The reverse is the case. My shoes are on thy head. Of me the anvil and hammer are made, and between them thou art hammered and fashioned. When thou art made into coins, the moulds are formed of me. When thou art shut up, it is under my lock and key. How canst thou call me one of menial caste ? " Said Gold :—" How canst thou pretend to rival me, since it is of me jewels are made ? " Said Iron :—" True, but these are the ornaments of women. Of me are made armour and the weapons of war. It is I and not thou, who conquer the world." Said Gold :—" Thou art a rogue, while I am a gentleman. Everyone curses thee, while all love me." Said Iron :—" At the first shower of rain in Asarh all thy votaries have to mortgage thee to buy cattle and seed-grain. I help my votaries to earn their bread by honest labour, and all respect me. If anyone take me with him, he has no cause for fear. He may be sure of returning home in safety, while he who carries thee is in constant fear of the thief and the robber."

When the arguments were ended, Râja Bhoj said :—" Iron has proved his case."

Said Gold :—" This is only what might be expected from a Râja, but no Râjput shall ever possess me."

And this is the reason why Râjputs are usually thriftless and impoverished.

15. The tale of the cuckoo.

(Told by Akbar Shâh Mânjhi of Mirzapur District, and recorded by Hamid Husain.)

A certain Râja had a beautiful garden, in which lived a *koil* or cuckoo, which used to sing morning and evening, and keep silence all day while she sought food. This annoyed the Râja, and he sent for some fowlers and ordered them to catch the cuckoo. When they went in search of her, she was absent, and they caught a *kuchkuchiya* bird (the red-headed Trogon) and brought it to the Râja, who shut it up in a cage. The bird had only one note, " *Kaeh ! Kaeh !*," which it kept repeating. Thereupon the Râja struck at it with a stick, whereupon the bird said :—

Kuh kuh bole koiliya nanda
Bin aparadh paryon main phanda

i.e., " The cuckoo sings sweetly ; but I have been snared for no fault."

On this the Râja released the bird and punished the fowlers for their mistake.

16. The Kori's dilemma.

(Told by Râmnâth Tiwâri of Sarkandi, Fatehpur District.)

There was once a Kori weaver who was a great fool. One day his wife began to abuse him and said, " You are such a lazy fellow : You never do anything offhand." So he went away, saying " Offhand " to every one he met. He came across a fowler catching birds in a net.

When he saw him the Kori shouted out " Offhand " and all the birds flew away. Then the fowler fell upon him and said, " When you meet anyone, you should say—' May two fall into one '—that is to say, may two birds fall into the snare at once."

He went on and saw two men carrying a corpse, and when he saw them, he spoke as the fowler told him ; but they beat him and said, " You should always say ' If a thing has happened, who can cure it ; but may it never occur again.' "

He came to a place where the Râja had just had a son, and when he said what had been told him, they beat him and said, " You should always say, ' May such a thing never occur again.' "

He came to a village where an Ahîr was milking his cow, which recently had not given any milk ; but that day she was a little better and was giving a little. When he said, " May such a thing never occur again," the Ahîr gave him a beating.

So he said to himself, " Whatever I say brings me into trouble, so I had better go home " ; and go home he did and stayed there.

[This noodle story is told all the world over—See Clouston, *Book of Noodles*, 128.—W. CROOKE. The Koris of the U.P. are supposed to be an offshoot of the Kols. In customs they approximate to the Chamars and others of like social grade—ED.]

17. The Raja and the sharpers.

(*Told by Râmlâl Kayasth of Mirzapur and recorded by Pandit Râm Gharîb Chaube.*)

A Râja was once on a journey and came to a tank, where a Dhobi was washing clothes. The Râja shot a paddy-bird on the tank, and the Dhobi shouted out :—" What do you mean by killing my mother ? You must come to the king and I will get redress."

So they went on, and on the way they met a one-eyed man. He said to the Râja, " My father once pledged my eye with you for a rupee. Here is the money, give me back my eye, or come to the king and I will get redress."

They went further and met a barber. " Shave me," said the Râja, " and I will satisfy you for your trouble." When he had done shaving him, the barber said, " Nothing but your kingdom will satisfy me. If you will not give it, come to the king, and I will get redress."

When they came to the king, the Râja sent a letter to the queen, asking her to help him out of his trouble. She wrote back, " When the Dhobi says you killed his mother, just say, ' And what about my father the fish, that your mother was eating when I killed her ? ' When the one-eyed man asks for his eye, say, ' I have a heap of eyes and I cannot match yours, unless you take out your remaining eye and let me measure it.' And when the barber asks you for your kingdom, say, ' You can have it when my son is married.' " Now the Râja had no son. In this way he escaped the wiles of the three sharpers.

18. The potter and his friends.

(*Told by Râmdayâl, schoolmaster, Gonda.*)

A certain potter had three brothers. One of them was a very powerful man, and his brothers were on the look out to kill him. The wife of one of the brothers was one day cooking, and her husband told her to put poison in the dish for his brother. When the latter came in to eat, the woman repented and began to weep. When asked the reason, she told him to throw some of the food to a dog. When the dog immediately died, he knew that his brothers had made a plot against him. So he thought he had best go abroad to earn his living.

When he had gone some distance, he saw a carpenter who was digging earth, and as he dug it, he threw it over a hill close by.

The potter said—" You are a very powerful man."

He answered—" I hear that there is a potter who is even stronger than I am."

So they started off together. When they had gone some distance, they saw a cowherd taking one of his buffaloes on his back to a tank to bathe her. Him also they made join their company. When they went a little further, they came upon a goldsmith who, when his anvil got out of shape, hammered it straight with his hand. He also joined them. Then they came to a well and they told the carpenter to go and draw some water. When he put in his *lota*, the fairies who were in the well caught hold of it. So he jumped in; and when he did not come out, they sent in the cowherd; and after him went in the goldsmith also. So the potter was left alone outside. Then up came a Râkshasa, who was lord of the well, and challenged the potter to fight him. The potter after a fierce fight killed him, and then he too went down into the well. There they found the palace of the fairies, who were of heavenly beauty; and they had a store of all manner of wealth. Here the heroes and the fairies lived ever after.

19. The Ahir and his Guru.

(*Told by Pandit Chandrasêkhara, Zilla school, Cawnpore.*)

There was once an Ahîr, who was the servant of a Thâkur, and one day his master's Guru came to see him. This was in the month of *Baisakh*, when the weather was very hot. So the Thâkur gave the Guru a seat, bathed and fanned him, and gave him sherbet to drink. Just at that time the Thâkur was in trouble because his wife was barren, and he had a dispute with his relations; but soon after the Guru arrived, his wife conceived and the quarrel was settled.

When the Ahîr saw what had happened, he thought it would be much to his advantage to get initiated himself. So he went about looking for a Guru.

One day his younger brother came running to him in terror and said—

" I was just passing the river, when I saw a terrible animal chewing an enormous bone in its mouth and making an awful noise. Perchance he may injure our flocks, and we had better slay him." Now it was the month of *Magh* and very cold weather; and this was a poor Sanyâsi who was sitting by the river, making his *Sandhya* oblation and blowing his conch-shell. The Ahîrs stole up behind him and struck him a blow with a club. But when they saw that it was a Sanyâsi, they were grieved, and making their excuses to him, carried him to their house. They wished to treat him with the utmost respect, and the Ahîr, remembering how his master had treated his Guru, seated him on a chair, poured a lot of water over him, though it was freezing, and made him drink a lot of sherbet.

In consequence the unfortunate Guru died, and the Ahîr was never able to find another.

20. The Ahir and his Guru.

(*Told by Hanumân Prasâd, teacher, Rai Barêli.*)

There was once an Ahîr who thought that he was neglecting his religion; so he got himself initiated by a Guru. Soon after, the Guru came to see him, and the Ahîr gave him all the milk and butter there was in the house. The Guru thought the Ahîr a very liberal man; so he used to come every ten days or so; and whatever he found in the house the Ahîr would give him. The Ahîr's wife did not like this and said to herself, " Since this Babaji has taken to coming to the house, I might as well have no buffalo at all; for my husband gives

him all the milk and butter." Soon after the Guru appeared and asked the woman where her husband was. She said—" Poor man, he has lost his wits and he cannot bear the sight of a beggar about the place. Just now a poor man came to the door, and my husband has gone hunting him through the village with the chaff-chopper." When he heard this, the Babaji was sore afraid and he ran away. Just then the Ahîr came back from his field and asked his wife if the Babaji had been to see him. "Yes," she said, "he was here just now and wanted our rice-pounder. But I did not dare to give it to him as you were not at home." The Ahîr seized the rice-pounder and ran after the Guru. "Babaji," he shouted, "stop! here is the rice-pounder." But the more he called to the Babaji to stop, the faster he ran; and that was the last the Ahîr and his wife ever saw of him.

21. How the Ahirin was outwitted

(Told by Ganga Sahai, schoolmaster, Hathras, Aligarh District.)

There was once an Ahîr, who had a very deceitful wife. When she was cooking, she used to make all the good flour into cakes and eat them herself, while those she made for her husband were only of chaff and refuse. Her husband, being an easy-going man, stood this for some time : but one day, as he found himself growing weaker, he said :—"How is it that when I give you plenty of good food, my cakes are made only of chaff and rubbish." She replied in verse :

Gangapar teri bahin basen,
Jake jamhen kank uren,
Pisen getun kukas khayan
Is se balam latte jaen.

i.e., "Your sister lives beyond the Ganges. When she yawns, all the good flour is blown away. I grind wheat and eat rubbish. Hence my husband is pining away."

When her husband heard this, he thought he would go and give his sister a beating. His wife tried to dissuade him ; but he went. When he came to his sister's house, she received him hospitably and gave him a good dinner. Said she—"Alas! brother. I see that you are very weak. Why is this so ? " "How can I be strong," he answered, "when every time you yawn, you blow away all the good flour and my poor wife is left with only the husks to cook ? " She asked—"How did you find that this was so ? " He said "My wife told me."

His sister knew that this was some roguery on the part of his wife So she went to a carpenter, who was a neighbour of hers and a great wizard, and she got from him four magic pegs, which she gave to the husband and said, "When you reach home, plant one of these at each corner of your house."

The Ahîr did as she told him, and planted one of the pegs at each corner of his house. Next day, when the woman was cooking, and as usual taking all the good flour for her own cakes, one peg said—"What are you doing ? " The second said—"This is what she does every day." The third said—"Has she no fear of Nârâyan ? " The fourth replied—"If she feared him, she would not act in this way."

When the Ahîrin heard these words, she did not know who was talking, and thought that some of her neighbours had seen her. So she cooked the bread in an honest way that day, and when her husband came home, she set it before him. Said he—"I am pleased to see that my sister did not yawn to-day."

After this the pegs used to speak whenever she tried to do any roguery, and though she searched everywhere, she could never find out who was watching her, and she became so stricken with fear that she was forced to amend her ways and give her husband his fair share of the food.

THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION OF THE ANDAMANESE.

BY P. W. SCHMIDT, S.V.D.*

(*Continued from page* 160.)

III.

The Establishment of the Ethnological Age of the Northern and Southern Groups.

Thus, here in the larger Andaman islands, we have two clearly differing forms of religion, as well as a third, which hovers between the two. Now the question arises as to which of these forms is the oldest.

Although Brown often denies that he can solve questions of historical priority, he nevertheless felt strongly that, in the above question, the decision lay in the judgment as to the correctness or incorrectness of his whole conception, and he sought even in his first publication (*op. cit.*, p. 266) for a proof that it is the Northern tribes, who exhibit ethnologically the oldest forms.

For this reason he next alleged that Biliku-Oluga was feminine in the two furthest ends of the islands : in the furthest North among the Northern tribes of Great Andaman and in the furthest South among the tribes of Little Andaman, whilst the Middle tribes show transition forms towards the conception of Bilik as masculine, which appear openly in the Puluga of the Southern tribes of Great Andaman. This is in no way a proof. I have already[11] answered him that the Southern tribes of Great Andaman might just as well be the oldest form, of which a later further development could as easily have taken place towards the North as towards the South. Now I am able to put it better by saying that these two furthest regions lay nearest to the zone of influence of the culture of mother-rights, which may possibly have emanated from the hinterlands of India and from the Nicobar Islands. Furthermore, Brown gives no information of a being among the tribes of Little Andaman corresponding to the Tarai of the Northern tribes of Great Andaman.

Another argument was suggested to Brown by an Andamanese. " If Biliku (originally) was a man, then he would have seized his bow and arrow and not flung fire-brands and pearl-shells. Those are women's things." To that I replied that one must here set oneself against the good Andamanese :—the pearl-shell which is the women's kitchen knife is, it is true, a " woman's thing ; " but the flinging of fire-brands can just as well be a man's affair as a woman's. And so, as a symbol of the lightning which Biliku flings, only the pearl-shell of the Northern tribes with their feminine Biliku is mentioned : while among the Southern tribes with their masculine Puluga, only the fire-brand appears as such. There can be no doubt as to which of the two is the older and more widely spread symbol, the pearl-shell or the fire-brand.

In his new publication Brown does not again mention this argument ; he must therefore have seen its worthlessness. He goes even further in his agreement with me when he writes :— " The simplest of the different beliefs, the one following immediately from the natural phenomena would be, therefore, that which makes the lightning a fire-brand. This is on the whole, the one that is most usually expressed, at any rate in the South Andaman " (I. p. 368). If the fire-brand compared to the mother-of-pearl-shell is the simpler and more natural symbol of lightning, then it is without doubt the older. But this older symbol is not to be found among the Northern tribes, at any rate not among their myths of the bringing of the fire. So that here is already a proof of their lesser ethnological age.

* Translated from the German in *Anthropos* (Vols. XVI—XVII, 1921—22, pp. 978—1005) *Die religiösen Verhältnisse der Andamanesen-Pygmäen.*

11 *Man*, Vol. X (1910), p. 4, *Stellung der Pygmäenstämme*, p. 205.

Of such arguments there are still other instances :

1. The sole primitive weapon of chase (and war) of the Andamanese, the bow and arrow, appears in three forms :—

(*i*) Non-reflex among the Little Andamanese and the closely related Jarawa.

(*ii*) Half-reflex in the Great Andaman. Of the latter there are again two forms, a Southern and a Northern Andamanese, of which the last named is shorter, lighter and finer and also has a curve produced by the preparations of the bow-staff over the fire ; whereas the former acquires a curve only from the growth of the living tree.

(*iii*) Brown decidedly stands up for the idea that the Northern Andamanese bow is only to be explained as a variant of the South Andamanese (II, p. 432). Therefore in comparison with this latter he presents a later form. He further acknowledges, that it is not so certain, but very probable, that the South Andamanese bow is a variant of the Little Andamanese bow. In reality, between the two there is no derivation shown of any kind, as they are two essentially different sorts of bows, between which there is no derivation. The South Andamanese bow needs no derivation ; it grows there, so to speak, naturally, for the half reflex bowstaff is produced from a naturally curved branch of a tree, through the continued fostering of this curve in the living growth. On the contrary, by its string, a bit of twisted[12] bark, which differs from the bow-string of every other Asiatic race of Pygmies, the bow of the Little Andamanese recalls the Rotang bow-string of the free mother-right culture, with which its outward appearance entirely corresponds.

2. Also in basket-making Brown himself acknowledges that : " The North Andaman basket seems to have been derived from one similar to that of the South Andaman by the introduction of two changes : (*i*) the use of different materials : (*ii*) the change of shape " (II, p. 469).

3. In the making of pots the Northern Andamanese produce forms which are thinner than those of the South Andamanese. This indicates that the technique of the former is the better. If one must accept without any doubt that the pot-making can be traced back to the influence of the free-mother-right culture in which it first occurs,[13] here as there, the *spiralwulst* (spiral roll) technique is used without a potter's lathe,—then this influence is even more strongly marked in North Andaman in that, just as in the free mother-right regions, only the women make pots, while in South Andaman they are made by men and women, and the best by men (II, p. 473).

4. It is the same with the women's clothing. In the Little Andaman the women, to cover their nakedness, wear only a number of fibre bunches hanging down from a belt ; these clearly remind one of the skirt-apron of the women in the free-mother-right culture. In the South Andaman, on the contrary, the women only wear a few leaves of *Mimusops littoralis*, which hang down from the belt in front. The women of North Andaman (who in late years have adopted the fashion of these of South Andaman) used to wear leaves of another plant in the same way, over which, however, they wore the fibre bush from the same plant, like the women of the Little Andaman (II, p. 479). The case is not, as Brown would infer, that in the bushes of fibre we have

12 In a bow in the State Natural Hist. Museum in Vienna this twist is lacking, so that the resemblance to the Rotang string becomes even greater.

13 Graebner, *Die melanesischer Bogenkultur*, *Anthropos*, Vol. IV (1909), p. 759.

to do with an element of the oldest universal culture of the Andamanese, but that the women of Northern Andaman wore a double dress; (*i*) the leaves like those of the South Andamanese women (which is the oldest form not only of the Andamanese but of the Asiatic Negrito generally), and (*ii*) over them the fibre bunch influenced by the free-mother-right culture, which later penetrated here as well as to the Little Andaman.

5. The materialistic culture of South Andaman is thus shown in several important cases to be the older. Moreover it follows that the younger forms in the Little Andaman point to an influence of mother-right culture, as belonging to which neighbouring Austronesian (and Austro-Asiatic) regions are to be regarded. As to such influences, which were also exerted over the whole territory of the Andamanese, the following can be traced with all certainty :—

(*i*) The outrigger canoe, with the typical south Polynesian attachment.
(*ii*) The shape of the oar.
(*iii*) The adze with knee-formed handle : all three forms of which appertain to the younger Polynesian culture, but are here bound up with the mother-right.[14]

6. Furthermore, I would point out, that in the myth of the Northern Andamanese Aka-Bo tribe, as to the origin of the first human beings, according to Brown's own account (II, p. 192) the giant bamboo in the joint of which the first man lay as if bedded in an egg, does not grow in the Andaman Islands, but comes occasionally as drift-wood from the coast of Burma. Here can be seen plainly enough expressed in mythological language that the origin of these (new) North Andamanese kind of people came from outside the Andamans.

7. Further, it is in the myths of the deluge of the Northern tribes that the woman saves the fire in the cooking pot, which article is entirely made by women there.

8. Finally, we also notice that Brown states that in North Andaman there is a ceremonial celebration of the first menstruation of a girl as typical of mother-right customs.[15] He asserts : " I believe that the ceremony of the Southern tribes is very similar " (II, p. 92); but it is a fact to be recorded that E. H. Man gives no information of such a ceremony among his Southern Andamanese tribes.

IV.

The Austronesian Influences in (Northern) Andamanese Mythology.

Supported by all these facts, I find I can now uphold with sufficient certainty a doctrine which formerly,[16] I only put forward as more or less probable : *i.e.*, the theory that the particular forms of mythology of the North (and Little) Andaman are to be explained by the influence of mother-right Austronesian mythology. I proceeded from the facts, which Brown first made known, but still leaves totally unexplained, namely, that in the North Andaman where Biliku is feminine, she is identified with the spider, whilst in the Little Andaman where Oluga is likewise feminine, she is connected with the monitor-lizard (*Varanus salvator*). I pointed out the close connection into which the spider, lizard and the spinning-weaving women in the

14 Comp. Schmidt, *Stellung der Pygmäenvölker*, p. 273.

15 See Schmidt and Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, Vol. I, pp. 273 ff.

16 In my article *Puluga the Supreme Being of the Andamanese : Man*, Vol. X (1910), pp. 5 ff. and *Stellung der Pygmäenvölker*, pp. 206 ff.

Austronesian mythology are brought with the moon.[17] On the other hand, the first man To-Petie (Da Duku) is called Monitor-lizard in the myths of the Middle Andamanese and of the Akar-Bale, whilst in those places Tomo, the first man, creates Puki, the moon, and makes her his wife. In one myth of the Northern Andamanese of the Aka-Jeru, Tarai (=Deria, Daria in the Middle and South Andaman, II, pp. 193 ff.) was the first man. To this we must add the fact that the new moon in the Andamanese language is called the "Little (*déré-ka*, *dáré-ka*, *tiré-ka* and so on) Moon," and then the close connection of the male partners of Biliku, and Taria-Daria to the moon, is, I suppose, sufficiently substantiated. Then it also becomes clear why Daria-Teria, who does not appear at all in the Aka-Bea legends, stands in even stronger relationship to the South-west Monsoon :—the new moon always rises in the South-south-west.

Another important fact arises also out of the last. In the Austronesian mythology the waxing moon is always male and the waning moon male as well as female. In the latter case it represents, where mother-right prevails, the older female moon-primitive mother, or where the father-right continued to prevail or has lately come into force, the wife of the dark moon, and the two together formed the first human pair. The latter case we now have before us in Middle Andaman. In the North Andaman we have the connection of the male representative of the waxing moon, Teriya, with the female representative of the waning moon, Biliku. Here the female element stands in the foreground. The reason of that is probably that in the North (one of the regions invaded by the mother-right immigration) the female element retained a greater importance. Still another cause came into play. If Taria-Daria, the waxing moon, is related to the South-west monsoon because the new moon rises in the South-west, then the representative of the waning moon, Biliku, is related to the North-east monsoon, because the waning moon always rises further to the North-east. Now here the female representative of the waning moon met the Supreme Being, Puluga-Biliku, who already on other grounds stood as a heavenly Being in relation to the North-east monsoon, because there the rainbow was supposed to be the bridge which joined earth to heaven and also because the North-east monsoon always brings prevailingly bright weather and plenty of food.[18] The good however is generally ascribed to Puluga.[19]

It happened too, that, whilst in general a fusion of the Supreme Being takes place only with the representative of the waxing or clear moon, here in North Andaman, on the contrary, on account of the greater sociological and economical weight of the position of the female representative of the waning or dark moon, a connection of the Supreme Being with the latter takes place, and so the highest Being became feminine.

If the Supreme Being, who remained as such longer in South Andaman, did not himself become feminine there, quite another quality can be proved to belong to him as a later influence, through the moon-mythology. He is, it is true, not feminine, but became feminized and had children. The one name which Puluga's wife bears, Chana Aulola, Mrs. Eel, bears decidedly the character of moon-mythology. If furthermore the daughters of both are often black, they resemble their mother the dark moon. If the son is the eldest of all the children and is fair, then he calls to mind Ogar Déréka, the moon-child, the little crescent of the new moon. And if it is said that he is alone with his father in order to make the commands known to his sisters, then is called up to our minds the connection between the Supreme Being and the waxing moon. But this connection becomes perfectly clear among the A-Puchikwar, when

17 Schmidt, *Grundlinien einer Vergleichung der Religionen und Mythologien des austronesischen Völker*, pp. 122, 326, etc.

18 Mr. E. H. Man, *JAI.*, p. 420, calls this time *rop-nuh*, "Time of Plenty."

19 Compare Schmidt, *Pygmaenvölker*, p. 208.

Puluga is described as white (or red) skinned, "like a European," the worldwide comparison to the moon, and wears a beard, although the Andamanese wear no beards or only very small ones.

Thus, through the disclosure of the mythological influences of the moon, a deterioration of the ancient primitive Supreme Being can be traced, so that the last shadows fall away from the Supreme Being, and he turns out to be one of those old gods of heaven who are clearly connected with lightning and thunder, storm and rain, and who are so characteristic of the whole primitive period of mankind.

V.

The Moral Character of Puluga, the Supreme Being of the Andamanese.

An important aspect of Puluga's nature still remains to be established. E. H. Man has maintained positively the moral character of Puluga :—"He is regarded as omniscient while it is day, knowing even the thought of their hearts. He is angered by the commission of certain sins, while to those in pain or distress he is pitiful, and sometimes deigns to afford relief. He is Judge from whom each soul receives its sentence after death."[20] "That they are not entirely devoid of moral consciousness may, I think, in some measure, be demonstrated by the fact of their possessing a word *yuk-da* signifying sin or wrong doing, which is used in connection with falsehood, theft, grave assault, murder, adultery and burning wax."[21]

To that Brown has taken strong exception. In spite of very careful and repeated researches, he could nowhere establish, he says, the facts that the things mentioned had called forth Puluga's anger. This was only brought about by the transgression of certain purely ritual commands to which we will return later on.

To that I formerly replied to Brown,[22] saying that also in this case he did not take into consideration the difference between northern and southern tribes, and further, that he assigned to the latter that which only applied to the former. Even more emphatically I must repeat this now that this difference has been brought more strongly and widely to light. In the northern tribes, where Biliku is inimical to mankind, it has certainly no moral significance ; in the Middle tribes, where the belief in Biliku's beneficence has weakened, its recognition as a moral authoritative Being has doubtless suffered or has totally disappeared ; for the Southern Andamanese with whom, according to Brown, Puluga's beneficent influence is acknowledged, according to Man's decided assurance, Puluga's moral significance cannot be doubted, not at any rate in his time. That here also they are already beginning to totter is not astonishing, considering that the individual tribes now have free intercourse, and according to Brown's witnesses the young men have already become sceptical in these matters, and Brown had no intercourse with the older men on account of his inadequate knowledge of the language (II, p. 170).

So he was unable sufficiently to establish the more intimate character of Puluga's ethical obligations. Thus for instance the inhabitants could throughout answer his question correctly by saying that Puluga was not so much enraged by theft, murder, adultery and so on as by the transgression of those ritualistic commands at which Puluga's wrath at once broke out—*grosso modo*—in the form of a cyclonic storm or even a deluge ; but for all that, Puluga's displeasure can have occurred in a different way. That anyhow those so-called ritualistic transgressions are also actually real ethical commands, we will at once admit.

20 E. H. Man, *op. cit.* p. 157f.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 112.

22 Schmidt, *Pygmäenvolker*, p. 213.

VI.

The Demarcation of the Seasons in the Andaman Islands and the Interpretation of the Monsoons in Myth and Religion.

With that we get to a part of Brown's arguments which presents to us a particularly instructive example of the power of theories over the presentation of facts. Although the disclosure of the complicated disarrangements and entanglements under discussion is not altogether pleasant, and moreover, takes up time and space, yet I feel I cannot, considering the importance of the matter before us, absolve myself from following up these matters to their very end.

Partly in order to explain the steady superiority of Biliku-Puluga over Taria-Daria, partly to prove the purely ritualistic and social character of certain laws, Brown has evolved in his present work (II) an extensive and complicated theory of the climatic and vegetative-zoological conditions of the particular seasons in the Andamanese Islands, which is astonishing. We can clearly follow how it came about gradually, step by step, if we compare it with his first publication in the year 1909 in *Folklore* (I). For at that time he certainly did not know some of the chief points of this theory, and others he only brought forward with great reserve. That Brown has built up a strong theory since then, which he now brings forward with great assurance and firmness, would not be a grave matter, if since then he had received new material facts from the Andaman Islands. As, however, this is not the case, the matter becomes so much the more critical, as Brown himself acknowledges that he did not make sufficiently certain of some of the underlying facts of his theory, since at that time he did not recognize their importance for his present theory, which he first formed after his return to Europe.[23]

Brown felt rightly that it was his duty to explain why elsewhere Biliku-Puluga took precedence over Taria-Daria. We, from our point of view, are easily able to give this explanation. In the South Puluga is the Supreme Being, and there Daria is of no particular importance, and is perhaps not even met with once; in the North Biliku is the fusion of this Supreme Being with the female ancestor, who holds a higher social position there. Brown was not able to give an explanation of his Monsoon theory and honestly acknowledged that fact at the time he wrote: "I have many times wondered why, of these two beings, Biliku and Tarai, the first should come to occupy so large a place in Andamanese mythology compared with the other" (I, p. 267). Considering that generally storms and rain and bad weather show the consequences of Biliku's anger, he continues: "What is particularly puzzling is that the South-west Monsoon is the rainy Monsoon, and during the North-east Monsoon the weather is generally fine." Of both facts Brown acknowledges: "I have not been able to find an explanation and can only record the fact."

To that theory which Brown formed later, the interpretation of the duration of both Monsoon seasons, which he still held at that time, stood in strong opposition. Each of these winds (North-east Monsoon and South-west Monsoon) blows for *nearly half the year.*[24] But Brown completely broke away from this interpretation in his new work. There he writes:—

"It comes about in this way, that the year is divided into two portions, one of which is specially connected with Biliku (Puluga), while the other is specially connected with Taria (Daria). The two seasons *are not of equal length.* The Taria season lasts only while the South-west Monsoon is blowing, which, in average years, is between 4

23 Brown, I, pp. 268-269; II, pp. 358, 360.

24 Brown, I, p. 266. The *italics* are mine—W. SCHMIDT

and 5 months. The other 7 months are connected with Biliku and are divided into 3 portions, 1. the stormy season of October and November, 2. the cold season of December to February, and 3. the hot season of March and April."[25]

It is true, he acknowledges in another passage, that taken more exactly, the year is divided into two parts with a steady direction of the wind North-east and South-west, and into two other periods following or preceding these with changing direction of wind, which cannot be attributed either to the North-east or South-west (II, p. 355f.). But he gains support from the fact that at least in one tribe, the A–Puchikwar, only the South-west wind is connected with Tarai, but all the other winds with Bilik and his sons; and he adds that an approach to this is also shown in other tribes. In this way he arrives at the conclusion that the two changing seasons should be attributed to the North-east Monsoon.

In this manner, it is for two reasons that he obtains a foundation for the preponderance of Biliku-Puluga over Taria-Daria: (1) Because the first season which occurs in the year is considerably longer; (2) because nearly all the storms occur in this extended time, more especially the heavy cyclones. The objection to be raised against this interpretation of Brown's is that its only support is the A–Puchikwar tribe, because the suggestion that in the other tribes there is something of the same sort is without proof. The A–Puchikwar tribe alone, however, is not only a too small, but also a too uncertain foundation, because it represents in every sense a typically transition tribe (see above).

In open contradiction is the Akar-Bale myth, according to which Puluga and Daria, who now fight against one another by means of the storms which they both send, were once good friends (II, p. 151). Here, not only must Puluga have his own storm-period, but Daria must have one as well, which is no longer the case in Brown's new theory.

Brown's interpretation completely goes to pieces regarding *the actual state of the seasons in the Andaman Islands* which Brown did not delineate truly in every respect (II, pp. 351 ff.). He now apportions only 5 months, or to be more accurate, 4½ months to the South-west Monsoon or Rainy Season (2nd half of May to end of September), whereby, if all other winds are attributed to the North-east Monsoon, this latter would naturally receive a considerable preponderance. But before that time Brown himself spoke of "the end of the rainy season in October." With that Portman also agrees in his *History of our Relations with the Andamanese* (Calcutta, 1899, Vol. I, p. 14). He writes; "The South-west Monsoon and rainy season, lasting from about the 20th of April to the 20th of October. Breaks of calm fine weather occur during this season, and usually at the close of it a long break, often of three weeks in duration occurs, when the sea is glassy calm." As Portman spent years on the Andaman Islands, he certainly had good opportunities of learning the average terms of division of the seasons.

According to him, as according to Brown's early statement, the South-west Monsoon would alone have comprised 6 months, so that already from this point preponderance of the North-east Monsoon, even with the addition of all other winds, becomes out of the question. These other winds are only in a clearer and more permanent way of importance for the time *after* the South-west Monsoon, for the transition time *before* is very short and only "in some years" do severe storms arise, as Brown acknowledges (I, p. 268; II, p. 357). This is insufficient for the making of a permanent season out of this short period which, moreover, the natives know nothing of. As regards the variable winds which occur *at the close* of the South-west Monsoon no internal evidence can be discovered why they should be arbitrarily reckoned

25 Brown, III, p. 149 f. The *italics* are mine—W. Schmidt.

to the North-east Monsoon. According to Brown, they vary from West-north-west to East-south-east, but also include occasional South-west winds as well, but are probably principally South-east.

If there is no evidence regarding the winds, there is another fact which connects this transition period rather with the rainy season—the fact that even beyond these periods a good deal of rain is usual. This is not shown clearly enough in Brown's description of the seasons. Portman, on the other hand, writes (*op. cit., loc. cit.,*): "After the 20th of October variable winds and heavy gales (often cyclones) usher in the North-east Monsoon, which may commence by the 10th of November. Sometimes the months of November and December are dry with high winds, but more generally a good deal of rain accompanies the North-east wind in these months, and heavy South-east gales have been experienced in the first week of December and even later. After the 1st of January the rain almost ceases, the force of the Monsoon declines, and until the middle of April there are light winds, fine weather and a fairly calm sea." E. H. Man as well (p. 420), wanting to present the natives' views of the seasons, prefers to include the critical transition period with the preceding rainy season, for he treats the whole period from the 2nd half of May to the 1st half of November together, under the name of Gumul and divides it into two parts; 15th of May to end of August Spring and 1st half of Rainy season (*tâ-la-tông-de·rekar*), and beginning of September till 15th of November the 2nd half of the rainy season (*gû·mul wab*).

If according to Portman's interpretation the North-east Monsoon begins only on the 10th of November and ends on the 20th of April, soon after which the South-west Monsoon sets in, which lasts till October 20th, it follows that the 6 months of the latter correspond to only about 5 months of the former. Further, we would note the remarkable fact that only during the North-east Monsoon is there a lengthy bright period free of storms and rain; which according to Portman lasts nearly 4 months. Here we completely understand why Brown at first could write :—" What is particularly puzzling is that the South-west Monsoon is the rainy monsoon, and during the North-east Monsoon the weather is generally fine." In fact nothing can be explained solely by the meteorological conditions of the Monsoons : neither that Puluga-Bilik stands in the foreground everywhere, nor that all storms in the south are ascribed to him. The explanation lies only in the fact that Puluga-Bilik originally was a true Supreme Being and in the South is still more or less one."[26]

VII.

The Moral Character of the Command of Puluga, the Supreme Being of the South Andamanese.

In pointing out that Brown's efforts to fasten the transition period at the end of the South-west Monsoon on to the North-east Monsoon are not tenable, we have also removed the foundations of his meteorological social explanation of the commands which Pulugu-Bilik had set up. We must now set to work on the contents of these commands, because they are differently stated by Brown and Man. Brown takes the trouble to discredit Man's interpretations, but this is really inadmissible, judging by Man's qualifications as compared to Brown's,

[26] Brown's arguments as to Monsoons are due to inaccurate observation. Each lasts five months, with April and October as the uncertain months, often of very calm weather. Rain falls all the year round. See Temple, *Census of India*, 1901, Vol. III. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands : Meteorology, pp. 37-39, for remarks on statistics—R. C. TEMPLE.

which we discussed at the start. Furthermore, we shall see that the observations of both investigators can be right and probably are, and that therefore there is no reason to doubt the reliability of either of them.

E. H. Man tells us his opinion of Puluga's commands in the following manner :

" There is an idea current that *if during the first half of the rainy season* they eat the *Caryota sobolifera*, or pluck or eat the seeds of *Entada pursoetha*, or gather yams or other edible roots, another deluge would be the consequence ; for Puluga is supposed to require these for his own consumption at that period of the year : the restriction, however, does not extend to the fallen seeds of the *Entada pursoetha*, which may be collected and eaten at any time with impunity. Another of the offences visited by Puluga with storms is the *burning of bees-wax*, the smell of which is said to be peculiarly obnoxious to him." [27]

Brown makes corrections : (1) that not only " burning " but also " melting of bees-wax " calls forth Puluga's anger : (2) that in the first half of the rainy season the specified plants are not ripe and in consequence would not be enjoyable, for which reason the prohibition in this form would be nonsensical : (3) that the eating of these plants is much more likely to call forth Puluga's wrath ; anyhow it would be dangerous during the critical stormy months of October and November (*Kimil-gumul*).[28] To all these differences yet another is added, *i.e.*, that whilst Man states that Puluga's commands are now faithfully kept, Brown assures us that the inhabitants do not trouble themselves about them, but at most try to hide the fact if they transgress them.

Here again with regard to these divergences the important facts to be emphasized are : (1) that Brown made his statements especially on the Northern tribes, Man on the Southern ; (2) that Brown tells us of a time when the old and peculiar tribal customs had been modified by much intermingling, whilst Man was able to make his observations at a time when the tribes were quite separate. In such circumstances, what Man established almost 50 years ago need not always be identical with what Brown established 15 years ago.

That Biliku's commands are not kept *in the Northern tribes*, where she is not a Supreme Being, nor a creator, nor a benefactor of mankind, but is ill disposed towards them, is comprehensible, even to be expected. This holds good for *the Middle tribes*, inasmuch as they also have become opposed to Bilik. In all these tribes, and through the obscuration brought about by intermingling of the real tribal tradition, we can also understand if Biliku's commands are presented in such a form and to such an extent, that they appear irrational, hard and cruel, the hatred for Biliku who gives these commands must grow in consequence. For it is really irrational to make punishable the general enjoyment of just those plants which are of the greatest importance for the nourishment of the Andamanese, and also the burning and *melting* of wax which the natives need for so many purposes. But there is nothing of all this in the commands themselves which E. H. Man asserts Puluga laid down for *the South Andamanese.*

Let us first take the command about the wax. The only matter that concerns us here is the burning, and that this was the primitive form is made clear from two myths of the Aka Bale. One of them Brown gives in his first publication (I, 263) not in his second (IV, 201) : here Puluga warns mankind on his departure from the world against doing certain things because they would excite his anger :—" not to dig up yams, or cut *barala* (*Caryota sobolifera*), or *châkan* (*Entada scandens*) during the rains, and not to burn bees-wax.

27 E. H. Man, *op. cit.*, p. 153 f. My *italics*—W. SCHMIDT.

28 Brown, II, p. 152 ff.

The other E. H. Man (*op. cit.*, p. 168) instances :

" A woman who in her rage and despair over the death of her son purposely committed at the beginning of the rainy season in her frenzy all the forbidden acts and besought the other people, in these words, to do likewise :

My grown up handsome son,
Burn the wax
Grind the seed of the *châkan* (*Entada pursoetha*)
Destroy the *oḋ-rata* (*Caryota sobolifera*)
Dig up the *gôms* (edible roots)
Dig up the *châti* (edible roots)

Thereupon Puluga became exceedingly wroth and sent the great deluge."

In the last words " destroy everything," both sense and meaning of the other acts is accounted for as well as the burning of wax. It is the senseless waste and destruction of the gift of the god which here is punished. This is a command that is in no way hard or absurd, but is in the highest degree both sensible and truly moral.

It is just the same with the rest of Puluga's laws in the form in which Man explains them for his South Andamanese. With them the prohibition *to eat these plants* does not last for ever, but only for the first half of the rainy season, which Man designates as lasting from May 15th to the end of August, or " during the rains " generally, as the first myth says, which would extend it to the end of October. It is true that in the beginning of the rainy season the plants are not yet ripe and only become so during that period, but as Brown says ;—" Small quantities are to be had at this time " (II, p. 358).[29]

So firstly this was the close time for these plants and for these the commands not to pluck and disturb them whilst growing held good, and not to pull up greedily the products which were still unripe ; and secondly to allow the earliest of these plants when ripe to remain for Puluga the Supreme Being stood for a sort of offering of first fruits.[30] Again, in these two commands there was nothing ludicrous or unreasonable, because precisely during the rainy season another kind of food, flesh food, is very abundant, and as a special kind of tit-bit, two kinds of larva can be eaten during the ripening of the plants. But as among these tribes Puluga is acknowledged by all as creator and at the same time as the greatest benefactor, the command of the offering of the first fruits appears in the highest degree suitable. The forms of the commands, which, as Brown tells us of his tribes and in his time, can, when compared with the forms given by Man of the Southern tribes, only be looked on as incomprehensible or ill-intentioned—probably both—exaggerations and misrepresentations of the latter. They correspond exactly to the disparaging and defamatory biased myths which are formed and spread even among the most primitive peoples in the struggle of world philosophies one with another, especially by the conquering party against the defeated : for such occur even among the most primitive tribes.[31] Thus the current which comes from the North works very cunningly and actively with these biased exaggerations against the Puluga belief, the religion of a real Supreme Being who only gives reasonable, good and really moral commands and through them can only become more worthy of worship ; whilst indeed the misrepresented and exaggerated forms of commands as they are reported among the Northern tribes can only make Biliku so much the more hated, so that it is understandable if some of the tottering Middle tribes chase him from the world or kill him, that is to say, depose him.

29 It must be taken into account that Brown did not trouble himself about these matters during his stay with the Andamanese, because he had not then seen the importance of them (I, p. 268 f. ; II, p. 358 f.), but under the influence of his theory he strove in his second publication to place the time of ripening later than he had at first.

30 See Schmidt, *Pygmäenvölker*, p. 195.

31 See the examples from Austronesia : Schmidt, *Religionen und Mythologien der austronesischen Völker*, p. 123, from South Australia, Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee*, pp. 344, 366, 376.

It is sad that Brown was prevented, through his own discontinuance of work, from seeing and more clearly inquiring into these extremely important and interesting facts. But at least he gives us two interesting observations, which show completely the bifurcation and indecision so characteristic in such circumstances :—

> " Some of my informants said, though these actions may bring rain and storms, yet they would rather submit to the bad weather than go without some of their most prized vegetable foods (these were the resolute revolutionaries) : others again say that there is always a chance that Biliku may not notice that the plants have been disturbed, particularly if no fragments are left lying about the camp, and if, when taking the roots, the creepers are not disturbed[32] (these were the timid hypocrites)."

These observations would gain in value if we were told among which tribes they had been made. The correctness of these statements may also be negatived by the proof of the feebleness of the explanation of these commands given by Brown. In his earlier publication he himself had no real trust in them.

> " The theory I put forward is perhaps somewhat hazardous, and I do not wish to attribute too much importance to it . . . . The suggestion I would make is little more than a guess " (I, pp. 267-268).

There is hardly any sign of this reservation in the wider development of the theory of the joining up of the transition season with the North-east Monsoon, dealt with above. Since, however, as we have seen, the further development of the theory lacks reliable foundations, the explanations founded on it share the same fate.

That is shown at once in the first command, the prohibition *of burning and melting of the wax* which Brown explains thus (II, p. 357 f.). He states that the Andamanese burn and melt wax in connection with the gathering of honey. But this is, he says, almost entirely limited to the Biliku time of the year, the hot season from February to May. At the end of this time, however, the winds become variable and then there are violent storms which continue into the rainy season. The belief that the burning and melting of the wax are forbidden has arisen through the fact that every year the storms follow this burning and melting of wax. If all the statements which Brown makes here were correct,[33] even then his explanation would not be tenable. That can be seen quite clearly in his own words :

> " As the season (of North-east Monsoon and of the search for honey) draws to a close, the wind becomes variable, uncertain, and in *some years*[34] violent storms occur ushering in the rains of the South-west Monsoon. *Year after year*[34] the wax melting season comes to a close in stormy weather " (II, p. 357).

How can one allow two such sentences to follow each other directly : " in some years " and " year after year." Something of the same sort occurred also in the early publication, where " often " can be found in the first sentence and " always " in the second (I, p. 268). What only occurs " often " and " in some years " cannot give rise to such a positive view as is stated here.

The explanation which Brown gives of the commands concerning the " not eating " of the plants above mentioned, also does not hold good. He thinks that all these plants ripen towards the end of the rainy season in October ; the Yams, the *Entada scandens*, the *Caryota sobolifera*, the *Cycas*. But this is, he says, also the time when the heaviest storms set in, especially the cyclones. And now " Year after year, as these foods begin to ripen and to

32 Brown II, p. 153.

33 E. H. Man (*op. cit.*, p. 357) states that "small combs of honey are obtainable till about September."

34 My *italics*—W. Schmidt.

be eaten. the islands are visited with stormy weather, sometimes of exceptional violence." From this constant succession (of storms) the belief is supposed by Brown to have arisen that the eating of these plants during this season draws down Puluga's wrath, which breaks out in the heaviest storms of the transition period (II, p. 358 ff.).

The regularity and clearness of the phenomena cannot be contested here. But there is another difficulty which Brown also saw, without indeed in any way solving it (II, p. 359): the fact that whilst Puluga's anger and the storm *regularly* followed the repeated wickedness of the wax-burning, here, on the contrary, if one follows Brown's arrangement of time, the crime and the punishment by storms occurred *simultaneously*. A case has even been known of the storms *preceding* the crimes : at any rate it could so happen, according to Brown, who places the critical transition period, and with it the beginning of the storms, at the beginning of October, whilst the fruits in question only ripen in the course of October and November ; the same with yams (II, p. 358) with *caryota sobolifera* (I, 269) and *Entada scandens* (II, p. 358).

Here, however, we may well break off the criticism of Brown's theories on the origin of Puluga's commands in the Andamanese religion, as Brown himself acknowledges on the one hand, that he had not personally observed the deciding facts of botany and meteorology on which his theories might have been supported, as the importance and complexity of the matter in hand demanded, and on the other hand that formerly he had himself not attributed any particular importance to these theories.

VIII.

Wealth and Complexity of the Religious Situation of the Andamanese.

But to his work on the whole we attach great importance. He forms the indispensable complement of E. H. Man's representation. For it is first through Brown that we learn that beside the religion of the Southern Andamanese discovered by Man, which already in this restricted region had a true Supreme Being, there are also a great variety of other religious froms among these little tribes in these primitive conditions. We also are given, anyway, a partial insight into the external events and the inner movements and spiritual struggles by which that great difference could have come about. We are surprised at the importance and depth of these struggles which could already be enacted right on the very threshold of human life

Brown also gives us the deeper psychological reason which has made this great variety possble ; it is the extreme individuality which holds sway among these Pygmies, by virtue of which every Andamanese makes his own songs and melodies and at least every "seer" takes a pride in always telling the myths in a new and original way. In this manner there can be no static forms either in the songs or in the myths.

Thus the worship of the Supreme Being and prayer have also no fixed form, which I have already shown to be as much a characteristic of other Pygmies as of the Andamanese.[35] There is no trace to be seen here of what the North American ethnologists call "Ceremonialism" or "Realism." So far no kind or rigidity has developed. Religion as well as the whole spirtiual life is, so to speak, still fluid, in a constant state of individual transformation.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize how extraordinarily interesting a renewed, accurate and judicious observation of this state would be, and how greatly it is to be wished that researches in this direction were still possible and might shortly be carried out.[36]

35 Schmidt, *Pygmaenvölker*, pp. 197, ff., 223. 245.

36 See *Anthropos*, Vols. XVI—XVII (1921—1922), pp. 1079—1088, in the account of Brown's work.

VASUBANDHU OR SUBANDHU.*

(*A Glimpse into the Literary History of the Mauryan Age.*)

BY A. RANGASWAMI SARASWATI, B.A.

(*Continued from page* 12.)

All this confusion was due to the fact that scholars thought that there was only one Subandhu, and that his only work was the romance *Vâsavadattâ*, whose date could be fixed from other data. But we have some more information about Subandhu, to which previous scholars had not access. The commentary of Bharata's *Nâṭyaśâstra* by Abhinavaguptapâda, which has been discovered by the Madras Library, has a passage wherein Subandhu and his work are mentioned.

This occurs in the commentary on the following passage from the *Nâṭyaśâstra* (xxii *Adhyâya*).

(4) **नाट्यायितं** तूपचारैर्यत्क्रियतेऽभिनयोऽत्र सूचनानाट्ये ।
काव्यप्रहर्षहेतोः प्रवेशकैस्सङ्गमो यावत् ॥ 46 ॥
स्थाने ध्रुवास्वभिनयो यत्क्रियते हर्षशोकरोषाद्यैः ।
भावरससंप्रयुक्तैर्ज्ञेयं **नाट्यायितं** तच्च ॥ 47 ॥

The commentary on the passage runs thus :—

(5)[1] नाट्यायितमित्याद्यार्यायास्तात्पर्यं पूर्वप्रविष्टेन पात्रेण सह सङ्गमं विधाय पश्चात्प्रविष्टस्य पात्रस्य पूर्वप्रविष्टपात्रपरिक्रमणादिकाले स्थानकेनैवासीनस्य तूष्णीं स्थितौ प्राप्तायामभिनयस्तदपि नाट्यायितमिति । सपरार्यायां तात्पर्यमिति श्री**शङ्कुकाद्याः** । तच्चायुक्तं ।. . . . प्रयोगकुशलाएवं विधेर्धर्मिलिखति इति पाल्यन्नाट्यस्थं यथा पुरापचयं नाटयतीति ।

नाट्यस्य सन्धानरूपत्वं च वाक्यसूत्रादीनामपि सम्भवत्येव वा नाट्येन नाट्या सन्धीयत इति नाट्यायित वाचोयुक्तिरपि कथं तत्स्यादित्येवमेतद्व्याख्यातम् । इह यदा स्वप्नोऽप्येकघनो दृश्यते तन्मध्य एव च किं दृश्यमानं परस्य स्वप्न एव जाग्रद्रूपतामापादिते स्वप्नोऽयं मया दृष्ट इति वर्ण्यते । तदा जाग्रदपेक्षस्वप्नव्यवहारो न तत्र पारमार्थिक इत्यौपचारिकं । तदपेक्षं तस्य स्वप्नत्वमिति । कस्य स्वप्नायितव्यवहारो दृष्ट एवमिहापि नाट्ये एकघनस्वभावेऽपि स्थिते तत्रैवासत्यनाट्यानुप्रवेशान्नाट्यपात्रेषु सामाजिकीभूतेषु तदपेक्षया यदन्यन्नाट्यं तस्य तदपेक्ष नाट्यरूपत्वं पारमार्थिकमिति नाट्यायितमुच्यते । तच्च द्विविधं नाट्यरूपकनिष्ठमेव वा काव्यं तदनिष्ठापातस्य क्रमेण लक्षणमार्याद्वितयेनोच्यते ।

नाट्ये यत्प्रवेशकैर्नाट्यान्तरगतैरिव पात्रैः ।
अत एव ततः प्रविशतीत्युक्तैस्सङ्गमः क्रियते ॥

तस्मान्नाट्यायितम् । कीदृशैरभिनयद्वारेण यत्सूचनं न तूपचारैः परमार्थतया उपचर्यमाणैर्न तूभयमपि नाट्यं तस्मान्न भवति । न त्वेकघनेत्याशङ्क्याह–कालप्रकर्षलक्षणाद्धेतोरन्योन्यभिन्नकालत्वात् कथं तत्रैकघनतयायुक्तेरिति भावः । यावदिति भूयस्तरं प्रबन्धं व्याप्नोतुं परीतुं वा सर्वं तन्नाट्यायितमित्यर्थः । तथा यावदिति स्वप्ने स्वप्नान्तरं तत्राप्यन्यत्स्वप्नान्तरमित्यादिन्यायेन वा भवेत्वेकस्वप्नायितवत्या वा सर्वथा तन्नाट्यायितं ।

तत्रास्य बहुतरव्यापिनो बहुगर्भस्वप्नायिततुल्यस्य नाट्यायितस्योदाहरणं **महाकविसुबन्धुनिबद्धो वासवदत्तानाट्यधाराख्यः** समस्त एव प्रयोग : ।

तत्र हि **बिन्दुसारः** प्रयोज्यवस्तुक **उदयनचरिते** सामाजिकीकृतोऽप्युदयनो **वासवदत्ताचेष्टिते**?। एष चार्थः स्वस्मिसूत्ररूपके दृष्टे सुज्ञानो भवति । अतिवैतत्यभयात्तु न प्रदर्शितः । एकस्तु प्रदेश उदाह्रियते । तत्र **ह्युदयने** सामाजिकीकृते **सूत्रधार**प्रयोगः ।

"तव सुचरितैरेव जयति" इति ।
उदयनः ॥ " कुतो मम सुचरितानि "
इति सास्रं विलपति ।

* This paper was first prepared in the year 1921 and read before the Second Oriental Conference in January 1922.

[1] The passage is given as found in the palmleaf MSS. which seems to have some mistakes. It is not attempted here to correct them.

"एह्यम्ब किं **कटकपिङ्गल**वाचकैस्तैः
भक्तोऽहमप्युदयनः सुललितानीयः (?) ।
यौगन्धरायण ममानय राजपुत्रीं
हा हर्षरक्षित गतस्त्व [म] पिप्रभावः (?) ॥
तत्रैव **बिन्दुसारः** सामाजिकीभूतः परमार्थतामाभि (मन्य) मानो धन्यां खलु प्रलापैश्च (?) सति ॥
प्रतीहारी ॥—(आत्मगतं)
"अ अणिदपरमात्थकलहिच्चिइखुदेवो"
इत्यादि परिमितव्यापिनो गर्भस्य नाट्यायितस्योदाहरणम् ॥

The passage deals with *nâṭyâyiṭa*, a term which occurs in the *Nâṭyaśâstra* ; but has not hitherto been properly understood. With the help of the commentary, which is unfortunately broken in a few places, and in other places misunderstood on account of the corrupt text, *nâṭyâyiṭa* seems to refer to a device by which the actors in a play are represented, or are supposed to be represented, as conversing with the actors in another play, the scene and time of action of which might be far removed from them. The device seems to have been used in a very masterly way in the work *Vâsavadattâ-Nâṭyâdhârâ* of the great poet (**महाकवि**) Subandhu. The work is said to have had many *garbhas* in it, meaning many incidents are represented in it, as in a dream, which belong to a time and scene different from that of the action proper. Thus as soon as the stage manager utters something, Bindusâra is introduced and speaks. This speech of Bindusâra is represented as having been heard by Udayana, the hero in the drama proper. Thinking that what Udayana heard had reference to himself, Udayana is represented as exclaiming '**कुतो मम सुचरितानि**,' and as reciting the following verse :—

'एह्यम्ब किं **कटकपिङ्गल**वाचकैस्तैः
भक्तोऽहमप्युदयनः सुललितानीयः (?) ।
यौगन्धरायण ममानय राजपुत्रीं
हा हर्षरक्षितगतस्त्वमपिप्रभावः (?) ।

Again Bindusâra seems to have been represented as hearing this verse. After this a herald **प्रतीहारी** seems to be introduced into the drama with the Prakrit passage :—

"अ अणिदपरमात्थकलाहिच्चिइखुदेवो ।"

The *chhâyâ* or Sanskrit rendering of this is uncertain. The herald, *Pratihâri*, with this sentence seems to introduce the hero Udayana to the audience. With the appearance of Udayana on the stage the *Pravêśaka* closes and the drama proper begins.

From the verse uttered by Udayana, which is again unfortunately corrupt, we are able to guess that, in the drama *Udayanacharita* or *Vâsavadattâ-Nâṭyadhârâ*, Kaṭakapingaḷa, Yaugandharâyaṇa and Harsharakshita were the names of some of the characters. Of these Harsharakshita might have been the name of the herald (*pratihâri*) who ushers in Udayana, and Kaṭakapingaḷa might have been the *vidushaka* or the jester, the inevitable companion of the hero in Sanskrit dramas. After this Abhinavaguptapâda gives another example of a *nâṭyâyiṭa* from *Bâlarâmâyaṇa*.[5]

The passage contains information which we have not got anywhere else in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. We do not have any other explanation of this *nâṭyâyita*, nor have we another example of a *nâṭyadhârâ*. Leaving aside conjectures about what we cannot know with the limited resources now at our disposal, let us examine how this passage affects our main theme, the date of the poet Subandhu. He becomes a contemporary of the Mauryan emperors, Chandragupta and Bindusâra. He was the author of a work called

[5] This is said to be in the *garbhâṅka* of that drama. I have not been able to locate the passage in the published drama *Bâlarâmâyaṇa* of Râjaśêkhara.

Vâsavadattâ-Nâṭyadhârâ. His patrons, Chandragupta and Bindusâra, also appear to have been present during the representation of the drama. This throws a flood of light into a region of the history of Sanskrit literature, which has remained quite dark up to the present. The epoch of which it formed part, seems to have been not a dull one, and the scholar is led to infer that there ought to have existed quite a large number of dramas in Sanskrit. Most unfortunately we do not possess any other example.

The study of Indian literature and epigraphy so far has not revealed any achievements of this Bindusâra. But the records of the Greek Ambassadors who visited the courts of ancient Indian kings, and the ancient Indian works translated and preserved in the Tibetan language, have some information about him. They represent him as a great conqueror. and historians think that the Mauryan Empire may have been extended to South India during his time. In the Greek references his name is given as Amitrochates, which is a corruption of *Amitraghâtin,* a title that appears to have been assumed by Bindusâra. The word means 'the destroyer of enemies', and seems to refer to his widespread conquests. The Sanskrit extracts and the whole of the previous discussion show Bindusâra in a new light as a great patron of letters. The extract from Vâmana seems to refer to Subandhu as a minister of Bindusâra and suggests that he was a very clever minister (*kṛitadhî*). He ought to have been a fitting successor to Châṇakya, *i.e.*, Kauṭilya, the famous minister of Bindusâra's father Chandragupta, and the real founder of the Mauryan Empire. Kautilya was the author of the great ancient work on Polity, the *Arthaśâstra.* Like him, his successor Subandhu, the minister of Bindusâra, was the author of the dramatic work *Vâsavadattâ Nâṭyadhârâ.* He must also have become famous as a minister, as is evidenced by the epithet *kṛitadhî,* referring to him, and Vâmana's note on the same. Abhinavaguptâpâda, the famous Sanskrit Rhetorician and authority on poetics calls him a great poet (*mahâkavi*). Dandin's reference to him in the beginning of his *Avantisundarikathâ* throws further light on his life. He is said to have come out (निष्क्रान्त:) from the bondage (बन्धनात्) of Bindusâra, having bound his (Bindusâra's) heart by the story of Vatsaraja. It is a pity that the new information about Subandhu is too scanty compared to the importance of the subject. Râkshasa, the minister of Bindusâra's father Chandragupta, is said to have been first imprisoned by Chandragupta and Châṇakya and then released to take up the office of a minister. Can it be that Subandhu also, like Râkshasa, was suffering imprisonment, for having taken part in some political revolution, when he was released by the sovereign after writing the *Vâsavadattânâṭyadhârâ* ?

Again, the famous poet Bâṇa, the author of *Kâdambarî,* who lived in the court of the Emperor of Kanauj, Śrî Harsha, refers to a number of previous authors in the beginning of his *Harshacharita.* Among these there is a reference to a work called *Vâsavadattâ.* This is in the eleventh verse and follows the reference to the *Mahâbhârata* and precedes the references to the poets Bhaṭṭâra-Harichandra, Sâtavâhana, Pravarasêna, Bhâsa, Kâḷidâsa and the author of the *Bṛihatkathâ* (Guṇâḍhya). The verse runs thus :—

" कवीनामगलद्दर्पो नूनं वासवदत्तया ।
शक्त्येव पाण्डुपुत्राणां गतया कर्णगोचरम् " ॥ 11 ॥

The gist of the verse is "The pride of poets vanished before Vâsavadaṭṭâ, as the pride of the Pâṇḍavas when the weapon (शक्ति) given by Indra came to the possession of Karṇa." Scholars thought that this verse referred to the romance *Vâsavadattâ* and its author. But the position of the verse in the series, coming as it does immediately after the verse referring to Vyâsa and before the verses referring to Sâtavâhana. Pravarasêna, Bhâsa, Kâḷidâsa and Guṇâḍhya, preclude such a conclusion. Again Vâsavadattâ has not, as a work, such merit as to deserve so high a praise. Scholars will remember that it was the study of the *Vâsavadattâ* of this later Subandhu, with "his taste for the pleasures of sensual life,

and the zest with which he describes the mere physical side of love, which shows him up to us and seems to prove that he has not passed the stage of a refined voluptuary." Subandhu has used expressions which must adversely affect the reputation of any writer for taste and refinement. It should be remembered that it was this work of Subandhu that brought down the ire of the editor, F.E. Hall, which has expressed itself in the following strong attack against Sanskrit culture itself :—" In short, it is nothing beyond the voucher of the severest verity to rank him (Subandhu) with his fellow Asiatics, be it in their highest taste, as no better, at the very best, than a specious savage." Dr. Peterson has amply replied to this attack in his works, and there is no need for us to reply to the attack so late in the day. It is only mentioned here to show that the reference of Bâṇa could never have been to the existing *Vâsavadattâ*.

Of the several attempts to extract history from the verse quoted in Vâmana's *Alaṅkârasûtra*, one makes an effort, from the introductory verses of the *Vâsavadattâ*, to prove the occurrence of a political revolution in the Gupta Empire, after the death of Chandragupta II, Vikramâditya. In the light of the previous discussion and the new passages that have been quoted therein, it is plain that there is no reference in the verses to any events of the Gupta period. On the strength of the supposed references in the verses and the similarity between the expressions Chandraprakâśa, Himakarôdyôta, and Śaśiruk in the beginning of *Vâsavadattâ*, the whole theory of Subandhu's taking part in the revolution and his being detrimentally affected by it was built up. This theory has now to be given up and the verses taken to contain no reference to the enemies of Chandraprakâśa, who were tyrannising the whole country and particularly Subandhu's party. They are merely verses containing the *kukaviniṅdâ* (censure of bad poets). Now if the hemistitch of Vâmana has no reference to the Buddhist scholar Vasubandhu, his date ought to be determined on other grounds. The discrepancy between the two accounts of Paramârtha and Hiuen Tsang about the place where Vikramâditya, the patron of Vasubandhu ruled, Ajodhya or Śrâvasti, might not be serious, as both the places belonged to the empire. But the question as to the Vikramâditya who patronised Vasubandhu, and his son Bâlâditya, who summoned Vasubandhu to his court after he became emperor, are not so easily solved. If M. Peri is right in holding that Vasubandhu lived and died in the fourth century, the conclusion seems plausible that Chandragupta I may have had the title of Vikramâditya, which is not impossible, since the theory that Chandragupta II was the first sovereign to assume that title is at least not proved. But we do not know if Samudragupta had the title Bâlâditya or Parâditya, and until we get independent proof that he had either of the titles, the question regarding the date of Vasubandhu and the identity of his patron are bound to remain unsettled.

The age of Subandhu must have been an age of very great literary and artistic activity. There must have been written at this period many works in the *kâvya* and *nâṭaka* styles as well as in the *sûtra* style. But for the existence of many dramas, a work like the *naṭasûtras* referred to by Patanjali, dealing with dramaturgy could not have been written. The dramas of the period must have differed much from those of the later ages, as is evidenced by the *Nâṭyadhârâ* and *Nâṭyâyita* of Subandhu. The age in which Subandhu lived was the age in which the ancient Greeks were just coming in contact with India. The Indian drama of the time seems to have already been in a much developed stage, for which there is no parallel even in the literary history of India at any later period. In the light of this, theories of India's borrowing her drama from Greece may have to be given up, and search has to be conducted in India itself for specimens of dramas, composed earlier than the age of Alexander's invasion. The hope of new and epoch-making discoveries in this field appears to be capable of realisation, and the discoveries will surely open to scholars a new epoch in the history of Sanskrit literature.

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE DRAVIDIAN ELEMENT IN INDIAN CULTURE, by GILBERT SLATER, M.A., Ernest Benn, 1924.

This work by the late Professor of Economics in the Madras University is intended to prove that 'Indian culture, with its special characteristic of systematic and subtle philosophical thought, must have come from people capable of originating and developing it. That capacity would naturally be exhibited also in the evolution of language, and the purest Dravidian language does exhibit it in the highest degree—in a higher degree than any other Indian language.'

Much that the author tells us of the languages and customs of Southern India, of which he doubtless gained some personal knowledge, is true and interesting, but the work, like the 'Origin of Magic and Religion' and the 'Children of the Sun', is written under the influence of the 'Diffusionist' theory, which now bids fair to replace the Sun-myth of Max Muller and the corn-spirit of Sir J. Frazer as the universal solution of every question of origin. Diffusionists, if one may coin this term for such writers, in searching the whole world as material for illustrating their theories, sometimes fail to acquire a sufficiently close knowledge of any one particular area; and in various portions of the present work there is striking evidence of this fundamental defect. Mr. Slater makes the statement (p. 50) that Indians consider caste to be economic in basis, and (p. 51) that Europeans consider the origins of caste political rather than economic. This is not an accurate summary of the best opinions on caste origins, which are admittedly racial, political, religious and occupational. Again (p. 57) he commits himself to the very improbable statement that the sacred thread worn by the Brahman indicates an original association of the caste with cotton-spinning! Is it to be inferred that Kshattriyas and Vaishyas, who also wore the thread as twice-born, were similarly cotton-spinners in origin? We are told (p. 79) that the art of making toddy reached India from Mesopotamia; but is there any reason for doubting the capacity of residents on the coast in India for arriving at such a simple process without assistance from overseas? Is it easy to prove, similarly, that Dravidian boats were modelled on Egyptian patterns (p. 81)? And why must the cult of the cobra have been introduced by strangers (p. 90)? Mr. Slater (p. 90) commits himself to the theory that 'with the acceptance of cobra worship came also the acceptance of the general principle that what is feared should also be worshipped.' All investigation into primitive belief in India shows that this is the exact reverse of the truth. In reality, fear leads to worship and propitiation. Hence spirits, godlings, disease, all manifestations of power, and incidentally the cobra are common objects of worship. Very similarly (p. 157), Mr. Slater again mistakes cause for effect in dealing with the habits of untouchables. It is surely not the fact that because low castes are untouchable, they eat meat, drink liquor and are dirty in habits; clearly they are untouchable because they are guilty of these practices. Mr. Slater very rightly adopts a sceptical attitude towards the theory recently developed by some writers that gold owed its prestige originally to its being used to make imitation shells; but his own theory of the origin of the fondness for gold (p. 163) is almost equally unconvincing.

The book though presenting much that challenges criticism should be read by those who are interested in Dravidian culture, and contains much of interest for the student of early Indian history, even though the latter may be inclined to smile at the description of the first Brahmans as engaged in teaching Indian craftsmen to spin and weave.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.

THE LIFE AND WORK OF BUDDHAGHOSA, by BIMALA CHARAN LAW, M.A., with a foreword by MRS. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS, D. LITT. Calcutta Oriental Series; Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta, 1923.

Here we have a brief but comprehensive account of all that is known of the most celebrated commentator of the Theravâda school of Buddhism. The book may in some respects be regarded as a reply to the theory, lately propounded by M. Louis Finot, that Buddhaghosa is not a historical personage, and that he did not compose the many important commentaries and other works which bear his name. Despite the scantiness of the materials which support the story of the great commentator's life, it must, in my opinion, be admitted that Mr. Law has successfully disproved M. Finot's views and has produced a credible account of Buddhaghosa's life and literary labours. Commencing his treatise with the biographical details obtainable from the *Mahâvaṁsa* and other sources, the author proceeds to an examination of the legends which have grown up around his name, discusses the origin and development of the Buddhist commentaries; and then, after a critical examination of Buddhaghosa's works and interesting illustrations of their encyclopædic character,—they embrace information upon such various subjects as History and Anatomy, Dancing and Ornithology, Astronomy and Jugglery—he concludes his work with an explanation of Buddhaghosa's philosophy and his interpretation of Buddhism.

There can be no doubt about the great erudition, zeal, and self-denying labours of the man whom Bishop Coplestone once styled "the second founder of Buddhism in Ceylon;" and students of Pali literature and others interested in the history of the religion founded by the Buddha will be grateful to Mr. Law for this well-written and well-printed summary of all that is worth knowing. or that can be

known after the lapse of fifteen hundred years, about the sage interpreter of Buddhist literature.

S. M. EDWARDES.

LES THÉORIES DIPLOMATIQUES DE L'INDE ANCIENNE ET L'ARTHAÇÂSTRA, par KÂLIDÂS NÂG. Jean Maisonneuve et fils, Paris, 1923.

A considerable literature has already grown up around the famous *Arthaśâstra* of Kautilya, since its first discovery and publication a few years ago, and shows every sign of expanding. Among the latest and not the least important of the works which seek to illuminate and draw historical conclusions from that important literary legacy of the Mauryan age is this French work by Professor Kâlidâs Nâg, recently published in Paris. Thirty years ago, as the author remarks, no one would have believed that the East could throw any useful light upon the history of diplomacy, which appears as a recognized term for the first time in the international law of the nineteenth century. But the discovery of the cuneiform tablets at Tel-el-Amarna, and of the priceless remains at Boghazkeui, together with the researches of Professor Garstang and H. Winckler, have rendered necessary a fundamental revision of our ideas on this subject. The treatise attributed to the emperor Chandragupta's Brahman minister carries us even further from the beliefs of thirty or forty years ago: for in it we find the problems of peace and war, of neutrality and the balance of power, in brief all the fundamental questions with which modern international law deals, discussed with remarkable wealth of detail. The author does not confine himself to a simple explanation of general principles and to definitions of the laws, but puts forward concrete cases in which such principles and laws are applied.

Kautilya himself informs us at the commencement of his great treatise on the *Arthaśâstra* or Science of Profit that he composed it by uniting and collating the summaries of nearly all the treatises composed by the masters of this science in epochs preceding his own; and acting on this evidence, Professor Kâlidâs Nâg has sought in his new work to place Kautilya's *Arthaśâstra* in its proper historical perspective, to trace the broad lines of India's political evolution up to the approximate date of Kautilya, and lastly, after examining Kautilya's own contribution to the development of the science, to illustrate the continuity of ancient tradition from documents of later date. Professor Nâg finds it impossible to accept the view, originally held by Mr. Shama Śâstri and supported by Professor Jacobi, that the *Arthaśâstra* was written entirely by Chandragupta's minister about 325 B.C. In the first place, the character of the diplomacy illustrated in the text is foreign to that of a great centralized empire, such as Chandragupta ruled, and appertains rather to an epoch of feudalism, in which each ruler is in constant conflict for hegemony with his equals, and which shows no trace of the centralizing imperialism of the Mauryan Emperor.

The science of *Artha* is very ancient: some of its parts, like the science of law, are pre-Buddhistic. The ancient text, discovered by Professor Shama Śâstri, is certainly not a homogeneous work, belonging in its entirety to a single epoch: and even if we accept the view that a great portion of the treatise was the work of Kautilya himself, it is equally probable that it has been recast on several succeeding occasions. Professor Nâg gives instances in support of his theory that the *Arthaśâstra* is not the product of a single powerful brain, but rather an encyclopædia of Hindu political science, to which more than one expert has contributed. Finally he discusses the reason why the *Arthaśâstra* is the only document now existing on the subject, and why it remained utterly unknown, until Professor Shama Śâstri suddenly discovered it in a private library. The solution must be sought, according to Professor Nâg, in the attitude adopted by the Hindu mind towards a science which bore very closely upon the moral life of man. Viewing the matter from another standpoint, one may say that, although the empire inherited by Aśoka was based upon the Hindu science of *Artha* and *Râjanîti*, yet that great ruler absolutely transformed Hindu political science, by introducing *Dharma*, the law of piety, as the keynote of all human activity. The *Arthaśâstra* thus lost its original authority, and as the moral element inherent in *Dharma* gained ground, it was permitted to sink into obscurity. "History," says Professor Nâg, "will decide whether India lost or gained by making this choice (*i.e.*, of *Dharma*), but the fact remains that she discarded the path pointed out by Kautilya-Chanakya and chose instead that of Dharmâśoka." Professor Nâg's work deserves close study, and it is to be hoped that for the benefit of those who do not know French an authoritative English translation of the work will be published.

S. M. EDWARDES.

THE ARMY OF RANJIT SINGH, Parts I and II, by SITA RAM KOHLI, M.A., reprinted from the *Journal of Indian History*, February and September 1922. Oxford University Press, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras.

This modest but none the less useful historical pamphlet owes its appearance in some measure to the action of the Panjab Government, which recently brought to light the original records of the Sikh government between 1812 and 1849. These had lain unnoticed for years in the archives of the Secretariat. The records are valuable; for they comprise official papers dealing with the departmental administration of the Sikhs and throw a flood of light upon the system of government prior to the advent of British rule in the Panjab. The author of the article prefaces his account of the

organization of the Sikh army with a brief outline of the work of the early Gurus, describing how the army of Ranjit Singh really originated in the 300 horse and 60 artillerymen in the service of Hargobind (1607—1644), who was the first of the Gurus to enter upon a military career. Under Gobind Singh, his grandson, the men were organized into troops and bands, supplemented by the engagement of professional soldiers, who were plentiful in those days; while under Banda Bahadur (1708-1716) the troops were definitely divided into three classes, *viz.*, (1) the true Sikhs who fought for the sake of their faith, (2) the mercenaries, who were secretly maintained by such of the Sikh chiefs as did not wish to place themselves in overt opposition to the Mughal Emperor, and (3) the irregulars, who were attracted to camp by the prospect of loot and plunder. By the date of Banda Bahadur's death, the simple Sikh peasant of Hargobind's army had become "a regular, well-equipped soldier of the Khalsa, adept in the use of arms and trained in the methods of guerilla warfare."

In 1748 was founded under Jassa Singh Kalal the *Dal Khalsa* or standing national army, comprising the entire body of fighting Sikhs. The *dal* was democratic in constitution: for "every Sikh who had acquired some proficiency in the use of arms could get himself enrolled in the national army and fight under the banner of some chief, and he could, if he so wished, transfer his services from one chief to another." Composed as it was of the forces of various chiefs, stationed in their respective territories, the *dal* mustered in force every year at the Dasahra festival, and on special occasions also was summoned by the Akalis or warrior priests in charge of the great temple at Amritsar. The permanence of the *dal*, however, depended on the spirit of co-operation; and no sooner had the threatened danger to the Sikh religion disappeared with the collapse of the Abdali monarchy, than fissiparous tendencies became evident, and each chief commenced to strengthen his own resources and establish his own standing army. Side by side with this feudal movement, another important change manifested itself. The fighting men gradually developed into a separate class; the militant Khalsa became a body of professional soldiers. At the close of the eighteenth century this Khalsa army was composed almost wholly of cavalry: a certain proportion of artillery was maintained, but was not efficient; while the infantry, which was not rated highly, was employed on garrison and other minor duties. Mr. S. R. Kohli briefly describes the weapons and mode of fighting employed by this army, their dress and uniform, their drill and discipline. The latter feature was to seek, its place being supplied by courage and fanatical enthusiasm.

Under Ranjit Singh the character of the Sikh army underwent a radical alteration. The two branches of the army, the infantry and artillery, which were despised and even ignored in the eighteenth century, now "came to be regarded as the mainstay of the military strength of the State." This result was due to the change of public opinion regarding the tactical efficiency of the various arms. The old guerilla warfare and irregular attacks by cavalry, which had proved so successful under men like Sivâji in the Deccan, were observed to be really of less value than steady fire from gun and musket: and the general acceptance of this view led inevitably to the disappearance of the feudal levies of the chiefs and their replacement by a standing national army, paid regularly by the State. The growth of the East India Company as a military and political power, and its employment of trained artillery and large bodies of disciplined infantry, were really the predisposing causes of the general abandonment of the old tactics. Marâthâ chiefs like Sindia and Holkar and Sikh leaders like Ranjit Singh realized quickly that a new era in warfare had dawned, and that no Indian State, with its antique weapons and methods of warfare, could hope to confront successfully a European power. Mr. Sita Ram Kohli gives an interesting sketch of the growth of the Khalsa army under Ranjit Singh, and in the second part of his monograph discusses the history, organization, strength and efficiency of the Sikh artillery. The result of the policy of the ruler of the Panjab is apparent from certain observations of Sir G. Gough on the Sikh war. "Never did a native army," he wrote, "having so relatively slight an advantage in numbers, fight a battle with the British in which the issue was so doubtful as at Ferozeshah: and if the victory was decisive, opinion remains divided as to what the result might have been, if the Sikh troops had found commanders with sufficient capacity to give their qualities full opportunity."

We shall look forward to the publication of further instalments of Mr. Kohli's researches into the records of the Sikh government. The present monograph offers a guarantee that they will be a valuable addition to the history of the period.

S. M. EDWARDES.

THE SAHITYADARPANA OF VISVANATHA (Parichchhedas I-X), with notes on Parichchhedas, I, II, X, and HISTORY OF ALANKARA LITERATURE, by P. V. KANE, M.A., second edition. Bombay, 1923.

The present edition of this book, which was first published in 1910, contains two important features, which were absent from the first edition, namely (*a*) an exhaustive history of Alaṅkâra literature, and (*b*) the whole of the text of the *Sahityadarpana*, in the settlement of which Mr. Kane has collated three manuscripts. Alaṅkâra literature is a subject which Mr. Kane has made peculiarly his own, as past issues of this Journal will show, and in this work he

has treated it exhaustively. In the first part he includes an account of all the important works on the *Alaṅkâraśâstra,* in particular those of early writers, with a brief analysis of their contents, date and allied matters; while in the second part he reviews the subjects that have to be treated under the *Alaṅkâraśâstra.* discusses the origin of the various theories of poetics and literary criticism, and traces the history of literary theories in India. Mr. Kane acknowledges his indebtedness to the works of Bühler, Peterson, Jacobi, Pathak and many others; but his book contains a considerable volume of original work, and, so far as I am aware, is the first English publication dealing in a comprehensive manner with this rather recondite subject. The book is furnished with good indices and ought to be of much value to University students and others interested in Alaṅkâra literature. Mr. Kane is to be congratulated on a production which bears every indication of prolonged and careful study.

S. M. EDWARDES.

CATALOGUE OF THE INDIAN COLLECTIONS IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON. By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. 1923.

The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston is said to possess the most important collections of Indian art to be found in America, and it is specially well stocked with examples of Rajput and Mughal painting. Nepalese painting, illustrated Jain manuscripts, Nepalese and Sinhalese bronzes, Indian sculpture, textiles and jewellery. The present catalogue, which is enriched with eighty-five excellent photographs of Indian bronzes and sculptures, is divided into two parts. of which the first consists of a general introduction from the pen of Mr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Keeper of Indian Art in the Museum, and the second illustrates and describes in detail the collection of sculptures.

In his Introduction the author gives a short survey of Indian religious and philosophical speculation from the earliest ages, describes the salient features of Buddhism, Jainism and neo-Brahmanic Hinduism, and concludes with a few remarks on the origin of the Indian drama and Indian music. The Introduction concludes with a short chronology, commencing 2500 B.C. and ending with the assumption of sovereignty by the English Crown in 1858. Though there is little to criticise in the major portion of the Introduction, some of the dates given in the chronological table seem to me open to question. He records 530 B.C. as the date of Bimbisâra of the Saisunâga dynasty, for example, whereas recent researches appear to justify the acceptance of 582 B.C. as a more likely date. In the same way, he dates Ajâtaśatru in 514 B.C., while the fact that this king had at least one interview with Gautama Buddha and that the death of the latter, about 543 B C., occurred during the early years of Ajâtaśatru's reign, obliges one to assume that this King came to the throne about forty years earlier than the date specified by the author. The dates given for the term of Buddha's life, *viz.*, 563–483 B.C. are far from being universally accepted; and though no dogmatic conclusion is possible. the weight of evidence seems to favour 543 B.C. as the date of his death.

The same criticism applies to the author's dates for the Mauryan period. He is possibly correct in assuming that Chandragupta's reign did not commence before 322 B.C., though it may well have been one or two years earlier; but he appears to be wrong in giving 274–237 B.C., as the date of Asoka's reign. The more probable limits are 272 and 232 B.C. The date of the rise of the Andhras to power is another point upon which controversy might be sustained; but the whole origin of the Andhras is at present involved in so much obscurity that one cannot blame the author for fixing their first appearance in 220 B.C. His date for Kanishka strikes me as much more dubious. The discoveries at Taxila and other recent clues make it clear that Kadphises I and II preceded Kanishka, and that the latter could not have succeeded Kadphises II much before A.D. 120. His dates for Kanishka, *viz.* A.D. 78–120, can in fact be allotted with greater confidence to Kadphises II. Finally, I observe that Mr. Coomaraswamy places the Pallava dynasty of Southern India between the sixth and tenth centuries A.D. He has probably not had the advantage of reading Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's paper on "The Origin and Early History of the Pallavas of Kanchi," which shows that the Pallavas were in active existence at a date considerably anterior to the sixth century, and can be traced back to the middle of the third century A.D., and perhaps to an even earlier date.

It is perhaps hardly fair to draw attention to these historical enigmas in the case of a work devoted to an explanation of artistic relics. In the latter direction Mr. Coomaraswamy has performed his task well, and the work is admirably printed and produced.

S. M. EDWARDES.

MEMORIAL PAPERS. By SHAMS-UL-ULMA JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI. B.A., PH.D., C.I.E., Fort Printing Press, Bombay.

"Good wine needs no bush," runs an old proverb; and in the sphere of Iranian literature any work by Dr. J. J. Modi carries its own recommendation. Here we have, collected in one volume, a series of papers which the author originally prepared for inclusion in various memorial volumes between the years 1900 and 1914. Among them is a paper on the Tibetan mode of disposal of the dead, another on the use of Rosaries among Zoroastrians, a third on the Hunas in Avesta and Pahlavi, and so forth. The collection will be welcomed by Orientalists, who will find questions of historical interest discussed with full notes and references in every chapter.

S. M. EDWARDES.

A HISTORY OF IMPORTANT ANCIENT TOWNS AND CITIES IN GUJARAT AND KATHIAWAD.

(From the earliest times down to the Moslem Conquest.)

BY ANANT SADASIV ALTEKAR. M.A., LL.B.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the following pages we propose to deal with the history of important ancient towns and cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad from the earliest time down to the Muhammadan period. As the territories now denoted by the term Gujarat did not in ancient times bear that name, nay, as the ancient counterpart of the modern name was in the olden days successively applied to different territories, none of which are included in modern Gujarat or Kathiawad, we think it essential to explain at the outset what were the ancient names of our provinces, what was the territory denoted by each of them and how and why the old names came to be superseded by the modern ones. The first chapter of our thesis is therefore devoted to this purpose.

In this thesis we have not discussed the history of all the ancient towns and cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad ; but only of such of them as were important. It is therefore necessary that the reader should be acquainted with the principles that have governed our selection. The second chapter therefore discusses the general criteria of importance which have guided us in our selection of towns and cities, whose history has been traced in the following pages. At the end of this chapter we have briefly stated why the towns so selected have been arranged alphabetically in our history.

In the third chapter we have traced the history of towns and cities selected on the foregoing principles. In some cases our accounts may appear fragmentary, but if such is the case, the fault is, let it be humbly stated, not of the writer but of the materials. In the case of the majority of towns referred to in the copperplates, the inscriptions hardly supply any information worth the name ; the literary 'Prabandhas' also do not help us much ; for they usually confine their attention only to the capitals of the heroes they glorify ; the same also is the case with legends preserved by the native bards. Our apparently fragmentary accounts are really exhaustive, and contain everything that was possible for us to gather from inscriptional, literary and legendary sources available to us. We are conscious that many gaps have to be filled, but it is doubtful whether in the present state of our knowledge, it is possible to do so at present. At any rate we hope that our present effort will be of some use to the future historian who, owing to ampler materials that may then become available, will be able to do fuller justice to the subject.

The early history in India is usually regarded as concluding with the end of the Hindu period ; so we have traced the history of our towns and cities down to the commencement of the Muhammadan period.

Having dealt with the history of about sixty towns and cities in the third chapter, we have devoted the concluding fourth chapter to a discussion of the general features of the cities and city-life in Ancient Gujarat.

A map of Gujarat and Kathiawad, showing all our ancient towns and cities and giving also their modern names, has been appended to our thesis for the ready reference of the reader.

In addition to the usual abbreviations, the following have been used in our thesis :—

A.G.I., for *Ancient Geography of India* by Cunningham.
Ant. K., for *Antiquities of Kutch and Kathiawad.*
Ant.N.G. for *Antiquities of Northern Gujarat.*
B.G., I-I, for *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, part I.
Beal, for *Buddhistic Records of the Western World* translated by Beal.
G.D.A.I., for *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient India.*
G.E., for Gupta Era.
Mbh., for *Mahâbhârata.*
Pbc. for *Prabandhachintâmaṇi.*

CHAPTER I.

Gujarat and Kathiawad : Ancient and Modern Names and Boundaries.

The name Gujarat is at present applied to the country filling the north-west corner of Western India, and its boundaries may be given as Arabian Sea to the west, Gulf of Kutch to the north-west, Little Rann and Mewad districts to the north, Mount Abu to the north-east, Malwa to the east, Khandesh to the south-east, and Thana district or northern Konkan to the south. The region so bounded did not bear, however, in ancient times its present name ; nay, it did not even form one geographic or political unit.

This territory, in early days, comprised three distinct provinces differently named. The peninsula was named Saurâshṭra ; and the continental portion, roughly speaking, consisted of Ânarta and Lâṭa, Ânarta forming the northern and Lâṭa the central and southern part of the present continental Gujarat.

The exact boundaries of these provinces were, however, uncertain. Lâṭa does not seem to have included the whole portion of what would now be called southern Gujarat; for, part of it was undoubtedly included in Aparânta or northern Konkan. The author of the *Periplus* says 'To the Gulf of Barake succeed that of Barugaza and the mainland of Ariake'.[1] Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji is right when he corrects Ariake into Abaratike, the Prakrit form of Aparântika. So it would appear from the *Periplus* that Bharoch gulf was then regarded as a gulf in Konkan. According to Ptolemy, the order of the western maritime provinces was as follows—Syrastrênê, Larike, Gulf of Barygaza and Ariake.[2] Ptolemy then regarded Bharoch, if not actually forming part of Aparânta, as at least distinct from and to the south of Lâṭa. In the *Mahâbhârata* [3] when the pilgrimage of Arjuna is being described, we are told :— सोऽपरान्तेषु तीर्थानि पुण्यान्यायतनानि च । सर्वाण्येवानुपूर्वेण जगामामितविक्रमः ।
समुद्रे पश्चिमे यानि तीर्थान्यायतनानि च । तानि सर्वाणि गत्वा स प्रभासमुपजग्मिवान् ॥

From this it would appear that, according to the great epic, Aparânta included practically the whole of the Western coast. In the 37th chapter of *Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa*, Aparânta figures as one of the countries to the north of the Sahya mountain :—**सह्यस्य चोत्तरे यास्तु यत्र गोदावरी नदी** । We may therefore conclude that the territories between the Taptî and the Narmadâ, which now form part of southern Gujarat, were formerly included in Aparânta and not in Lâṭa. As regards the upper boundary of Lâṭa, it also was indefinite ; it was not the Mahî, for the Cambay plates of Râshṭrakûṭa Govinda IV [4] include the Kheṭaka division in Lâṭa. Compare—लाटदेशखेटकमंडलान्तर्गतकाविकामहास्थानावीनिर्गताय·

As Maṇḍala was the name of a territorial sub-division, much greater than the modern collectorate, we have to conclude that the whole of Kaira district and a large part of even Ahmadabad district were included during the ninth century, in ancient Lâṭa. Lâṭa then consisted of the central and a large part of southern Gujarat.

As regards Ânarta, its boundaries were equally vague, if not vaguer still. On the southern side the region hardly extended up to Ahmadabad. On the west it was bounded by the Rann of Kachh, on the north by the Abu range, on the east by Mâlwa. But where exactly Ânarta ended and Mâlwâ commenced, it is very difficult to state. Modern Wâdnagar was at the heart of the country, hence its name Ânartapura which it once possessed.[5]

The boundaries of Saurâshṭra were however clear. At present Sorath denotes only the southern part of Kathiawad; but in ancient times Saurâshṭra was the name of the whole peninsula. Ptolemy includes the continental coast upto Bharoch in Saurâshṭra ; [6] but this probably was not the case. Statements of foreign observers cannot be so exactly accurate.

1 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VIII. p. 140.

2 *Ptolemy*, p. 33.

3 *Adiparvan*, p. 218.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VII, p. 28.

5 *Vide* under Ânandpura.

6 *Vide* p. 27.

When and why these names were given is the next question we have to consider. Of these, Saurâshtra seems to be the earliest one ; Syrastênê of Ptolemy, Surastros of Strabo and Surastrênê of the *Periplus* are all corruptions of it. If we turn to the *Purâṇas*, it appears in the *Mahâbhârata*,[7] the *Râmâyaṇa*,[8] the *Mârkaṇḍeya*,[9] *Kûrma*,[10] *Vishṇu*,[11] and other *Purâṇas*. Baudhâyana[12] refers to it, as do Kauṭilya[13] and Pâṇini. We may, therefore, well conclude that the name was current as early as the sixth century B.C.

The particular name was selected because of the natural riches of the province. From very old times, the country was famous for its natural wealth ; how it impressed a stranger may well be inferred from the following lines in the *Periplus*. "The interior parts of Barugaza and Surastrênê produce abundantly corn and rice, the oil of sesamum, butter, muslins and the coarser fabrics, manufactured by the Indians. It has also numerous herds of cattle."[14] The name did not go out of vogue in the fourth century as Cunningham says ; it was in popular use right up to the eighteenth century when the Marathas changed it to Kathiawad, a name based upon the name of the tribe which offered them the greatest resistance.

As regards the other two names, Ânarta and Lâṭa, they do not seem to have been much in popular use. Lâṭa is indeed mentioned in the Mandasor Inscription[15] and in the *Kâma Sûtra*;[16] it occurs also in Ptolemy and the *Periplus*. The Gulf of Cambay was called the sea of Lâr down to early Muhammadan times and the language spoken on its shores, Masudi Lâri.[17]

Nevertheless Lâṭa does not seem to have been in popular vogue in ancient times, probably because it was not of Hindu origin. No scholar has as yet been able to derive it satisfactorily ; Dr. Bhagwânlâl's suggestion that it might be derived from Raṭṭas, an abbreviated form of Râshṭrakûṭas, is unacceptable, because the connection of the Râshṭrakûṭas with Gujarat commenced in the sixth century at the earliest ; whereas the name was already in vogue in the first century. To me, the name appears to be of non-Indian origin given by foreigners ; hence the difficulties about its derivation, hence its absence in early inscriptions and the *Purâṇas*. The name is conspicuous by its absence among the names of the southern and western countries conquered by Nakula and Sahadeva ;[18] nor does it occur in the countries in Bhâratavarsha enumerated in the *Bhûmi Parvan*.[19] When we note that these are exhaustive lists, not free from later interpolations, the absence becomes especially significant. Similarly, neither the *Vishṇu Purâṇa*, part II, chap. III, nor *Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa*, chap. 57, neither the *Matsya Purâṇa*, chap. 114, nor the *Kûrma Purâṇa*, I, chap. 47, mention Lâṭa when they proceed to mention the southern or western countries in Bhâratavarsha. Even in the description of the conquests of Gotamîputra Siri Sâtakaṇi[20] and Rudradâman,[21] the name is tabooed, although each of them undoubtedly ruled over Lâṭa. If the name were of Hindu origin and were in popular vogue, we cannot explain this silence. If, on the other hand, we admit it to be of foreign origin, we can understand the reluctance of the *Purâṇas* to use it ; we can also understand why the early inscriptions do not use it. Being of foreign origin, it was known at first only to foreigners, and was not in popular vogue ; hence Ptolemy and the

7 *E.g.*, सुराष्ट्रेष्वपि विक्ष्यामि पुण्यान्यायतनानि च—*Vana*, p. 88.

8 *E.g.*, सुराष्ट्रान्सह वाल्हीकान्भद्राभीरांस्तथैव च—*Kishkundâ*, p. 43.

9 *E.g.*, काश्मीराश्च सुराष्ट्राश्च सह सारस्वैतरपि । chap. 57.

10 *E.g.*, यथापरान्ताः सौराष्ट्राः—*Pûrva Bhâga*, chap. 35.

11 Bk. II, chap. 3.

12 अवन्तयोऽगमगधा सुराष्ट्राः दक्षिणापथाः । I, p. 29.

13 कांबोजसौराष्ट्रक्षत्रियश्रेण्यादयः वार्ताशस्त्रोपजीविनः VII, p. 16.

14 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VIII, p. 141.

15 लाटविषयान्नगावृतशैलाज्जगति प्रथिताशिल्पाः ।

16 बाहुनाभिमूलयोर्लाटानाम्, II, 3.

17 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VIII, p. 142.

18 *Sabhâ P.*, chaps. 32 and 33.

19 *Bhîshma P*, chap. 9.,

20 असकमुळकसुरथकुकुरापरान्तानूप विदर्भाकरावंतीराज्य—*Nasik Cave No. 2.*

21 पूर्वापराकरावंतीअनूपविवृशानर्तसुराष्ट्रश्वभ्रमरुकच्छसिन्धुसौवीरकुकुरापरान्तनिषादादीनां—*Junagad Inscr.*

Periplus use it, but not the contemporary inscriptions of Gotamîputra and Rudradâman. It became popular later on ; hence its appearance in *Kâmasûtra* and later inscriptions.

The fact is that probably no necessity was then felt of naming the territories comprised in Lâṭa by one distinct name. We have already seen how Aparânta extended right upto, if not actually beyond Bharoch ; the territory from Bharoch up to the Mahî and onwards bore a name different from Lâṭa. Thus when the *Matsya Purâṇa* had an occasion to refer to it, it says भरुकुच्छाः समाहेयाः and the same expression is repeated in the *Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa*. Even Varâhamihira talks not of Lâṭa but of महीतीरनिवासिनः |.[22] The absence of this appellation in the majority of *Purâṇas* and early inscriptions may be explained by the fact that the territory in question was probably included partly in Aparânta, partly in Malwa and partly in Ânarta, and so, there was no occasion to name it separately as a distinct unit.

It will be clear from the above treatment that the territory later on known as Lâṭa did not possess any distinct name in ancient times ; that it was occasionally referred to as भरुकुच्छाः समाहेयाः ; that the name Lâṭa came in vogue later ; that the *Purâṇas* had apparently a deep prejudice against it ; and that it was therefore probably first given by foreigners. But when, why and by whom it was given, we are unable to say definitely. We would, however, tentatively suggest that it is probably a foreign corruption from Alâṭṭa, an intermediate Prâkrit corruption from Ânarta ; the change of न to ल is well known in Prâkrits (compare Marathi लिंब from Skt. निम्ब for instance) ; the accent on the second syllable led to the dropping of the first and the simplification of the third led to the lengthening of the second, and by Fortunatov's law, र्त became ट. Greek mariners had to deal mostly with Bharoch and the territories round it ; they probably found the names भरुकुच्छाः समाहेयाः or महीतीरनिवासिनः too cumbrous for popular use ; hence they selected the Prakrit name of the territories to the north of this region for denoting it. Hence it is that the two names आनर्त and लाट do not occur together anywhere in early literature or inscriptions. Hence it is that Ptolemy and the *Periplus* mention Larike immediately after the mention of Surastrene, but before the mention of the Gulf of Barugaza, thereby showing that Lâṭa lay to the north of the gulfs of Bharoch and Cambay and to the west of Saurâshṭra. And this, roughly speaking, was the position of Ânarta, before Lâṭa encroached to some extent upon its boundaries. Hence, after the mention of अपरान्त, we have in the *Purâṇas* the mention of either सौराष्ट्र or आनर्त when महीतीरनिवासिनः are not mentioned. Lâṭa, being a derivation from Ânarta, its mention would have been superfluous when Ânarta was mentioned. Later on लाट came into popular use and the two names began to be simultaneously used.

Now we turn to Ânarta. It is of purely Hindu origin and is connected with Ânarta, the son of Yayâti, who was said to be ruling in this region in olden times. The name occurs in the *Bhûmi* and *Tîrthayâtrâ parvans* of the *Mahâbhârata*, in the *Râmâyaṇa*, in the *Junagad Inscription of Rudradâman*, in *Varâhamihira*, etc. In the majority of the *Purâṇas*, however, it is not mentioned, a fact which can be explained on the ground of its not then probably forming an independent kingdom. It was hemmed in on one side by the Saurâshṭrians (who were a race of warriors as noted by Châṇakya[23]) and on the other by the Mâleyas, who were a source of perennial trouble even to the Kshatrapas and Guptas. Ânarta was usually an appanage either of Saurâshṭra (as was the case in the Mauryan and Kshatrapa [24] times) or of Mâlwâ (as was the case in the days of Hiuen Tsiang). Hence naturally its name does not frequently occur in the *Purâṇas*.

In ancient times Saurâshṭra, Ânarta and Lâṭa were not regarded as forming one distinct unit. There were in the first place no geographic circumstances to bind them together ;

[22] Kern's translation, p. 101.

[23] सौराष्ट्राः वार्ताशस्त्रोपजीविनः

[24] कृत्स्नानामानर्तसौराष्ट्राणां पालिन नियुक्तेन, *Rudradâman Inscr.*

nor did they, for any appreciable time, form one political province. As we have seen already, Ânarta and Saurâshṭra were for a time governed together by the Mauryas and Kshatrapas ; but even during this short period southern Gujarat does not seem to have belonged to that political division ; were it so, the Junagad Rudradâman Inscription would have stated it.

Usually, however, these provinces not only did not form one political division, but were themselves divided, throughout the first millennium of the Christian era, among several petty states, a fact which prevented their being designated by one common name. Let us now see how and when the modern name Gujarat came to be applied to these territories.

The name Gujarat was unknown in early times ; because the Gurjara tribe itself, from which it is derived, reached India at a late date. As the name of the tribe does not occur in the *Mahâbhârata*, the *Râmâyaṇa* and the *Purâṇas*, nor among the tribes mentioned by the *Periplus*, we cannot accept Dr. Bhagwânlâl Indraji's statement that the tribe came into India with Kanishka.[25] If again, as the learned doctor maintains,[26] the Gurjaras had been really assigned fiefs in Râjputânâ and Central India by the Early Guptas in recognition of their military assistance, the name of the tribe would have been mentioned in the Samudragupta inscription along with those of the Yaudheyas, Madrakas, Maleyas, Abhiras, Aryjunâyanîyas, etc., who are mentioned as settled on the outskirts of the Gupta Empire.[27]

The Gurjaras then probably came into India during the fifth century and settled in the Panjab and around Mathurâ. A Gurjara kingdom existed in the Panjab near the modern town Gujarat, as late as 890 A.D. (when certain territories belonging to it were annexed to Kâśmîra by its king Śankara-deva) ; the country round the town of Gujarat in the Panjab is still locally known as Gurjara Desha. The earliest reference to the Gurjaras is in *Harshacharita* of Bâṇabhaṭṭa where we are told[28] that Prabhâkaravardhana of Magadha had conquered the Hûṇa, Sindhu and Gurjara kings. The Gurjaras however soon migrated southwards and established themselves in south-west Rajputana ; for Hiuen Tsiang says that the kingdom of Kiu-che-lo or the Gurjaras was four hundred miles in circuit and had its capital at Pi-lo-mo-lo which is now admitted to be Bhinmal in Sirohi State.[29] Another Gurjara tribe penetrated still further south and went right up to Bharoch and established a kingdom at Nândîpurî, whose rulers in their early inscriptions call themselves Gurjaras. *Cf.* ओं स्वस्ति नांदीपुरीतः . . . . गुर्जरनृपतिवंशमहोदधौ.[30] But soon a desire to connect themselves with the famous Paurâṇic dynasties induced them to change the true name of their 'vamśa'; and the later kings began to style themselves महाराजकर्णान्वयज.[31]

Dr. Bhagwânlâl Indraji thinks that the Valabhis also were probably Gurjaras and goes on to observe that the fact that the three Gurjara chiefs divided among themselves the entire sway of the province will explain how the province of Gujarat came to take its present name from the Gurjara tribe.[32] With due deference to the learned doctor, we beg to differ from this view. In the first place, the entire sway of the province was not divided among those chiefs. The Valabhis had no sway over the western and northern part of the peninsula even during the days of their highest power ; the Bhinmal kingdom was practically located outside the limits of modern Gujarat, as Ânandpura and the territory around it was held by the Mâlvâ king[33] ; the Nândîpurî Gurjara kingdom was a petty one covering a few square miles ; at any rate it did not extend over the whole of southern Gujarat.

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25 *BG.*, vol. 1, pt. I, p. 2. 26 *Ibid.* p. 3.

Samudragupta's *Allahabad Inscription*, line 22.

28 हूणहरिणकेसरी सिन्धुराजज्वरः गुर्जरप्रजागरः—IV, p. 57. 29 *Beal* II. p. 270.

30 Dadda grants, *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, 82. 31 Jayabhaṭṭa grant, *Ind. Ant.*, XII, 77.

32 *BG.*, vol. 1, pt. I, p. 5. 33 *Beal* II, p. 268.

Supposing, however, that the sway of these kingdoms extended over the whole of modern Gujarat, still we have to admit that this fact was not sufficient for the region to assume its modern title ; for, the rulers of these kingdoms were never for a long time known as Gurjaras. We have seen how within two generations, the Nândipurî Gurjaras ceased to call themselves Gurjaras ; the same was the case with the Bhinmal rulers, who during the time of Hiuen Tsiang were known as Kshatriyas. The Valabhi rulers never called themselves Gurjaras ; it is doubtful whether they were Gurjaras at all.

Under such circumstances we can hardly agree with Dr. Bhagwânlâl Indraji in maintaining that the division of the entire province among themselves by these three kingdoms was the chief reason for the province being called Gujarat. Besides, were it so, were the supremacy of Bhaṭṭâraka and his descendants really the cause of the province being called Gujarat,[34] the name would have come into vogue during the seventh and eighth centuries. As a matter of fact, it did not come into vogue even in the fourteenth.

For, during the five centuries, following the fall of the Valabhi and Nândipurî dynasties, the names Lâṭa and Saurâshṭra continued to be in vogue. There was the Bhinmâl kingdom known as the Gurjara kingdom ; but its territories were to the north of Aṇahilapaṭṭaṇa and so practically outside the limits of modern Gujarat. That even northern Gujarat was not included in it, and that its rulers the Châvoṭakas were regarded as distinct from the Gurjaras will be clear from the Pulikesin grant of A.D. 738 which, while enumerating the kingdoms affected by the Arab forays, mentions the Gurjara kingdom as distinct from the Châvotaka kingdom.[35]

It is therefore clear that the Gurjara kings, whom the Châlukyas and Gujarat Râshṭrakûṭas boast of having defeated, [36] were not those of the Châvoṭaka house ; they were clearly rulers of Rajputana. This is also clear from the accounts of Muhammadan writers. Thus merchant Sulaiman says [37]:— ' Harz [=Gurjara dominion] was bounded on the north by Tafik or Takim [which is the name of the Panjab]. It possessed silver mines and could muster a larger force of cavalry than any other kingdom in India.' All these details apply to Rajputana which is to the south-west of the Panjab, which possesses the only silver mines in India and which has been long famous for the large body of its cavalry. The name of the tribe was already given to the country, for Edrisi quoting from Abu Khordabech states that Jurz was both the hereditary title of the king as well as the name of the country. To Ferishta in the tenth century Gujarat still meant the south-western corner of Rajputana, and it is obvious that गूर्जरात mentioned in the commentary जयमंगला on *Kâma Sûtra*, V, 1, 30, denotes the territory round Kotah in Rajputana, in connection with which it is mentioned.

. Inscriptional evidence shows that the foreigners were not misinformed when they thus spoke of Rajputana as the country of the Gurjaras. Thus in the Daulatpurâ plate, King Bhôjadeva is mentioned as granting a village called Sivâgrâma, situated in the Ḍeṇḍavâṇaka vishaya, which, it is stated, formed part of the Gurjaratrâ ' bhûmi ' (*cf.* गुर्जरत्राभूमौ डेण्डवाणकविषयसम्बद्धसिवाग्रामामग्रहारे, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 211). Since it is clear (as pointed out by Dr. Kielhorn) that Ḍeṇḍavâṇaka is the town of Didwâna in Jodhpur State and Sivâgrâma, the village of Seva, 7 miles east-north-east of Didwâna, it follows that the territory round Jodhpur in Rajputana was known in the eighth century A.D., as the land of the Gurjaras. The same conclusion is confirmed by the quotation from an unpublished Kâḷañjara inscription belonging to the eighth century, given by Dr. Kielhorn, which shows that Maṅgalânaka or

34 *BG.*, vol. I, pt. 1. p. 85.

35 सैन्धवकच्छेल्लसौराष्ट्रचावोटकमौर्यगुर्जरादिराज्ये—

36 (i) प्रतापोपनता यस्य लाटमालवगूर्जराः । Aihole Inscr., *Ind. Ant.*, VIII., 242, (seventh century).

(ii) गौडेन्द्रवंगपतिनिर्जयदुर्विदग्धसद्गूर्जरेश्वरदिगर्गलतां च यस्य । Radhanpur plates of Govinda III, c. 800.

(iii) गूर्जरबलमतिबलवत्समुद्यतं बृंहितं च कुल्येन । Grant of Dhruva III, 827 A.D., *Ind. Ant.*, XII, 179.

(iv) गुर्जरगूर्जरसागरव्यतिकरं जीर्णो जनः शंसति । *Naosari plates*, 915 A.D.

37 *AGI.*, p. 321.

m odern Maglona, which is about 28 miles north-north-east of Didwâna was regarded as located in the Gurjaratrâ Maṇḍala—[*cf.* श्रीमद्गुर्जरत्रामंडलान्तःपाति-मङ्गलानकविनिर्गत-नेमकान्वय-जेण्डुकसुत-वेहुकेन, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 210]. It is therefore clear that in the eighth century, what is now called Rajputana was known as the country of the Gurjaras. That the same continued to be the case for two centuries more becomes clear from the statements of the Muhammadan authorities quoted above.

Right up to the tenth century then, Gurjaramaṇḍala or Gurjarabhûmi hardly denoted territories comprised in modern Gujarat. Let us now see when Gujarat came to be named after the Gurjaras.

There is ample evidence to show that the territories to the north of the Mahî came to be termed Gurjaramaṇḍala soon after the tenth century. The Dohad inscription of A.D. 1140 speaks of Siddharâja Jayasiṁha as the ruler of Gurjaramaṇḍala [*cf.* श्रीजयसिंहदेवोऽस्ति भूपो गुर्जरमण्डले । येन कारागृहे क्षिप्तौ सुराष्ट्रमालवेश्वरौ ॥ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 159]. In the Somanâtha 'praśasti,' dated G.E. 850 (*i.e.*, 1168-9 A.D.), Kumârapâla is called King of Gurjaramaṇḍala, a name which Hemachandra also assigns to the country over which his patron ruled. The Girnar inscription, dated 1222 A.D., enables us to conclude that the name Gurjaramaṇḍala denoted territories wherein were situated the towns of Aṇahilapura or Pâtana, Stambhatîrtha or Cambay, Darbhavati or Dabhoi and Dhawalakka or Dholka. During the thirteenth century then, the whole of northern Gujarat was known as the country of the Gurjaras. The reasons that led to the application of this name to this region are not difficult to ascertain. In the first place, part of modern Gujarat round Aṇahilapaṭṭaṇa was under the feudatory sovereignty of the Hurz or Gurjara kingdom; so the name must have been gradually extended to it as well. Secondly, the Solankis who rose to power at this time, are admitted on all hands to be of Gurjara origin [38]. The author of Hammîra Mahâkâvya says that the King of Ajmer, Vigraharâja, killed Mûlarâja and thus weakened the Gurjara Kingdom. This shows that there was already a tendency, which the author simply imitates, of regarding the Solanki dominion as conterminous with Gurjara 'Maṇḍala.' Then there was, probably owing to the pressure of the Muhammadan invasions, a great influx of the Gurjaras in this part of the country during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Already before the middle of the twelfth century, the Gurjara element was in such a preponderance that the people of the province came to be called Gurjaras. Thus Hemachandra who flourished in the middle of the twelfth century called the army of his Solanki patron Kumârapâla as consisting of Gurjaras. Compare :—

आरोविअ सरमालावमालणो मल्लिअज्जुणो राया ।
पुजिअ पहु लज्जिर गुज्जरेहिं जीहातिओ तेहि ॥ *Kumârapâlacharita*, VI, 65.

When thus once the people came to be regarded as Gurjaras, it was but the next step to call their country 'Gurjara Maṇḍala' or Gurjara Raṭṭa or Gujarat.

This name, however, did not come to be extended to southern Gujarat or Lâṭa and Kathiawad until the beginning of the fourteenth century. Thus both to Hemachandra of the twelfth and Someśwara of the thirteenth century, Lâṭa was a country distinct from Gurjara Maṇḍala; for they talk of their heroes siding with or defeating the king of Lâṭa, as the case may be.[39] As regards Saurâshṭra, no proof at all is required of its being unknown as part of Gurjara Maṇḍala; even to this day it is only associated with Gujarat by outsiders; the inhabitants still call themselves Soraths.

It was by the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century that the name of Gurjara 'Maṇḍala' or Gujarat came to be extended to these provinces. It was not due to any great influx of the Gurjaras in those provinces that took place at that time,

38 *JBBRAS.*, XXI, pp. 428-9.

39 *C.* अथ गोद्रहलाटदेशनाथौ महनाथैर्निभृतं निबद्धसंधी । *Kîrtikaumudî*, V.

for, as late as the sixteenth century, the Gurjara element in southern Gujarat was insignificant. Abul Fazl, while enumerating the tribes in the Surat 'sirkar' or 'subha', makes no mention of the Gurjaras.

The extension of the name was due not to ethnical but to political causes; and Muhammadans are mainly responsible for it. In their career of conquest and annexation, the Muhammadans under Alaf Khan first conquered Aṇahilapaṭṭaṇa or Nahrwâiâ and there established their provincial headquarters. They found that the Solanki dominion was known as Gurjara Maṇḍala and its subjects as Gurjaras. They therefore naturally continued the old name and began to call the province 'Gujarat.' Soon however they extended their conquests and annexed Kathiawad and southern Gujarat which they governed from Nahrwâlâ. The Delhi emperors grouped all these provinces together for the purpose of administration, and as the capital of the Imperial Viceroy continued to be for more than a century at Nahrwâlâ in Gujarat, the term Gujarat came to be extended to all those territories which were governed from Nahrwâlâ situated in the heart of real Gujarat. Hence we find some Muhammadan writers including parts even of Khandesh and Malva in Gujarat; the reason being that they were governed by the Gujarat Viceroy.

Even to the present day the name of Gujarat is notk nown to the people of the peninsula, who continue to call their country by its old name Sorath. And within living memory the people of Surat, both Hindus and Musalmans, when visiting Pâtaṇa (Aṇahilpaṭṭaṇa) and Ahmedabad, used to speak of going to Gujarat; while the Ahmadabad section of the Nâgara Brâhmaṇas used to speak of their brethren at Surat as 'Konkani.'[40]

The original territory in south-west Rajputana which was known as Gurjara territory to Hiuen Tsiang and to Muhammadan writers, strange though it may appear, soon ceased to be called Gujarat. There were several reasons therefor. In the first place, the Gurjaras who had colonised there were driven southward by the Rajputs, who were pressed out of their ancestral possessions in Delhi and the Panjab by the Muhammaden invaders. That region now became predominantly the land of the Rajputs, and hence it came to be regarded as part of Rajputana. In spite of this fact, perhaps, the region would have been known as Gujarat, had it been administered from Nahrwâlâ or Aṇahilapaṭṭaṇa. But Muhammadans were unable to permanently annex that territory to the Gurjara province; the local Rajput clans continued to keep more or less independent fiefs. Hence even the political reasons, which as we have seen, were responsible for Kathiawad and Lâṭa being called Gujarat, were absent. So the territory lost its old name and came to be called after the new tribe that came to occupy and rule over it.

Such then is the interesting history of how modern Gujarat came to be known after the Gurjaras. The precise derivation of the term Gujarat is however still doubtful. It is, indeed, tempting to derive Gujarat from Gurjara-râshṭra through Gurjara raṭṭa; but philologically it appears rather doubtful whether the term Gujarat can thus be derived from Gurjara-râshṭra. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar suggests[41] that the name should be derived from Gurjaratrâ, a name by which the older habitations of the Gurjaras were, as we have seen already, known during the seventh and the eighth centuries. Dr. Bhandarkar's suggestion seems to us to be a happy one; for the corruption of Gurjaratrâ into Gujarat is perfectly regular and natural. Gurjaratrâ-bhûmi of course means the land which protected the Gurjaras.

In the following pages, we shall be dealing with the history of *ancient* towns and cities in *modern* Gujarat and Kathiawad and not with the history of towns and cities in the *ancient* Gurjara Maṇḍala or Gurjaratrâ-bhûmi. For, if the latter were the case, we should have had to discuss the history of towns and cities in Rajputana and the southern Panjab.

40 *BG.*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 5.

41 *JBBRAS.*, vol. XXI, p. 426.

KOTTAYAM PLATE OF VIRA-RAGHAVA CHAKRAVARTI.

BY K. N. DANIEL.

THIS plate is now kept in the Old Seminary at Kottayam in the possession of the Most Rev. Mar Dionysius, Metropolitan. The inscription has been translated and commented upon by Dr. Gundert (*Madras Journal of Literature and Science,* Vol. XIII, part 1, pp. 115—125), Kookel Kelu Nair (*Ibid,* XXI, pp. 35-38) and V. Venkayya, M.A. (*Epigraphia Indica,* Volume IV, pp. 290-7). But it is so full of interest to the antiquary that I have examined it again at full length. The identity of the donee and the date of the grant are involved in great controversy.

Vicissitudes.—I hope a few words about the strange vicissitudes which this copper plate, together with others, has gone through, will be found interesting. There was one Mar Jacob, who, during the first half of the sixteenth century, was a bishop of the St. Thomas Christians, and was rejected by them on account of his apostasy to the Roman Catholic Church. Somehow or other the copper plates belonging to these Christians came into his hands and he pawned them for a sum of money. "In the year 1544," says Manuel de Faria y Sousa of the seventeenth century, "came to Cochin Jacob, a Chaldean bishop of Cranganore, where being dangerously sick, he sent for the treasurer, Peter de Sequeyra, and told him necessity had obliged him to pawn two copper plates [1] with characters engraven on them, which were original grants and privileges bestowed on the Apostle St. Thomas by the sovereigns of those countries, when he preached there: that he desired him to release them, lest they should be lost if he died, for if he lived, he would take them out himself. This prelate found the only way to loose them, was trusting the Portuguese; for Sequeyra paid the two hundred Royals they were pawned for, put them into the Treasury, and they were never more heard of." (*Portuguese Asia,* Vol. II, p. 506.) Thus they were missing for over a couple of centuries. Adrian Moens, the Dutch Governor of the Malabar Coast, Canara, etc., wrote in the year 1781 calling in question the veracity of the statement that some copper plate deeds were granted to the St. Thomas Christians by the sovereigns of the country and that the Portuguese were entrusted with them in the sixteenth century. When Colonel Macaulay, the British Resident in Travancore and Cochin, assumed charge of his office during the early part of the nineteenth century, he began to take a keen interest in the affairs of these Christians. Unlike Governor Moens, he was wise enough not to doubt the veracity of the local tradition and the statements of the sixteenth century authors about the entrusting of the Portuguese with the plates. He found that the Portuguese, when they quitted the fort of Cochin, were not allowed by the Dutch to carry away anything belonging to the Church, and the Dutch also in their turn were strictly ordered to leave "all public documents and papers," when they surrendered the fort to the English. He, therefore, thought that these copper plates must be among Government records and ordered an immediate search to be made for the missing documents. After a laborious search six copper plates were discovered in the year 1806. Thus did Colonel Macaulay of happy memory place under a heavy debt of gratitude the St. Thomas Christians and all lovers of antiquarian research.

Text.

Line. *First side.*

1. *Hari Śri Mahâgaṇapate nama Sri pûpâlanarapati Śri Vîra Kêra-*
2. *la Śakravartti âtiyâyi muṟamuṟaiye palanûrâyirattâṇṭu*

[1] Perhaps two sets of copper plates.

3. *chenkôl naṭattâyininṟa śri Vîra Râghava śakravarttikku tiruvirâ-*
4. *chyam chellâyininṟa Makaraṭṭuḷ Viyâḷam Mînañâyaṟu irupattonṟu*
5. *chenṟa chaṉi Rôhaṉi nâḷ peruṅkôyilakattirunnaruḷa Makôtaiyarpaṭṭiṉa-*
6. *ttu Iravikkorttaṉaṉâya Chêramânlôkapperuñcheṭṭikku Maṉikkirâma-*
7. *paṭṭaṅkuṭuttôm viḷâvâṭeyum pavaṉa-ttâṅkum peṟu peṟum kaṭuttu*
8. *vaḷeñchiyamu vaḷañchiyattil taṉichcheṭṭum murchchollum muṉṉa-*
9. *ṭeyum pañcha-vâdyamum śamkhum pakal-viḷakkum pâvâṭayum aintôḷamum Koṟṟa*
10. *kkuṭayum vaṭuka-ppaṟeyum iṭupaṭi tôraṇamum nâlu chêrikkum taṉi-*

Line. *Second side.*

11. *chcheṭṭum kuṭuttôm vâṉiyarum aim-kammâḷareyum aṭima kuṭuttôm*
12. *nakarattukku karttâvâya Iravikorttaṉukku paṟa koṇṭiḷannu*[2] *niṟa koṇ*
13. *ṭu tûkki nûl koṇṭu pâki eṇṇiṉṟatilum eṭukkiṉṟatilum upa*
14. *nôṭu śarkkarayôṭu kastûriyôṭu viḷakkeṇṇayôṭu iṭayil uḷḷata eppêr-*
15. *paṭṭatiṉum tarakum atṟuṭutta chuṅkamum kûṭa Koṭuṅkûlûr aḻivi-*
16. *yôṭu kôpurattôṭu viśêshâl nâlu taḷiyum taḷikkaṭutta kirâmattôṭiṭa-*
17. *yil nir mutalâyi cheppêṭu eḻuti kuṭuttôm Chêramâṉlôkapperuñche-*
18. *ṭṭiyâṉa Iravikorttaṉukku ivan makkaḷ makkaḷkke vaḻivaḻiye peṟâka-kkuṭu-*
19. *ttôm itaṟiyum Paṉṉiyûṟ-kkirâmamum Chôkira-kkirâmamum aṟiyakuṭuttôm Vê-*
20. *nâṭum Oṭunâṭumaṟiya-kkuṭuttôm Eṟânâṭum Vaḷḷuvanâṭum-aṟiya-kkuṭuttôm Chandr*
21. *âtittḥyakaḷuḷḷa nâlêkku kuṭuttôm ivarkaḷariya cheppêṭeḻutiya Chêramân loka-pperun-taṭ-*
22. *ṭân Nampi Chaṭeyan kaiy-eḻuttu*

Translation.[3]

Lines 1-4. Hari Śri, Adoration to the great Gaṇapati.

While the emperor Śri Vîra Râghava—of the race that has been wielding the sceptre for several hundred thousands of years in regular succession from Śri Vîra Kêraḷa Chakravarti, the king of kings—was ruling prosperously :—

Lines 4-7. On Saturday, the 21st of the Solar month Mîṇa, asterism being Rôhiṇí and Jupiter being in Makaram, while sitting in the great palace we conferred the title of Maṇigrâmam on Iravi Korttan of Makotaiyar Paṭṭiṇam, the great merchant of Kêraḷam.

Lines 7-11. We also have given to him (the right of) the feast cloth (?), house pillars, all the revenue, *vaḷañchiyam*, monopoly of trade in *vaḷañchiyam*, the right of heraldic announcement, forerunners, *pañchavâdyam* (music with five instruments), the conch, the lamp in daytime, the cloth spread, the palanquin, the royal umbrella, the Telugu (?) drum, a seat at the gate, *tôraṇam* and the monopoly of trade in the four quarters.

Line 11. We also gave the oilmongers and the five classes of artisans as slaves.

Lines 12-17. With a libation of water, writing on a copper plate we gave to Iravi Korttan, the lord of the city, the brokerage and due customs of all that may be measured by the *paṟa*, weighed by the balance, or measured with the tape, of all that may be counted or weighed contained within salt, sugar, musk and lamp oil within the river-mouth of Cranganore and the tower, especially between the four *taḷis* and villages belonging to them.

Lines 17-19. We have given these by an unreserved tenure to Iravi Korttan, grand merchant of Kêraḷam, and to his sons and sons' sons in proper succession.

Line 19. With the knowledge of the two villages of Paṉṉiyûr and Chôkira have we given these ;

[2] Read *paṟa koṇṭaḷannu.*

[3] The words that are left untranslated here will be explained in the notes given below.

Kottayam Plates of Vira-Raghava **Chakravarti.**

First side.

Second side.

K. N. DANIEL

SCALE FULL SIZE

Lines 19–20. With the knowledge of the Vêṇâṭu and Oṭunâṭu (rulers) have we given these; with the knowledge of Eṛanâṭu and Vaḷḷuvanâṭu (rulers) have we given these.

Lines 20–21. Given for the time that sun and moon shall last.

Lines 21–22. With the knowledge of the above, written by Nampi Chaṭayan, grand goldsmith of Kêraḷam.

Notes and Comments on Some Peculiar Expressions in the Document.

Chêramâṉlôkaperuñcheṭṭi means grand Cheṭṭi, *i.e.*, merchant of Kêraḷam. The word Cheṭṭi, though it means a merchant, is often used as the name of a caste and there is now a Cheṭṭi caste among the Hindus. Every one of them, whether he is a merchant or not, is called Cheṭṭi. That is the case now with the St. Thomas Christians of the northern parts. The low caste people add Chetti to the name of every Christian, whatever be his occupation. The Grand Cheṭṭi of Kêraḷam, therefore, means the head of all Cheṭṭies, *i.e.*, the Christians of Kêraḷam.

Maṇigrâmapaṭṭam or Maṇigrâmavaṭṭam? What is it that Iravi Korttan received, Maṇigrâmapaṭṭam (title of Maṇigrâmam) or Maṇigrâmavaṭṭam (the place called Maṇigrâmam)? Though both readings are possible, I cannot find my way to accept the latter reading. *Mani* means a gem, and *grâmam* a village, and therefore Maṇigrâmam is a village and a village cannot be given to an individual by the sovereign, but only some rights over it. It must be somewhere in or near Cranganore, if it were the name of a place. Now Iravi Korttan was of Makôtaiyarpaṭṭiṇam, a suburb of Cranganore. We find also a powerful community called Maṇigrâmam in Quilon during the ninth century, and assuming Manigramam to be a village, we should have to suppose that there was a place called Maṇigrâmam at Quilon as well. Further, the sons of Maṇigrâmam as a powerful community are mentioned in Payyaṇûr Poṭṭôla, which is spoken of by Dr. Gundert as the oldest specimen of Malayâḷam composition he had ever seen. (*Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. XIII, part II, page 16.) This poem, being of the Northern district, evidently refers to the people of the north, not of Quilon. Let us suppose that the sons of Maṇigrâmam referred to in it were the inhabitants of the place called Maṇigrâmam, which we supposed was in existence in or near Cranganore and over which some sovereign rights were given to Iravi Korttan, a citizen of Makotaiyar-pattaṇam. Now such a supposition would lead us to believe that there were two places called Maṇigrâmam– one in or near Cranganore, another in Quilon, and that both places are entirely forgotten. We should also have to believe that, curiously enough, the people who inhabited the Maṇigrâmam of Quilon and the Maṇigrâmam at Cranganore were both powerful peoples. Further, we should believe that some sovereign rights over the Maṇigrâmam of Cranganore, which was inhabited by a powerful people, were given to a citizen of Makotaiyar-paṭṭaṇam, instead of their being given to the chief of that village itself. Is it not too much to be asked to believe all this?

On the other hand there is nothing strange in accepting the other reading Maṇigrâmapaṭṭam as the title of Maṇigrâmam. It may be asked what is meant by the title of Maṇigrâmam. In the Tâṇu Iravi plates, Maṇigrâmam is used in the sense of Maṇigrâmakkâryam. Just so the title of Maṇigrâmam means the title of Maṇigrâmakkâryam, which might mean a valued civic privilege of the time.

Makotaiyar-paṭṭaṇam is sometimes written Mahodêvar Paṭṭaṇam and Mahâdêvar Paṭṭaṇam. Sunderamûrtti Nâyanâr, the ancient Tamil Poet, Râjêndra Chola and some others speak of this *paṭṭaṇam* and call it Makotai. Makotaiyar-paṭṭaṇam, as it is in the plate, is therefore the correct spelling and means the town of the great Chera King.

Viḷâvâṭa is translated 'feast cloth' and 'festive clothing' by Dr. Gundert and Mr. Venkayya. Its significance is not known. It is certainly derived from the word *viḷa* meaning festival. During the marriage festival of the St. Thomas Christians the chief guest is seated on what is called *veḷḷayum karimpaṭavum, i.e.,* black and white cloths spread one over the other. Perhaps this is what is meant by *viḷâvâṭa.*

Pavaṉattâṅku means house-pillar. When a temporary shed is put up for a marriage feast, Brâhmans and the St. Thomas Christians only are allowed, so goes the tradition, to set up a pillar in front to support the ridge pole. All the low caste people and even the high caste Nairs have to support the ridge pole with a truss. Perhaps *pavaṉattâṅku* denotes this pillar.

Kaṭuttu valañchiyam, valañchiyattil taṉichcheṭṭu. Dr. Gundert says that *valañchiyam* means 'curved sword' and *valañchiyattil taṉichcheṭṭu*, 'in (or with) the sword, sovereign merchantship'. Mr. Venkayya gives the following meanings; the export trade and monopoly of trade respectively. I cannot accept these meanings, nor am I able myself to give an acceptable meaning. If *valañchiyam* means 'trade' *valañchiyattil taṉichcheṭṭu* is redundant. Because *taṉichcheṭṭu* means 'monopoly of trade.' In an inscription of Kûṉamkarai dated Kollam 371 (A.D. 1196), it is said that if the supply to the temple fails thrice, the *aṟunûṟṟuvar* (a body of Nairs six hundred in number), the officers and the *valañchiyars* of the eighteen districts shall institute enquiries. Professor Sundaram Pillai says that the leading meaning of *valam* is 'greatness' 'dignity' or 'honour' and therefore *valañchiyar* means 'feudal Barons' (*Early Sovereigns of Travancore*, pp. 38–40, 70). The *valañchiyam* of our copper plate might mean something akin to the above meaning suggested by Sundaram Pillai.

Murchchollu[4] or *munchollu* means 'heraldic announcement'. When a Bishop of the St. Thomas Christians goes in a public procession, some one in front shouts at the top of his voice " Poim ! Poim ! Poim ! Poim ! " Then the whole crowd shouts *poim* ! This is looked upon as one of the peculiar privileges of these Christians. *Poim* (*poin*) means 'go away' or 'move away'. This may be what is called *murchchollu.*

Munnaṭa means 'forerunners.' In the public procession of the St. Thomas Christian Bishops, just as in the State processions of the Mahârâjas, a number of men will walk in front with an *uṭavâl* (a covered wooden sword), a *pulittôlparicha* (a shield covered with panther skin) and *vâlakkoḷa* (a pole covered with cloth ornamented with silver or gold rings or by cloth of a colour different from that of the sheath).

Pakalviḷakku means 'a lamp in daytime'. When the Bishops go in a public procession, lamps will be lighted even in day time at the gate of every house the procession passes. So also when the bride and bridegroom enter the marriage *pantal*, they are welcomed with a lighted lamp. This, too, is believed to be a privilege peculiar to the St. Thomas Christians.

Pâvâṭa means 'cloth.' There is a custom among the St. Thomas Christians that cloths are spread for their Bishops to walk on. When the lamps are lighted, as in the preceding note, they are placed on spread cloths. Since *pakalviḷakku* (light in daytime) and *pâvâṭa* go together, this may indicate the cloth spread under the lighted lamp. Similarly, since *viḷâvâṭa* goes with *pavaṉattâṅku*, they too must have some relation such as I have suggested.

Koṟṟakkuṭa is a peculiar umbrella now used in the procession of a St. Thomas Christian Bishop and in the state procession of a Maharaja.

[4] It is *murchchollu* not *murachchollu*, as Dr. Gundert and others would have it. Both readings are possible.

Iṭupaṭi tôraṇamum means *iṭupaṭiyum, tôraṇamum* as in the Cochin plates of Pârkara Iravi Varmar. If we are to take *iṭupaṭi* and *tôraṇum* as one word, the *t* of *tôraṇam,* according to the rules of Grammar, must be doubled. Moreover *iṭupaṭitôraṇam* as one word does not seem to convey a satisfactory meaning. *Iṭupaṭi* means a seat at the gate. *Tôraṇam* is a well-known word meaning festoons of leaves, flowers, used as decorations for processions and other festive occasions.

Aimakkammâḷar means five classes of artisans, carpenter (*âśâri*), goldsmith (*taṭṭân*), blacksmith (*kollan*), founder (*mûśâri*), and mason (*kallâśâri*). It is said that oilmongers and five classes of artisans are given to Iravi Korttan as slaves. The St. Thomas Christians have been from time immemorial considered to be the masters and protectors of the low-caste people, especially the artisans.

Taḷi. According to Kêraḷôlpatty, Brâhmans divided their sixty-four *grâmams* (villages) into four circles represented by four chief villages, and these had four *taḷis* or temples for the sittings of their representatives. *Mêltaḷi, Kîḻtaḷi, Nedia Taḷi* and *Chiṅṅapura Taḷi.*

Nîr mutalâyi. Nîr means 'water'. In the olden days every sale or free gift was attested by the pouring of water.

Vênâṭu is Quilon. The present king of Travancore is a descendant of the king of Vênâṭu also.

Oṭuṇâṭu is Ôṇâṭu, Kayamkulam.

The Donee.

There are some who are of opinion that the donee of this grant was not a Christian. We will examine their grounds.

1. The name Iravi Korttan is non-Christian.

We have no reason to suppose that during the early centuries of the Christian era there was a distinction between Christian and non-Christian names. On the other hand, in one of the decrees of the Synod of Dyamper, Travancore, held in the year 1599, we read: "In this bishopric Christians do take several of the names of the saints of the Old Testament; as also several of the names of the country. As to those names which the heathens have in common with Christians, the synod will not have them to be given in baptism." (Session IV, decree XVI.) From this it is evident that the St. Thomas Christians took Indian as well as Christian names.

2. Iravi Korttan is called a Cheṭṭi. He, therefore, must have been of the Cheṭṭi caste.

Cheṭṭi means 'a merchant'. We find the word *taṇichcheṭṭu, i.e.,* monopoly of trade in this grant. The word *Cheṭṭi* is derived from *cheṭṭu,* meaning trade. Though St. Thomas Christians are not now generally known by the name of Cheṭṭi, we have reason to think that they were once known by that name. In the northern parts (Iriññâlakkuṭa and other places) low-asto people add *Cheṭṭi* to the names of the St. Thomas Christians, and it is an unquestionable fact in history that trade has always been one of their chief occupations.

I shall now proceed to show that the donee was a Christian.

1. We do not know of any people other than Christians and Jews who enjoyed such privileges as are mentioned here.

2. We know none other than Mar Jacob, a Bishop of the Malabar Christians, who entrusted the Portuguese or the Dutch, their successors, with any copper plate grant. The plate in question together with the Taṇu Iravi[5] plates, which were unquestionably granted to the Christians, was taken, as already stated, from among the Portuguese records.

[5] The epigraphists and historians call him Sthâṇu Ravi, a Sanskritised form of Tâṇu Iravi, but I do not think that we are justified in making any change in the name of a person, especially many centuries after his death. Similarly, I do not changet he name of Pârkara Iravi Varmar and call him Bhaskara Ravi Varmar, as others do.

3. That the donee was a *makkattâyi*[6] not a *marumakkattâyi* is clear from the grant.

The prominent inhabitants of Malabar are Brahmans, Nairs, Christians, Jews and Muhammadans. Iravi Korttan is unquestionably not a Brâhman, nor a Jew nor a Muhammadan. The Nair is a *marumakkattâyi* not *makkattâyi*. Iravi Korttan, therefore, must be a Christian, unless we suppose that there were in Malabar some other prominent people of whom we know nothing now. But is it not too much to suppose that a people who occupied such a high position vanished from history without leaving any trace whatever behind them ?

4. Iravi Korttan is said to be the lord of the Makotaiyar Paṭṭaṇam.

The Christians of Malabar from Changanachery northward, in their ancient documents, make mention of Makotaiyar Paṭṭaṇam as their headquarters, while the southerners mention Quilon. Dr. Gundert in an article makes mention of this and quotes passages from ancient documents.[7]

The Southists[8] who live south of Changanachery also wrote in their documents Makotaiyar Paṭṭaṇam, because they were originally inhabitants of Cranganore. Makotaiyar Paṭṭaṇam, a suburb of Cranganore, was therefore the Christians' quarters. No other people are known, who have had any connection with Makotaiyar Paṭṭaṇam.

Was the Donee a Manichean ?

There are some who think that the donee was a Manichean because of the word Maṇigrâmam in the grant ; but it is said plainly therein that Maṇigrâmam was a title which was conferred on Iravi Korttan. Moreover, if the term Maṇigrâmam were derived from Maṇi, the founder of Manicheism, it cannot be a title that could be conferred by the "Emperor" of Kêraḷam. It is therefore certain that the word Maṇigrâmam is not derived from the heretic Mani, but is a pure Sanskrit word composed of *maṇi* and *grâmam*.

The Capacity in which the Grant was received.

Again we have to consider whether Iravi Korttan received this grant as an individual or as the head of a community. We find the word *Maṇigrâmam* in the Tâṇu Iravi copper plates and in the Payanur poem.

We learn from these that the Maṇigrâmam (of whom more hereafter) was a powerful community, having a head of their own and having privileges similar to those mentioned in this document. The fact that the Maṇigrâmam was a powerful community, having great privileges such as were given to Iravi Korttan, and having a head of their own, leads us to the conclusion that Iravi Korttan received the title of Maṇigrâmam and all the other privileges, not in his private capacity but in that of a headman, unless we suppose that his family grew into a strong community in the ninth century, or that the privileges and the title of Maṇigrâmam were given subsequently to an individual, who had no connection whatever with the community of Maṇigrâmam. Of these two surmises, the first is evidently most improbable and the second will presently be shown to be incorrect.

Now, one may ask the following question. How can this grant be attributed to a community, while it is clearly said that the Emperor gave it to Iravi Korttan and to his sons and sons' sons in proper succession ? According to the tradition of the Christian community

6 *Marumakkattâyi* is one whose succession goes to his sister's son, unlike the *makkattâyi* whose succession goes to his own son.

7 *Kurakkêṇi kollan mutal taḷakkara teruvil kutiyirikkum kuriśummûṭṭil mâttan. Makôtêvar paṭṭaṇam mutal muṭṭattaṅṅâṭiyil kuṭiyirikkum puttan cîṭṭil kuriyan* (*Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. XIII, part 1, p. 146).

8 The Northists and Southists denote two sections of the ancient Christians of Malabar without any reference to the part of the country they now live in.

of Malabar, its headship from the very beginning till the nineteenth century rested with the family of Pakalomaṟṟam. We see the Archdeacons of the Pakalomaṟṟam family holding the reins of this community from the very earliest period, of which we have any clear history, till the beginning of the last century. The headship of the St. Thomas Christian community, therefore, was hereditary all through that period. The donee's name is given thrice in this grant. He is called Iravi Korttaṉan once and Iravi Korttan twice. Iravi Korttaṉan therefore must be a mistake. Korttan is probably derived from the word Karttan, *i.e.*, Lord. The clergymen of this community are called Kattaṉars now, and we see from the Synod of Diamper that during the sixteenth century they were called Kattanars and their wives Kattattiars. (Session VII, decree X, XVIII.)

Kattaṉâr is no doubt Karttaṉâr. Karttaṉâr is the honorific form of Karttan. Korttan, therefore, may be the old form of the modern Kattaṉâr.[9]

Date of the Inscription.

As to the date of this document the difference of opinion is so wide that it ranges from the third to the fourteenth century.

I shall now discuss the date of the grant from (1) the historical, (2) astronomical, (3) linguistic and (4) paleographic standpoints respectively.

I. Historical Evidence.

1. We see from the Tâṇu Iravi copper plates that the St. Thomas Christians during the ninth century were called Maṇigrâmam, and that the Maṇigrâmam mentioned in Tâṇu Iravi plates and Iravi Korttan, on whom the title of Maṇigrâmam was conferred by Vîra Râghava, were Christians.

"It was supposed by Dr. Burnell," says Mr. Venkayya, "that the plate of Vîra Râghava created the principality of Maṇigrâmam, and the Cochin plates that of Añchuvaṇṇam, and that consequently the existence of these two grants is presupposed by the plates of Sthâṇu Ravi, which mention both Añchuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrâmam very often. The Cochin plates did not create Añchuvaṇṇam, but conferred the honours and privileges connected therewith on a Jew named Joseph Rabban. Similarly, the rights and honours associated with the other corporation, Maṇigrâmam, were bestowed at a later period on Ravikkoṟṟan ; . . . It is just possible that Ravikkoṟṟan was a Christian by religion." (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, page 294).

The Christians of Malabar, during the ninth century, were evidently called Mâṇigrâmam and had a head of their own. If another Christian in the fourteenth century received the title of Maṇigrâmam, as Mr. Venkayya says, we must suppose that there were two communities of local Christians here in the fourteenth century. There is no evidence whatever for this. On the other hand, we find the local and the foreign Christians all under one rule at the beginning of the sixteenth century, from which period we have a regular history. The tradition, too, is that the Christian Church of this coast was not divided till the middle of the seventeenth century. We, therefore, cannot but conclude that the Christian community received the title of Maṇigrâmam from Vîra Râghava Chakravarti sometime before the ninth century.

2. Further, in the Tâṇu Iravi plates of the ninth century the local Christians are called Maṇigrâmam. How and when they came by this name is not said in those plates; but this name certainly was given them before the ninth century. We find from the copper plate under discussion a local Christian—Iravi Korttan is undoubtedly an Indian name—receiving the title of Maṇigrâmam. What doubt is there then that the copper plate in question is earlier than the ninth century?

[9] "The name Iravikkorttan," says Mr. Venkayya, "is evidently a vulgar form of the Tamil Iravikkoṟṟan which means the sun-king" (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 292). I cannot find my way to accept this view.

3. There is a passage in the plate which affords us a piece of presumptive evidence in favour of its earlier origin :—" All articles that may be measured with the *para*, weighed by the balance, or measured with the tape, that may be counted or weighed." W. Logan says :—" This is almost an exact reproduction of the phrase so familiar to Roman Jurists : *Quæ pondere, numero, mensurave constant*" (*Malabar*, Vol. 1, page 269.) This copper plate, therefore, was in all probability written at a time when Keraḷam was in touch with Rome. But this intercourse with the Christian West was obstructed during the seventh century on account of the Muhammadan ascendency in Jerusalem, Egypt, Syria and Persia.

4. It is said in a *grantha* of cadjan leaves kept at Kuḷikkâṭṭu Maṭham, Tiruvalla, that during the days of the Cheraman Perumal, named Vîra Kêraḷa Chakravartti, the temple at Tiruvalla was dedicated. The above Maṭham is the house of a very prominent Bhaṭṭatiri[10] (Malayaḷa Brahman), where a vast number of *granthas* are preserved. The *grantha* referred to is only about two or three hundred years old, and the language also is not very old. But it is likely that whenever a *grantha* was copied, they would bring the language up-to-date and make some additions.

Nobody will contend that this *grantha* is altogether spurious. If it be, however, spurious, how did the Bhaṭṭatiri get at the name Vîra Kêraḷa Chakravartti ? No record other than the Vîra Râghava copper plate has hitherto been known, where we find the name Vîra Kêraḷa Chakravartti, while this copper plate was left unrecognised among the Portuguese records from the sixteenth to nineteenth century. After it was recovered, it was kept at Kottayam, and there were very few people then who could read and understand it. So there was not the least chance of its being known to the above Bhaṭṭatiri, and yet the name is given in this *grantha* exactly as it is in the copper plate. " Vîra Kêraḷa Chakravartti " not even Vîra Kêraḷan or Vîra Kêraḷa Perumâḷ. We, therefore, come to the conclusion that the temple of Tiruvalla was dedicated during the days of Vîra Kêraḷa Chakravartti. The date of its dedication is given in a chronogram " Chêramânpaṭakaṭa, " *i.e.*, 1,111,526th day after the beginning of the Kali age, which falls in the year 59 B.C. A Hindu image can be dedicated only on special auspicious days, and there are several requirements to be fulfilled for a day to be auspicious.:—

1. It should be during *uttarâyaṇam*.
2. It should not be on Saturday or Tuesday.
3. It should be during the bright fortnight.
4. Of the 27 asterisms only sixteen (1st, 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 17th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 26th, 27th) are auspicious.
5. The above-mentioned auspicious asterisms will become inauspicious by the following circumstances.

(*a*) An auspicious one will become inauspicious by the presence of any of the following "sinners," Sun, Mars, Saturn and Rahu.

(*b*) Each asterism has certain asterisms as companions, *e.g.*, *uttiraṭṭâti*, the asterism of the day under consideration, has five companions (2nd, 8th, 11th, 17th and 20th). If the Sun or Mars, or Jupiter, or Saturn stand in any of these asterisms, its companion *uttiraṭṭâti* will become inauspicious.

(*Muhûrttapadavi* published by Bhârata Vilâsam Press, pp. 197, 198, 112.)

Under these rules it is very difficult to find an auspicious day for the dedication of an image. But this particular day fulfills all the requirements. Now an astronomer would spend no inconsiderable time and energy in order to find out an auspicious day in the distant past. The above-mentioned Bhaṭṭatiri or his predecessors had nothing to gain by forging such a document. He was not publishing it to the world. Simply because I asked him about the dedication of the temple at Tiruvalla he brought out this *grantha*, and was not in the

[10] I am extremely thankful to this gentleman for his kindly allowing me to copy a portion of this *grantha*.

least interested in making this known to others. We should also bear in mind that the Malayaḷa Brâhmans are reputed for their honesty, and cheating is, as a rule, unknown among them.

The *grantha* of Kuḷikkâṭṭu Maṭham, therefore, affords us a very strong piece of presumptive evidence to show that Vîra Kêraḷa Chakravartti lived during the middle of the first century B.C.

This *grantha* further says that after two years on the 19th Mêṭam a Thursday, 15th asterism, and the 12th *tithi*, Garuḍa, a minor idol, was dedicated. Here everything except the week day is wrong. It is the 19th asterism, an inauspicious one, instead of the 15th. This mistake must be due to the copyist. The figure two (of "after two years") must be a clerical error of the copyist. The week day might have been set right by somebody because it is a very easy business. This mistake is a further proof of the genuineness of the chronogram "Chêramânpaṭakaṭa." If it were a forgery they would have made the above date also correct. Further, this *grantha*, after recounting the circumstances in which the chief idol was dedicated and giving the date of its dedication in the chronogram "Chêramânpaṭakaṭa," says :—"It is simply appended below the horoscope of the date of the god at Tiruvalla," written by Cheruvaḷḷi Kuḷikkâṭṭu. Here follow in chronograms the longitudes of the Sun, Moon, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Venus, Saturn, Rahu and Kêtu. The person who is said to have calculated these longitudes is not known, and must have lived some centuries back. These statements are given as an addition. This too is a proof of the genuineness of the above *grantha*.

Mr. Venkayya suggests that the Vîra Kêraḷa Chakravartti may be Jayasiṁha *alias* Vîra Kêraḷavarman of the thirteenth century (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, page 293).

Jayasiṁha *alias* Vîra Kêraḷavarman was unquestionably a king of Vêṇâṭu ruling at Quilon, whereas Vîra Kêraḷa Chakravartti, being one of the predecessors of Vîra Râghava, an "emperor" of Kêraḷam, ruling at Cranganore, must have been also an "emperor" ruling at Cranganore. So the Vîra Kêraḷa Chakravartti, mentioned in the copper plate, has nothing to do with Jayasiṁha. Since Mr. Venkayya could not find the name Vîra Kêraḷa Chakravartti of Kêraḷam in any other record, he went to the royal family of Vêṇâṭu, who were vassals of the "emperors" of Kêraḷam, to find out a similar name. The impossibility of such a contention is more than evident.

Since Vîra Râghava makes mention of Vîra Kêraḷa Chakravartti as the greatest of his predecessors, the intervening period cannot be very many centuries.

Pârkara Iravi Varmar in his copper plate does not make mention of this Vîra Kêraḷa Chakravartti. Vîra Râghava, therefore, is most probably earlier than Pârkara Iravi.

5. Among the witnesses to the grants of Vîra Râghava and Pârkara Iravi, we do not find Perumpaṭappu, *i.e.*, the king of Cochin. It follows, therefore, that when these two *śâsaṉams* were executed, Perumpaṭappu was not in existence. But in the Hebrew version of the Pârkara Iravi plates the following note is added :—"Perumpaṭappu, king of Cochin, is not recorded in this. list, because he (the Perumal) settled him as his heir in his stead." (*Madras Journal of Lit. and Science*, Vol. XIII, part II, page 13.) This explanation is quite untenable on the face of it.

In the Vîra Râghava plate Vonpoli Nâṭu (the country near the Vempanâṭu Lake), Thekkumkûr and Vaṭakkumkûr. and Neṭumpurayûr Nâṭu (Pâlghât) are not mentioned, but they are mentioned in the Pârkara Iravi plates. When certain privileges are given to a people, all the petty kings, in whose land these people dwell, should be made witnesses, *i.e.*, informed of it. Witnesses are mentioned in the Vîra Râghava and the Pârkara Iravi plates with the following words respectively "with the knowledge of" so and so,—so and so "knows this." Venpoli Nâṭu is unquestionably a very ancient centre of Christians.

Venpoli Naṭu, therefore, would have been by no means omitted in the copper plate under discussion, if the dynasty of that name were in existence at that time.

The following objection may be raised against this conclusion. The king of Oṭunâṭu (Kayamkulam) and the Brâhman divisions of Panniyûr and Chokira are mentioned in the Vîra Râghava copper plate, but not in the Pârkara Iravi plates. This, however, is not a weighty objection. Since there were no Jews in Oṭunâṭu, the king of Oṭunâṭu need not necessarily be a witness. The same may be the case with the Brâhmans of Panniyûr and Chokira. Perhaps there may have been no Jews in those places where these Brâhmans had some sort of authority. Or perhaps Pârkara Iravi did not think of giving so much prominence to the Brâhmans as his predecessor, Vîra Râghava, had given.

As for the omission of Venpoli Nâṭu in our copper plate, it cannot by any means be explained away, if that dynasty were in existence at that time. This is also a piece of presumptive evidence, which shows that Vira Râghava was earlier than Pârkara Iravi.

6. There is one more piece of presumptive evidence to show that Vîra Râghava is older than Pârkara Iravi. The " emperors " of Kêraḷam were, no doubt, Kshattrias and their language Sanskrit. From the inscriptions of Kêraḷam we know only five of them—Vîra Kêraḷa Chakravartti, Râjâdhirâja Paramêsvara Bhaṭṭâraka Râjasêkhara Dêvar, Vîra Râghava Chakravartti, Pârkara Iravi, and Tâṇu Iravi. The first three names retain their Sanskrit forms and the other two Sanskrit names are Tamilised. The Aryan colonists in the south of India would not easily allow their names to be Tamilised. We, therefore, may infer that they only allowed it many centuries after their colonisation. So the " emperors " who bore Tamilised names, Pârkara Iravi and Tânu Iravi, were later than those who bore pure Sanskrit names, Vîra Kêraḷa, Râjaśêkhara, and Vîra Râghava. Vîra Kêraḷa is shown to be of the first century B.C. Râjaśêkhara and Vîra Râghava too are, therefore, earlier than Pârkara Iravi and Tâṇu Iravi.

II. Astronomical Evidence.

It is said in the copper plate that it was executed on the day of Rôhiṇi (4th asterism), a Saturday, the 21st of the Solar month Mîna, when Jupiter was in Makara (Capricorn). From the Astronomical positions given here, we should find out the date.

Preliminary Discussions.

Before we proceed to find out the date on an Astronomical basis, there are some preliminary enquiries to be made.

The Age of Indian Astronomy.

This is the first point. There are some who think that the Indian Astronomical systems are of late origin. But the contrary can be easily proved. Even in the Hindu Vedas, the twenty-seven asterisms, the divisions of the ecliptic are enumerated. Kauṭilya of the fourth century B.C. mentions Astronomy as one of the six *angas* of the Vedas. (Kauṭilya's *Arthaśâstra,* translated by R. Shamasastri, B.A., Book I, Ch. III, p. 7.) Further he makes mention of lunar month (*chandramâsa*), solar month (*saura*) and sidereal month (*nakshatramâsa*) (*Ibid.*, Book II, Ch. XX, p. 134). "A forecast of rainfall," says Kauṭilya again, " can be made by observing the position, motion and pregnancy of Jupiter, the rise and set and motion of Venus, and the natural or unnatural aspect of the Sun." (*Ibid.*, Book II, Ch. XXIV, p. 143.) A king, according to him, should consult an astrologer every day. (*Ibid.*, Book I, Ch. XIX, p. 43.) There can be no astrology without a somewhat complete Astronomy. While speaking about India, Strabo, a Greek author who lived during the early part of the first century A.D., says : " They (Pramnae) ridicule the Brahmans as boasters and fools for occupying themselves with Physiology and Astronomy " (*Geography of Strabo*, translated by H. C. Hamilton and W. Falconer, Book XV, Ch. I, s. 70, p. 117). From all this it is clear that the Indians began their study of Astronomy before the commencement of the Christian era. Alberuni, who

visited India in 1031, has written an elaborate treatise on the Indian Astronomical systems, giving the revolutions of the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn and their apsides in a *Chaturyuga* and in a *Kalpa* according to the different *sidhântas.* Alberuni says that Varâhamihira, the author of *Pañchasidhântika,* lived 526 years before his time, which is Kali 4131, A.D. 1031 (Alberuni's *India*, Vol. II, p. 276). The date of Varâhamihira, therefore, is A.D. 505. His *Panchasidhântika*, it should be observed, was a summary of the five systems of Astronomy, which were in India. Âryabaṭa, the author of *Âryabaṭiyam*, was according to himself born in Kali 3577, A.D. 476–477, and wrote his book in Kali 3600, A.D. 499–500, at the age of 23. This is the system adopted in Malabar. We thus find that the Indians began to interest themselves in the study of Astronomy much before the commencement of the Christian era, and that the five *sidhântas* (systems of Indian Astronomy) came into existence before the sixth century.

Corrections of the systems.—Secondly, some argue that since the Indian Astronomical systems constantly underwent corrections, the real dates cannot be ascertained from Astronomical positions given in ancient inscriptions. It is true that corrections were made in these systems from time to time. But in Kêraḷam we have two systems, known by the names of *parahitam* and *dṛk.* The latter is the correct system for calculating modern dates, the former is the old system which is now used only to find out *muhûrttam* (auspicious time). It can be shown that the *parahita* system, holds good for all the ancient dates. I have myself verified twenty-eight ancient dated inscriptions from the tenth century forward, which contain Astronomical positions. Out of these inscriptions I have verified, only nine were found to be wrong. The mistakes, I think, must be due to wrong readings. I could not prove this, because no facsimiles were available. Some of the other inscriptions, too, appeared to be wrong at first, but when I compared the facsimile with the readings, I found that the mistakes were due to the latter. I did not find a single inscription which is not correct according to the *parahita* system, where a facsimile was available to verify the reading.

Then again I took 125 eclipses in the *Astronomy* of J. Ferguson, Vol. I, pp. 214–216, during a period of 1000 years from the first to the eleventh century, and verified them. These eclipses were observed in different parts of the world and recorded, with the dates converted into the Christian era and the time into the Greenwich meantime by modern scholars. Of the 125 eclipses, all were correct except twenty-one. I need hardly say that I desregarded the difference of two or three hours. Because all one can do is to find out the point of time when the new or full moon is completed in Kêraḷam, though an eclipse is not really for a point of time. According to Indian Astronomy, time is calculated from sunrise. These and some other things may cause a difference of one or two hours. The twenty-one eclipses, which were found incorrect, may be brought under four heads. Under the first head there is only one which is quite right, except for the fact that it was a solar eclipse instead of a lunar one (A.D. 1010, March 8. Greenwich meantime 5·41). Having found the day and time correct, it can be concluded that the mistake is only a misprint.

Under the second head there are eleven eclipses :—

A.D.	1,	June 10,	G.M.T.	1·10.	A.D.	55,	July 12,	G.M.T.	21·50.
A.D.	30,	Nov. 13,	G.M.T.	19·20.	A.D.	56,	Dec. 25,	G.M.T.	0·28.
A.D.	46,	July 21,	G.M.T.	22·25.	A.D.	60,	Oct. 13,	G.M.T.	3·21.
A.D.	49,	May 20,	G.M.T.	7·16.	A.D.	65,	Dec. 15,	G.M.T.	21·50.
A.D.	53,	March 8,	G.M.T.	20·42.	A.D.	70,	Sept. 22,	G.M.T.	21·13.

A.D. 760, Aug. 30, G.M.T. 5·50.

These are Astronomical days. June 10 begins at noon of that day.

The dates are correct, but there are differences of some hours, the maximum being not more than eight. These also may therefore be classed among the correct ones. Of this

group, ten are of the first century A.D. The present *parahita* system itself may have undergone some correction since the first century. One is of the eighth century, and the difference here may be due to some mistake.

In the third group there are only three eclipses. The maximum difference them is 23 hours. The dates here, I daresay, are wrong, *viz.*, (A.D. 27, July 22; 40, April 30; 831, May 15).

In the last group there are six eclipses (A.D. 290, May 15; 484, January 13; 753, June 8; 787, Sept. 14; 809, July 15; 989, May 28).

Seeing that the differences here are of 3 or 4 days, the dates, I am quite sure, are wrong. Thus we find that out of the 125 eclipses I have verified according to the *parahita* system, 105 were quite right and 11 were almost right, there being no difference in days; only nine were wrong. This can by no means be the fault of the *parahita* system. The dates given are somehow or other wrong. The motion of the moon can be observed easily. Nobody, therefore, will keep an Astronomical system, if it cannot fix the position of the moon correctly. New moon, full moon, and eclipses will surely expose an incorrect system. We can, therefore, safely infer that the *parahita* system of Malabar, at least the system of calculating the moon's motion, is not appreciably different from the system used there during the early centuries. As for Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, etc., there may be a little more difference, because their motions are not so easily observed as that of the moon.

The meaning of the expression 'Cheṉṟa.'—Before entering into a discussion of the Astronomical evidence, there is one more point to be decided. The translation of *irupattonṟuchenṟa*, according to the late Professor Sundaram Pillai, Venkayya, and Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai, is 22nd, not 21st. This is a wrong assumption. Relying on this, the last mentioned fixed the date of Pârkara Iravi Varmar in the eleventh century (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, p. 31). *Some early Sovereigns of Travancore*, published by Sundaram Pillai himself, affords abundant and conclusive proof to an Astronomer that the word *Cheṉṟa* does not mean expired day. (1) Take for instance, the inscription No. 3 (*Ibid*, p. 67). "Kollam 336, Itavam 6 (*âṟuchenṟa*) Saturday, Makayiram" (5th asterism). Sundaram Pillai says that it is the 7th Iṭavam, not the 6th. The 7th Iṭavam 336 of the Quilon era is 1,556,768th day of Kali. First day of Kali was a Friday and therefore 1,556,768th day of Kali was a Sunday, not a Saturday. The asterism was Tiruvâtira (6th) not Makayiram (5th). The 6th Iṭavam, 336 Kollam, therefore, was a Saturday and Makayiram as stated in the inscription. So *âṟu cheṉṟa* means the 6th not the 7th.

Let any Astronomer verify the following dates :—

(2) Kollam 427, 21st Etavam (*irupattonṟu cheṉṟa*) Wednesday and Pañchami (Inscription No. 13, *Ibid.*, p. 73.)

(3) Kollam 393, Sunday, 8th Mêṭam (*eṭṭu cheṉṟa*), Makayiram (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, p. 290.)

(4) Kollam 778, Monday, 7th Mêṭam (*êḻu cheṉṟa*). (*Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 178).

(5) Kollam 782, Friday, 6th Mêṭam (*âṟu cheṉṟa*), (*Ibid.*, p. 180).

(6) Kollam 945, Friday, 15th Etavam (*patiṉañchu cheṉṟa*), (*Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 301 and 302). The reading given is 5th Eṭavam which is a mistake. See facsimile.

(7) Saka 1467, Friday, 30th Tulâm (*muppatu cheṉṟa*) (*Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 104).

(8) Saka 1486, Sunday, 20th Mêṭam (*irupatu cheṉṟa*) (*Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 106).

(9) Saka 1487, Thursday, 6th Makaram (*âṟu cheṉṟa*) (*Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 274).

(10) Saka 1489, Friday, 24th Tulâm (*irupattunâlu cheṉṟa*) (*Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 275).

(11) Saka 1493, Friday, 15th Etavam (*patiṉañchu cheṉṟa*) (*Ibid*, Vol. 1, p. 277).

In all the above inscriptions, as well as in many others I have verified, the word *cheṉṟa* is used to denote a current day. This word is never used to denote an expired day.

(*To be continued.*)

THE ANCESTRESS OF A GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

(*A Fragment of Family History*).

BY S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

IT is stated in Burke's *Peerage* that the eighth Earl of Dalhousie (1740-1787) married in 1767 Elizabeth, daughter of Andrew Glen and niece and heiress of James Glen, Governor of Carolina. She thus became the grandmother of the famous Governor-General of India (1848-56). An inquiry into the parentage of Elizabeth Glen, undertaken at the request of a descendant of the Governor-General, has disclosed some rather remarkable facts regarding her mother's career, which seem to me worth recording.

Scrutiny of the East India Company's Records preserved in the India Office shows that Elizabeth Glen's mother first appears on the scene as Mrs. Lucy Rigby, who married a Captain Thomas Garland at Calcutta on 14th July 1731. Unfortunately there is no evidence to show (*a*) whether Mrs. Lucy Rigby was a widow or a spinster at the date of her marriage to Captain Garland, and (*b*) who precisely Rigby was. In regard to the first point, the term "Mrs." was in use in the eighteenth century and earlier to denote a respectable spinster, and the person to whom the term was applicable was usually a lady of a certain age. In view of Mrs. Lucy Rigby's later history, which proves that she married her last husband as late as 1760, it seems unlikely that she would have been old enough in 1731 (the date of her marriage to Captain Garland) to deserve the courtesy appellation of "Mrs". It is reasonable to suppose that, when she married Captain Garland, she was the widow of a man named Rigby. This supposition is strengthened by the statements in *Bengal Past and Present,* Vol. V, p. 143 and Vol. VI, p. 400.

As to the identity of Rigby, there is no definite evidence. But the Bengal Register of Deaths, preserved in the India Office, shows that a Captain Edward Rigby died and was buried at Calcutta on 23rd July 1714. It is just possible that Lucy Rigby was the widow of this man. If so, she must have married him a very short time before his death, and must have been a very young bride. This is by no means improbable, seeing that she has been described elsewhere as a "Native of India." To the latter point I shall subsequently refer. The fact that she was the widow, and not the daughter, of Edward Rigby seems to be accepted in *Bengal Past and Present,* Vol. VI, p. 400.

The history of Rigby is wholly obscure. There is evidence in various works of reference that the Rigbys were a well-known Lancashire family, which at one time owned Middleton Hall in Gosnargh parish. A Baron Alexander Rigby and a son of like name were officers in the Parliamentary army. The second Alexander had a brother, Edward, a sergeant-at-arms and Member of Parliament for Preston in 1678. He had a son Edward and a daughter, Lucy, of whom the former represented Preston in 1705. A bound volume of miscellanea in the British Museum mentions also a Captain Edward Rigby as being concerned in a case at the Old Bailey on 7th December 1798; but no details are given of his profession and circumstances. I have been unable to trace any connexion between this individual or the Lancashire family and the Captain who died in Calcutta in 1714. But a close and prolonged enquiry might possibly serve to establish a link.

The problem of Mrs. Lucy Rigby's early history is further complicated by the fact that in a document drawn up in 1765, which is still preserved in the archives of the Dalhousie family, she is described as a "Native of India." This document is an agreement between herself and her last husband, Peter Downes, whereby she is absolved from the duty of accompanying him to England on his retirement, and she in return gives him full permission to marry

again during her lifetime. The term "Native of India" may signify (*a*) a person of pure Indian parentage, or (*b*) a Eurasian, now styled Anglo-Indian, or (*c*) a person of pure European parentage, born and brought up in India. It is highly improbable that Mrs. Lucy Rigby belonged to category (*a*); for had she been a pure Native, it is unlikely that certainly five, and probably six, Englishmen of official status would have married her in succession according to the rites of the established church; that Mr. Harry Verelst, who succeeded Clive as Governor of Bengal in 1767, would have concerned himself as guardian with her affairs, as he certainly did; and that the fact of her marriages and death and the details of her will would have been so carefully recorded and preserved in the ecclesiastical and legal departments of the Company's administration. The most plausible view is that she belonged to category (*b*). A pure-bred Englishwoman, born and brought up in England, would assuredly have shrunk, no matter how broad-minded she may have been, from entering into a formal agreement to give her last husband his complete marital freedom. But a Eurasian or even a domiciled European woman, who had known no homeland but India and had imbibed less rigid ideas in oriental surroundings, might easily have given her husband *carte blanche* to pass out of her life, in return for the permission to end her days in the only country which she had known from her birth.

On the whole, therefore, it may be assumed that Mrs. Lucy Rigby was a domiciled European or more probably Eurasian, born and brought up in Bengal, and that she married at an early age (as is customary in India) a man named Rigby, possibly the Captain of that name, whose death and burial occurred in 1714. He may have been a merchant-captain of the superior type, well-known in those days, when a man who commanded one of the Company's vessels was expected to possess not only a knowledge of navigation but also a very complete acquaintanceship with the details of trade and the Indian market.

Mrs. Lucy Rigby's later history is much less obscure. After Rigby's death, she married Captain Thomas Garland in Calcutta on 14th July 1731. He died and was buried in that place on 10th September 1731 (Indian Office Records). In all probability he was a merchant-captain, belonging to the same service as her next husband. Mrs. Lucy Garland remained a widow until 31st December 1733, on which date she was married in Calcutta to Captain Andrew Glen, who is described in his Will as a "Mariner," *scil,* the master of a merchantman. He was the brother of James Glen, Governor of North Carolina. Of this marriage was born a daughter, Elizabeth Glen, who afterwards married the eighth Earl of Dalhousie. Captain Andrew Glen died and was buried at Calcutta on 3rd August 1745. A copy of his Will, which mentions his wife Lucy, his daughter Elizabeth, and his brother James, is preserved in the India Office (*Bengal Wills*, Range 154, Vol. XLIV, p. 2).

Mrs. Lucy Glen's next marriage took place on 16th September 1747, to Captain Robert Leonard (or Lennard). From C. R. Wilson's *Old Fort William*, Vol. I, p. 159, it appears that Captain Lennard arrived in Calcutta from Madras in 1742 and was given employment as an engineer by the Bengal Council on 24th April of that year. He is described as having done good service in Madras in erecting fortifications against the Marathas. On 29th November 1742 his temporary employment ended, and the Council recorded that he was discharged with a gratuity of 500 Madras rupees, "after performing his service to our satisfaction." Apparently he remained in Calcutta, and about five years later married Andrew Glen's widow. The India Office Records show that Lennard's Will was proved on 19th April 1748, and therefore that he must have died about six months atter his marriage to Lucy. No copy of his Will appears to exist.

The next matrimonial venture of the widow, now Mrs. Lucy Lennard, took place on 31st July 1749, when she espoused Captain David Clayton. Wilson's *Old Fort William*, Vol. II, gives a good deal of information about this fourth (or probably fifth) husband of Mrs. Lucy

Rigby. He commanded a battery when Sirâju'ddaula besieged Calcutta in 1756, and is described in Drake's *Account* (*ibid.*, p. 67) as defending the church with 25 militia and military against a hot attack, and also as commanding the Court House battery, with Captain Holwell and three subalterns as his comrades. It is evident from Z. Holwell's story of the siege that he and Clayton were not on the best terms, for Holwell speaks of him as never having seen any foreign service and as demonstrating "his want of the most essential requisites of a soldier" (*ibid.*, p. 79). Apparently Holwell and Wedderburn offered certain advice regarding the defence of the position to Clayton, which he did not accept. Clayton paid dearly enough for any mistakes that he may have made ; for he perished in the 'Black Hole,' and his name appears on the monument erected to the victims by Lord Curzon in 1902. Mrs. Lucy Clayton's name appears in the list of women refugees on board the ships at Fulta. The house in which Captain Clayton and his wife resided in 1755, just prior to the capture of Calcutta by Sirâju'ddaula, is said to have occupied the site on which now stands the building of the Alliance Bank of Simla.

Clayton's untimely end left his wife a widow for the fourth (or fifth) time in 1756 ; but the tale of her marriages was not yet complete. The India Office Records show that she married her last husband, Mr. Peter Downes, on 2nd September 1760. A demi-official letter No. 97 of 7th February 1924, addressed to me by the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta, gives the following particulars about Downes, collected from the records of the Government of India. He was appointed a Factor in the East India Company's service on 23rd November 1759, and served from that date until 1765 as the Company's Storekeeper of the New Fortifications at Fort William. On 18th February 1765, he requested permission to resign the Company's service, and on 15th July 1765, he asked for a passage to England on board the *Admiral Stevens*. He apparently reached home safely and settled down there ; for his name appears once again in 1789 as one of the executors of the Will of a Captain Henry Spelman, and as having in that capacity received certain payments from the Company.

It is clear that Downes, a civilian, married Captain Clayton's widow about a year after he joined the Company's service in Calcutta, and that when he retired to England six years later, he went alone. Papers preserved by the Dalhousie family show that Lucy, being a "Native of India," refused to accompany her last husband to England, and that before his departure she gave him full permission to wipe her out of his memory and marry again during her lifetime, if he wished to do so.

As a matter of fact, she did not survive his departure for much more than four months. She died in Calcutta and was buried there on 23rd November 1765 (India Office Records). Her Will was proved on 26th November 1765 ; and a copy of it will be found in *Bengal Wills*, Range 154, Vol. LII, p. 43*a*, preserved in the India Office. Under her Will her daughter, Elizabeth Glen, was her chief legatee and must have inherited a good deal of valuable property and jewellery, which she brought into the Dalhousie family on her marriage to the eighth Earl. Like other wealthy people in India at that date, Mrs. Lucy Downes possessed several slaves, probably Africans or *coffrees*, as they were then styled, and some of the clauses of her Will concern the grant of their freedom to these slaves and the provision of legacies for them.

Such is the rather remarkable history of the ancestress of one on the greatest Governors-General of India. That she must have been a woman of considerable attraction and charm seems evident from the fact that she was courted, if we include the shadowy Rigby, by six husbands in succession. Three of them were probably among those "who go down to the sea in ships", two were military officers, and the last was a civil servant ; so that she tried all the Services in turn. One wonders which of them all she loved the best. One can never

know. Peradventure, as death drew nigh, her thoughts turned back to the days of her life with Andrew Glen. Her marriage with him lasted longer than the rest, and he was the father of her only child, Elizabeth, destined in due time to become the grandmother of the statesman, of whom a well-known historian has written :—" Notwithstanding his physical disability and almost incessant suffering, the marvellous strength of his will enabled him to perform an amount of work of the highest quality which exceeded the powers of most statesmen, even when blessed with perfect health."

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PUNJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.
SERIES IV.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S. (*Retired*).

(*Continued from page* 164.)

Pota : sheep's entrails : Ch., 139.

Potande : a festive dish at the Dîwâlî : Sirmûr, 58.

Pothi : ? *Elsholtzia Polystacha* : Simla, S. R., xliv.

Potli : the hide of a cow or buffalo : SS., Jubbal, 12.

Prainth : the 3rd and last day of the Dîwâlî : Sirmûr, 63.

Pruri : *Spiraea bella* : Ch., 238.

Puchhiyân, pl. ? ; 'most important' ; as in the proverb :—*Kukarî siyân, Râthî puchhiyân,* "as Indian corn is the first among crops, so the Râthî is the most important among castes" : Ch., 136.

Puhâl : a shepherd ; -î, a high field above the village, used for grazing in summer ; = Adwârî and Kat : Ch., 278 and 280.

Pûla : a bundle of grass ; 5 *dathas* = 1 *pûla* : Hazâra.

Pullan : grass shoes (Pângî) : Ch., 207.

Punhâ : an observance at weddings in Pângî at which a ball of parched flour, honey and clarified butter is divided among the guests at the bridegroom's house, after a portion has been given to the bridal pair : Ch., 157.

Punna : *Ehretia serrata* : Ch., 239.

Punya : full-moon : Ch., 160.

Purâ : a receptacle made of *mâljhan* leaves : Sirmûr, 67.

Puthâ bâl : hair growing the wrong way, on a horse's neck : Ch., 195.

Puthi un : a cess, consisting in a share of wool : SS., Bashahr, 74.

Putrela : lit. 'son of a handmaid' ; and so an adopted son : Comp., 94.

Putreta : Cf., Puteta, P. D., p. 939.

Putriâr : a name given to one of the two menial Hâlîs or ploughmen who accompany the bridegroom, carrying the *badhâî* to the bride's father : Ch., 153.

Qânth : (sic), a purse ; as in *qânth-khulâî,* a preliminary fee paid to a money-lender for 'opening' his purse : SS., Bashahr, 51.

Rach : (? chh), = *rât*, night, as in *rach biyâî,* '3 hours before day-break.' and *adhî rach,* 'midnight' : Mandi, 31.

Râh denâ : = sunh lainâ, to take an oath of compurgation : Gloss., I, p. 906.

Rajae : red currant, *Ribes rubrum* : Ch., 238.

Rakht burani : lit. 'clothes cutting,' observed at weddings by Pathâns in Hoshiârpur ; = Rakht bari in Kângra : Glossary, I, 809.

Rali : a small painted image (of Shiva or Parbati) : Kângra : Gloss., I, p. 328.

Râm chakru : the wood-partridge, *arboricola Torquedla* : Ch., 36.

Ram : a custom whereby property is conveyed to the bride's father to the father of the boy, or by a man to his father-in-law, as a condition of the betrothal : Comp., 153.

Rand put : 'the son of a widow' ; fem. *rand dhîâ* ; begotten and born in her deceased husband's house, and ranking as his children, provided she has continued to live in it : Ch., 154 : Cf. Riondha.

Randî : a widow ; —rakhî lâî, the only ceremony observed when a stranger marries a widow by obtaining her parents' consent and paying a sum of money : Ch., 158.

Rangân : a pulse, *Dolichos sinensis*, generally sown in poppy-fields : SS., Bashahr, 48.

Ranhu : a barony : Ch., 61.

Ranhui : the period during which the Rânâs and Thâkurs ruled ;=Thâkurî or -ain : Ch., 171.

Rank : *Cotoneaster microphylla* : Ch., 238.

Rasaiki : a religious impost for the temple at Sarâhan : SS., Bashahr, 72.

Rasoi : midday meal ; = Dopai : Ch., 204.

Rasaunt : berberry : Suket, 36.

Rashi : the second distillation from barley spirit : SS., Bashahr, 77.

Rasûlia : a boy born naturally circumcised : B., 97.

Rat : a bundle of grass tied together by a rope 7 *hath* (3½ yds.) in length : Kâgân.

Ratini : a red grain : Ch., 123.

Ratîr : a snake : Ch., 39.

Ratnal : the *munâl* pheasant : Sirmûr, 7.

Raug : young plants (of rice) : Simla, S.R., xl : Cf., *rumnâ*, to plant out : *Ib.*

Raung : an autumn crop : Ch., 226.

Raush : *Cotonaster obtusa* : Sirmûr, App. IV, v. (Not *reush* as in III).

Razal : *Viburnum cotinifolium* : Ch., 239.

Rehrî : (? red), a kind of rice : SS., Bashahr, 48.

Rekhti : doggerel verses written in women's language : Gloss., I, p. 907.

Relmi : Mysore thorn, *Caesalpina sepiaria* : Ch., 238.

Reora : red : Simla, S. R., xl. Also Rerî : *ib.*, and SS., Kumhârsain, 14 : *V.* Rehri.

Rheuns : = Raush : Ch., 238.

Rihâru : brass anklets, worn by Gaddî women, to avert the evil eye and prevent children crying ; made by Rehâras, a menial caste : Ch., 206.

Rîna, a squint : Ch., 138.

Rît : a fee payable to the State by the man who marries the widow or widows of a land-holder who died without immediate heirs : SS., Kuthâr, 8 ; (2) the compensation paid to a husband for the surrender of his wife to another man ; *ib.*, Kumhârsain, 8 ; (3) the expense incurred by a husband on his marriage, including his gifts to the bride, the marriage being annulled by the husband's acceptance of the amount so spent : *ib.*, Bashahr, 14. Cf., also Bilâspur, 10. Also = Bhora, in Panjabi, *q.v.*

Riondha : lit., 'son of a randha (?) widow,' = Gabhru, *q. v.* and Rand put.

Rishet : fr., *rishi*, a sage ; the term for a ghost from the end of the 1st year after death to the 4th. : Simla Hills : Gloss., I, p. 470.

Rohaila : noisy : Ch., 139.

Roliyan : powder of red colour, used for marking the *tika* : Ch., 141 : Cf. P. D., p. 972, *s. v.* Rola.

Ronda : a son born to a widow in the house of her second husband and regarded as his whoever the actual father may have been : Comp., 115.

Roti-khâwan : lit. 'to eat bread' : an observance during betrothal at which the boy visits his *fiancée's* house and pays for food, getting a present in return : B., 102.

Rubâru : a representative : Ch., 152

Ruhî : a woman employed in planting out rice by the Ruhnî method : Ch., 223.

Ruhn : ? for Ruhnî, *q. v.*

Ruhnî : (i) land irrigated by streams : (ii) a method of growing rice in nurseries : Ch. 223

Rumbal : a wild fig, *Ficus clavata* : Ch., 239.

Rû-namâî : (a fee paid for) seeing the bride's face (paid to the bride by her husband's family) : Paṭhâns of Hoshiârpur : = âṇhar P. D., p. 985.

Sabil : Ar. *sabîl*, a public drinking-fountain : B., 146.

Sadiâla : for Sat-diâla, = Diâli or 'house of mercy,' the feast of lamps held from Mâgh 7th to 14th in Rûpî, (Kulu) : Gloss., I, p. 347.

Sâdhu : wife's sister's husband.

Sadwâl : the distance a man's voice will carry : D.I.K.

Sagâhi : a special rate in kind imposed on irrigated lands : Suket, 32.

Sagâî : = Sota, *q. v.*

Sagan-pinnî : a rite at weddings, which includes the making of balls (*pinnîs*) by the women of the bride's family from wheat and syrup prepared by the Jâjak : B., 112 : Add. to P. D., p. 985, *s. v.* Sagan.

Sagan-halûfa : a rite in which the bride's father sends the boy's father from 17 to 25 *pakwâns* : observed only by Khatrîs and Sârsut (Brahmans) after or in lieu of the Sagan-pinnî : B., 113.

Sahal : Sahl Khassi, a hut made of reeds (*kânà*) : B., 196.

Sai : a honeysuckle, *Lonicera purpurascens* : Ch., 239.

Sail : wild hemp : SS., Kumhârsain, 19. (2) a Râjâ's demesne land : Keonthal, 14. Cf., Shah 1.

Sairi : Autumn harvest : -ia, the autumn crop of honey : Ch., 220 and 229.

Sâjâ : the chief day of certain festivals : Sirmûr, 63–4.

Sakhelî : Sakhî, a sister by mutual adoption = Bahnelî : Gloss., I, p. 907.

Sâkshi : witness or testimony, such as the sacred fire invoked at a wedding : Comp., 38

Sâl : grain revenue : Ch., 271

Salaj : wife's brother's wife.

Sâlan : an autumn crop : Ch., 226.

Sâlpan : a *gâhar* or high pasture owned by the Râjâ : Ch., 278.

Sam : dawn, in Kanâwar : SS., Bashahr, 41.

Sâmangri : odoriferous articles, used in offerings : Suket, 25.

Sambhâlu : a tree : Sirmur, 51.

Samchhâwa : the early morning meal, in Kanâwar : SS., Bashahr, 41.

Sambih : a breast ornament : Ch., 208.

Samdhâna :-iâna, the village into which one's child is married.

Samdhetâ : fem., -î ; the brothers and sisters of a married couple are *samdhetâ, -î*, to their brother's or sister's parents-in-law.

Samdhi : fem. -an, the parents of husband and wife are samdhi (father) and samdhan, (mother) to each other.

Sanan : a small tree : Simla, S. R., xliv.
Sanata : *Dodonaea viscosa* : Ch., 237.
Sanbhar : a kind of white salt : SS., Bashahr, 63.
Sânchî : a board : Sirmûr, 53.
Sandan : *Ougeinia dalbergioides* : Sirmûr, App. IV, iv.
Sandhîria : worship in the evening : Sirmûr, 42.
Sanha : green hay : Mandi, 46.
Sanj : (i) sweet bread fried in *ghî* ; (ii) sunset : Ch., 204 : (iii) offerings : Ch., 139.
Sanjal : *Fraxinus xanthoxyloides* : Ch., 239.
Sanjâlî : a head butler or officer in charge of the wardrobe : Sirmûr, 63.
Sanjiâr : land irrigated by water collected in pools : SS., Bâghal, 8.
Sanjua : an iron (?) chain ; Simla Hills : Gloss., I, p. 360.
Sanpari : sunset, = Dhira udeo : Mandi, 31.
Sântha : a written lease, granted by the Râjâ : Mandi, 61.
Sâppu : a kind of tobacco ; = Bimbaru : Ch., 225.
Sarâî : = Bhrayâî, *q. v.*
Saran : a flat roof : Ch., 119.
Sargudhî : a form of marriage in Churâh ; = **Jhanjrârâ**, *q. v.*
Sarkhan : stable expenses, levied as a cess : SS., Bashahr, 74.
Sâriân dâ dhoda : rice-bread : B., 192.
Sarlu : hay which remains green ; Cf., Juth : Mandi, 46.
Sarsâhî : see under **Wattâ.**
Sarsanchain : = *baṛâ pujâ* or 'greater worship' in exorcism : Sirmûr, 53.
Sartera : a son by a wife of lower caste. Cf., Sartors : SS., Bashahr, 12.
Sarugar : *Rhododendron campanulatum* : Ch., 239.
Sarût : wife's brother's son.
Sarvân shadhe : an undefined substance used at weddings : Ch., 143, n. 5.
Sâsû : = sâs, mother-in-law, wife's mother ; âna.
Sâsan : a grant, of land, made to a Brahman for religious purposes : Mandi, 61.
Sât : lucky moment : Ch., 193 : Sat-bala, a rite in which two human victims are added to the five in the Panch-bala ; *q.v.*
Sathoi : an appraiser : SS., Bilâspur, 21.
Sathrî : a small heap of maize stalks ; 3 or 4 *sathrîs* = 1 *kalâwa*, 3 *kalâwas* = 1 *gatha* } In the Kâgân valley of Hazâra.

2 *sathrîs* of maize = 1 *kalâwa*, 3 or 4 *kalâwas* = 1 *gaddâ* } In Bhogarmang.

Satrâna : seven different kinds of grain, in Churâhî : Ch., 123.
Sattowâra : fr. sat, 'seven,' the bride's return to her parents' house on the 7th day after her wedding : B., 104.
Satyâra : anklet : Ch., 123.
Saut : co-wife, = sauk.
Savhar : a quilt ; = Panj. *sawwar* : B., 196.
Sawâî : lit. 1¼ ; a custom whereby an eldest son gets ¼th, more than each of the younger sons. The form is *sawâyâ* in D.C.K. : Comp., 76.
Sawan : knocking the wall, a substitute for the Mathe lagawan, *q.v.* : B., 107.
Sawâni : **Bhorâ**, *q.v.*

Sâwani-manânâ : merry-making in Sâwan on the banks of canals, by Hindus on Sundays, by Muhammadans on Fridays : B., 202.

Sawâran : the senior woman in a household, employed as a cook : SS., Kumhârsain, 12.

Sayar : the Kharif crop : Mandi, 62.

Sayol : a kind of fish : Sirmur, 7.

Sedu : small balls of wheat, etc. : SS., Kumharsain, 12.

Sehli : a camel's nose-string ; = dehun chaṛhîa, 'when the sun is as high as a sehli,' (say 3½ to 4 hours after sunrise) : B., 191.

Seltî : a goat's-hair cord worn round the waist : SS., Bashahr, 41.

Semla : a gum ; see under Chakera.

Senh : shâm, evening, used by Muhammadans : B., 191.

Sepa : see under Bârî.

Ser : level ground ; =Masit.

Shâdî : circumcision : B., 97.

Shâg : ? vegetables, Shâg kî phand, a kind of stew : SS., Bashahr, 41.

Shahl : a Râjâ's demesne land. Cf., Shail : SS., Bâghal, 14-15.

Shâk : a poor soil, chiefly composed of sand and small stones : Sirmûr, App. I.

Shail : a stone temple ; Simla Hills : Gloss., I, p. 434.

Shâli : irrigated land : Ch., 223.

Shamla : tail, of a turban : B., 194 ; = Thirshu *q.v.* Also =Sutarbandh.

Shând : a sacrifice, only performed in villages where there are Khund Kanets : SS., Bashahr, 21.

Shândtu : a minor sacrifice ; = Tîkar : SS., Bashahr, 28.

Shâvrî : like a Bârâ, *q.v.*, but saller and more freely manured : Sirmûr, App. I.

Shasman : turnips : SS., Bashahr, 41.

Shela : a small floor mat : Suket, 32.

Shelat : land overshadowed by hills and therefore cold and damp : Sirmûr, App. I.

Shigu ? : Shigu kâ sattu, a kind of meal : SS., Bashahr, 41.

Shikârî : a box, in Pângî : Cf., Kanjâl : Ch., 208.

Shil : breakfast, in Kanâwar : SS., Bashahr, 41.

Shila : land shut in and shaded by sheer hill-sides : SS., Jubbal, 16.

Shillong : *Olea fragrans* : Sirmûr, App. IV, vi.

Shirnî : a hay-fork ; = Changli : Simla, S. R. xlv.

Shirwân : Autumn harvest : Ch., 220.

Shiu : a cess, consisting of spirits of grapes : SS., Bashahr, 74.

Shirmal : a tree : Simla, S. R., xliv.

Shoiya : evening ; in Kanâwar : SS., Bashahr, 41.

Shupa, Shuptu : a basket tray for cleaning grain : Simla, S. R., xlvi.

Shupachhawa : supper, in Kanâwar : SS., Bashahr, 41.

Shupkash : afternoon ; in Kanâwar : SS., Bashahr, 41

Shushar : *Tamarix ericoides*, in Lâhu ; Ch., 237.

Shutrala : sticks (of *phâpra*) : SS., Kumhârsain, 12.

Siâh kâm : 'black palte '. Pers kâm-palate or uvula =Bulsau, 4 : B., 184.

Siâna : a village headman : Sirmûr, 63.

Slanlu : a snake , Kulu : Gloss., I, p. 438.

Sidiâlî : a present (Rs. 12) given to the bride's father by the bridegroom : Ch., 157.

Sigri : boiled cakes : SS., Bashahr, 41.

Sihal : land cultivated direct by the State. Cf., Shahl : SS., Kunhiâr, 10.

Sijj : (Cf., Sijh : P. D., 1051), the sun ; *sijj jiûndâ,* 'the sun lives,' in Ar. *ash-shamsu ḥayyatun, i.e.,* 'twilight' ; *chotite sijj,* 'the sun is above the top-knot,' *i.e.,* at its zenith : B., 192.

Sijj karakka : ? sunset : *ib.,* 197.

Sikandra : a cess, levied for purchase of sugar, etc., in the palace : SS., Kumhârsain, 19.

Sil : or sîl apparently a nether mill-stone : Ch., 141. Cf., Sil, a brick or flat stone : P. D. s.v.

Simal : *Bombax malabaricum* : Sirmûr, App. IV, iii : Śimbal in Chamba, 235.

Sinjia : the ordinary earthen *dewa* or 'lamp' : Suket, 27.

Sirâla : blue-black : B., 111.

Sir-mel : a rite performed at or after marriage when the bride attains puberty : B.

Sirtora ? **Sirtola** : a bastard, or the issue of a wife of another caste : Mandi, 27–8.

Sir wârnâ : a form of lustration used by courtiers and at weddings : B., 109.

Siun : shisham, *Dalbergia sissoo* : Ch., 238.

Siyân : ? first ; see under Puchhiyân.

Smosâ : a kind of sweetmeat : B., 99.

Sog : land set apart in the name of a *newa* and never cultivated : SS., Bashahr, 33.

Soh : the level space in front of a temple ; Kulu : Gloss., I, p. 436.

Sohag-rat : a ceremony at marriages : Mandi, 24.

Sohar : a god of evil spirits : Sirmur, 51.

Soi : those who come with the bridegroom : Ch., 147.

Soja : a cess, included in the Mel, *q.v.*

Solhâ : a weight=1¼ *sers khâm,* 40 *tolas* or 32 ; = Thâkrî and Thola : Sirmûr, App. III.

Songi, dawan-watra = Panj. *khodaknâ* ; the dâwan-watras are balls of sugar as big as apples, and at a wedding the bridegroom tries to pick them up out of a dish while his sisters-in-law hinder him : B., 110.

Sota : a lower form of betrothal, = Sagâî : SS., Bashahr, 13.

Sotar : a snake, uniform in thickness, and believed to have a mouth at each end ; hence called *domunhâ* ; not very poisonous, it is believed that anyone bitten by it will be bitten again once every year : Ch., 39.

Staujua : *Moringa pterogosperma* : Sirmûr, App. IV, iv.

Sthâpan : ? 'setting-up,' worship (of Ganesh) at betrothals : Comp., 2.

Suârû : land close to dwellings, on which vegetables are generally grown : Mandi, 65.

Subâl : moss : Ch., 150.

Subhâ : Pasnî, *q.v.*

Suhâg-patari : a bride's paraphernalia ; consisting of the same articles as the Barsuhi : Ch., 143.

Sûhelî (? **Sahelî**) : a sister by mutual adoption ; 'lit. companion' : Gloss., I, p. 907.

Sûî : : the 4th form of marriage : SS., Kumhârsain, 8.

Suil : : *Amaranthus anardana* : Ch., 204.

Sukerî : sukrî, the 'dried' wild apricot ; = Kishta : Ch., 226.

Sungar : a kind of small pig : Simla Hills : Gloss., I, p. 346.

Sunh lainâ : to take an oath of compurgation ; v. Rah denâ : Gloss., I, p. 906.

Suni maruri : *Jasminum humile* : Ch., 239.

Sunnu : ash tree, *Fraxinus floribunda* and excelsa : Ch., 236 and 239.

Suphandî : a form of *kiria karm* ; = ? Supindî : Ch., 210.

Supindî : ? a ball of rice : Ch., 149 : Cf. Suphandî.

Surajgandh : a bracelet : Ch., 124.

Surang : *Rhododendron lepidotum* : Ch., 239.

Susra : husband's father ; Susral, Susrar, (1) a wife's family, collectively, (2) the village in which it lives.

Sût : see under Tassu.

Swâj, Suâj : dower, given to the bride or her parents by kinsmen and friends, as the *tambol* is a present made to the bridegroom : Ch., 128, 153 and 157.

Tabît : (fr. tawîz), a square silver plate—covered with carving, worn as a pendant from the neck : Ch., 206.

Tachh : (a natural clearing in a forest) : Mandi, 18 ; Cf., Thach in III.

Tahor : lit. 'purity'; circumcision ; syn. *sunnat* or *sunnatan* in the Ubhâ : B., 97. Cf., Tahoran : P. D., 1089.

Tâkî : a horse or mare with an eye like a human being's : B., 184.

Takka : lit. $\frac{1}{16}$th of a rupee ; as a measure of area a rupee = roughly 1 khâr and a khâr = 6 to 8 acres : Suket, 33.

Talla : low-lying land : SS., Nâlâgarh, 11.

Ṭalli : pânâ. = Tigra pânâ. *q. v.*

Tamâkî : a variety of *tamâkû*, tobacco : Ch., 225.

Tamâlâ : a kettle ; = Badhnâ.

Tamat : a weight = 2 sers standard weight, but varying according to its use in selling or buying : SS., Bashahr, 61.

Tanân : deaf : Ch., 139.

Tan-bakhshi : a form of widow re-marriage among Moslems in which the widow states before witnesses that she has given her person to her new husband : Comp., 44.

Tandâ : cat's-eyed : Ch., 138.

Tang-randî : ? a present of Re. 1 made by the boy's father to the girl's when the alliance is arranged : Ch., 160.

Tara : *Philadelphus coronarius* : Ch., 238.

Târa-peshânî, a horse or mare with a white spot, small enough to be covered by the thumb, on the forehead and unlucky : B., 184. Cf., P. D., p. 1106, *s.v.* Târâ.

Tarore : (pt.) an ornament worn on the feet : B. 105.

Tassû : a measure of wood :—

24 *tassu*	=	1 yard.
4 pins (?)	=	1 *tassu.*
8 *sût*	=	1 inch (1 pice = 1 inch)

A *tassû* corresponds to a rupee : Ferozepur.

Tât : a metal measure ; about 1½ *sers* : Simla, S. R., xlvi.

Tâtâ : hot : SS., Bashahr, 41.

Tatta: dumb : Ch., 139.

Tawa : a pole (?) ; Gloss., I, p. 450.

Taur : a climbing plent, *Bauhinia vahlii* : Ch., 238 and 32.

Teg : big or elder : SS., Bashahr, 16.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

THIRD ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, MADRAS.

The Second All-India Oriental Conference held in Calcutta in Feb. 1922 resolved to hold the Third Congress in Madras sometime in December 1924. Rao Sahib Prof S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar was appointed Secretary at the address Sri Venkatesa Vilas, Nadu Street, Mylapore, Madras.

In pursuance of the resolution an organising Committee has been formed and a programme has been devised to include the following subjects.

1. Sanskrit Language and Literature.
2. Avesta in relation to Sanskrit.
3. Pali, Jain and other Prakrits, Hindi.
4. Philology, Sanskritic and Dravidian.
5. Dravidian Languages and their literature.
6. Archæology, including Epigraphy, Numismatics and Indian Art.
7. History, Geography and Chronology.
8. Oriental Philosophy.
9. Oriental Science.
10. Ethnology and Folk-lore.
11. Persian, Arabic and Urdu.
12. Other Asiatic languages and civilizations.
13. General.
    (*a*) Present position of the study of Indian languages.
    (*b*) Present condition of the old traditional learning.

Membership of the Conference is open to all scholars interested in the advancement of Oriental Studies, to delegates from the Indian Government, Indian States and learned institutions and to scholars of distinction. The Session will be for three days.

Scholars in India, Burma or Ceylon can either read or send papers, provided they are sent six weeks before the date of the Conference, and are accompanied by a summary and prepared in a form suitable for publication.

The Congress will be opened by His Excellency the Governor of Madras and the Vice Chancellor of the University will be the Chairman of the Reception Committee. Those wishing to attend can obtain information as to board and lodging and other such details from the Secretary at the above address.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK-NOTICES.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. No. 14. ANTIQUITIES OF BHIMBAR AND RAJAURI. By RAM CHANDRA KAK, Superintendent of Archæology, Jammu and Kashmir State. Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1923.

The Bhimbhar-Rajauri road, which unites the two large *tahsils* in the province of Jammu, forming together part of the ancient territory of Dârvâbhisâra, has played a prominent part in the history of Kashmir from very early times. It was by this route that the tyrant Mihirakula retreated into Kashmir, after his defeat in India ; and along it in later ages travelled the splendid cavalcades of Jahângîr, Nûr Jahân, and the nobles of the Mughal court, on the annual migration from the heat and dust-storms of the Punjab. Mr. Ram Chandra Kak, who has made a very complete survey of all the Hindu and Musalman remains in the two *tahsils* above mentioned, tells a quaint story anent one of these annual Mughal court pilgrimages. The imperial Zanana was wont to halt *en route* at Saidâbâd, where the remains of a *bârâdarî*, bridge and tank are still to be seen, and "the ladies were so charmed with the limpid water of the stream, and the enchanting surroundings, that they refused to stir either forwards or backwards. The Emperor was in a dilemma. Persuasion failing, he had recourse to a stratagem, similar to that employed by the hill Rajas of Pinjar to scare away Fidâi Khan, Aurangzeb's foster brother, who had built himself a retreat there. A number of local ladies, who were afflicted with goitre, were brought together. They were made to wait upon the Imperial *harem*. When questioned about the cause of their common disfigurement, they replied that it was the evil effect of the water of the stream that flowed near by. They added that before they had the misfortune to be married in these parts, they too were fair and handsome. This, as was expected, had the desired effect. The ladies immediately ordered a retreat, and the dilemma was solved."

One of the most curious features of the old Mughal road are the two gigantic stone elephants, which have given their name to the Hâthinâlâ pass and were possibly intended, as Mr. Kak surmises, to serve as memorials of two favourite elephants of the Emperor which died here. He quotes the analogy of the statue which Akbar erected in memory of a favourite horse near Sikandra. Apart from the rediscovery of several Mughal *sarâis* and mosques, the most important result of the author's tour in Rajaurî and Bhimbar *tahsils* is the existence of groups of Kashmirian temples at Saidâbâd and Pânjnârâ. Fergusson in his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* remarked that, although the form and age of the Gandhara monasteries were sufficiently well known in his time to supply most of the links connecting the Kashmiri style with that of the outer world, full information could not be secured until the temples in the Salt Range and other unfrequented parts of the Panjab had been thoroughly examined. Mr. Kak expresses the hope that the temples, which he has fully described in this number of the Memoirs of the Indian

Archæological Survey, will serve in some measure to supply the data which antiquarians interested in the ancient art of Kashmir have long been anxious to obtain.

The Memoir is furnished with good photographs and plans of the chief antiquities described in the text.

S. M. EDWARDES.

EPHIGRAPHIA INDO-MOSLEMICA, edited by G. YAZDANI, 1919–1920. Govt. of India Press, Calcutta, 1924.

This issue is well-edited and illustrated and contains some interesting and historically valuable inscriptions: twelve of Sikandar Shâh Lodî in Delhi, all in Persian, from 1494–1511 A.D., collected together for the benefit of students at the request of the Government Epigraphist for Muslim Inscriptions.

These are followed by three inscriptions from Antur Fort in the Aurangâbâd District of Burhân Nizâm Shâh III (1610-1630). It is important to have these, as the period is very confused.

Then we are given Muhammad Tughlaq's inscription at Bodhan and Qandhâr during his conquest of the Deccan, and also of the Emperor Aurangzeb at both places. In noticing two inscriptions at the latter fort, the editor makes an important note to p. 22: "Scholars interested in the history of the introduction of guns into India may note that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we invariably find Turkish officers and engineers in charge of the artillery." In this case certain brothers were "placed in charge of Aqâ Rûmî, 998 A.H. (1590 A.D.)."

All kinds of historical allusions are to be found in these valuable inscriptions: *e.g.*, Râi Bindraban, the historian of Aurangzeb's time, built "a well for the people, as a charitable deed in the name of God" at Elgandal in the Wârangal Division, Nizâm's Dominions.

No less than 18 Plates complete this valuable piece of work

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE LAY OF ALHA: translated by WILLIAM WATERFIELD (with Introduction and additional matter by SIR GEORGE GRIERSON): Oxford University Press, pp. 278.

This is well described on its title page as a saga of Rajput chivalry. In its English form it owes its origin to the translator and its publication to Sir George Grierson, who has rounded off the work with abstracts of the untranslated portions. The epic poetry which is written in Avadhi, Braj and Rajputani, has for us an interest which far transcends that which we feel for works on rhetoric; sometimes indeed it appeals to us more than the religious literature in which this group of languages is so rich. The fact that it is semi-historical matters no more than the Venetian dresses in which Veronese and Tintoretto robe the subjects of their paintings. We may relevantly quote a Hindi writer who says, "as we read, strange emotions rise within us: the former splendour of the country and the acts of its mighty men are pictured before our eyes, and we are filled with enthusiasm and joy and pride." The minstrel literature of Rajputana and other parts of the north has long been famous. *The Lay of Alha* is one of the most popular of the poems sung by wandering bards, and we are grateful to the authors of this volume for having given us a stirring ballad version of a remarkable poem (worthy memorial of Mr. Waterfield's scholarship and poetic feeling), accompanied by the valuable notes and additions which attest Sir George Grierson's continued devotion to the affairs of North India. A useful feature is a list of the persons who appear in the story. With this it is possible for any reader to follow the narrative, though nearly 200 actors cross its pages.

In spite of conventional repetitions, especially in the description of battles, the action moves with vigour and freshness, and the historical value of unhistorical details is made clear, for these details tell us more about the times and about the bards who then sang the praises of king and country than we should have learnt from scientifically accurate chronicles. They give us atmosphere, they give us life. The end of the 12th century seems to have laid hold on the imagination of epic poets more than any other period of Indian history, for no other time is so well furnished with poetical descriptions which must have their foundations in contemporary writings. Actually these sagas are dateless, or rather they belong to many dates. The 19th century jostles the 12th in their verses, yet the real feeling belongs to the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th centuries.

This version is intended for those who are not likely to study the Hindi. If another edition is called for, it would be well to give a few pages to a discussion of the language and verse of the original. The advice given to English readers to pronounce all vowels as in Italian is probably due to a slip. To do so would result in pronouncing Ajaipal, Bhaurarin, Chakbai, Chauhan, Kanauj, as Ajâîpâl, Bhâûrâîn, Châkbâî, Châûhân, Kânâûj, (the long marks here printed indicate vowel quality, not length). But compared with the solid value of the work this is a trifling matter.

Not a few readers will be glad to have brought before them so vivid a tale in so pleasing a form and to be enabled to live for a brief space among the heroes of a bygone age, many of whom were pre-eminently, "For knightly jousts and fierce encounters fit."

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

Sâlâtura—The birth-place of Pâṇini, the celebrated grammarian (Hiuen Tsiang in Beal's *RWC.*, Vol. I, p. 114 note, but see Râm Dâs Sen's *Pâṇini* in the *Aitihâsika Rahashya*, and Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, p. 218). It has been identified by Cunningham (*Anc. Geo.*, p. 57) with the village of Lahor (Lahul of G. Bühler's *Brahma Alphabet*, p. 23) to the north-west of Ohind in the Panjab. It was situated within the ancient country of Gandhâra. Pâṇini flourished between the eighth and ninth centuries before the Christian era (Rajanikânta Gupta's *Pâṇini*). According to Dr. Bhandarkar also, Pâṇini flourished in the beginning of the seventh century before the Christian era, if not earlier. But in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. I., p. 302), it is said that Pâṇinî lived at the time of Pushpamitra, king of Magadha (178 to 142 B.C.). Professor Max Müller supposes that Pâṇini lived in the middle of the fourth century B.C. (*History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 245, 301), but Professor Goldstücker refutes this view in his *Pâṇini*, and has proved that Kâtyâyana, the author of the *Vârttikas*, lived later than Pâṇini, and Patañjali, the author of the *Mahâbhâshya*, lived later than Kâtyâyana. Pâṇini must have preceded Vyâḍi by at least two generations, the latter was the author of the grammatical work called *Saṅgraha*. Pâṇini was also called Dâkshâyaṇa, his mother's name being Dakshî (Goldstücker's *Pâṇini*).

Salilarâja-tîrtha—The place where the Indus falls into the ocean (*Mahâbhârata*, Vana, ch. 82; *Padma P.*, Svarga, ch. XI). Salilarâja is another name for Baruṇa (*Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 97).

Śâlivâhanapura—Pattana (see **Pratishṭhâna**).

Śâlmali-dvîpa—Chaldia. Chal-dia appears to be a corruption of Śâlmali-dvîpa. Perhaps the rivers Nivṛitti and Bitrishṇâ are the Euphrates and Tigris respectively (*Brahmâṇḍa P.*, ch. 53). Mesopotamia or Assyria.

Sâlva—It was also called *Mârttikâvata*. It was near Kurukshêtra (*Mbh.*, Virâṭa, ch. 1). It was the kingdom of the father of Satyavâna, the husband of the celebrated **Sâvitrî** (*Mbh.*, Vana P., ch. 282). Its king was Śalva who attacked Dvârâvatî. It comprised portions of the territories of Jodhpur, Jaipur and Alwar. See **Mârttikâvata** and **Śâlvapura.**

Śâlvapura—Alwar (Cunningham, *Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. XX, p. 120; *Matsya Purâṇa*, ch. 113; *Harivaṃśa*, Vishṇu, ch. 54). It was also called Saubhanagara, the capital of Râjâ Śâlva, who was king of the country called Mârttikâvata; he was killed by Krishṇa (*Mbh.*, Vana P., ch. 14). See **Mṛittikâvatî.** The Bhauliṅgis of Pâṇini,—the Bolingai of Ptolemy, were a branch of the Śâlvas. They lived on the western slope of the Aravali mountain (McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 163).

Samâdhi-giri—Same as **Samida-giri.**

Sâmalanâtha—Same as *Syâmalanâtha* (*Matsya P.*, ch. 22).

Samangaḍ—Same as **Samugaḍ.**

Sâmanta-kûṭa—Adam's Peak in Ceylon (*Upham's Râjâvali*, Pt. 1).

Samanta-pañchaka—Same as **Kurukshêtra.**

Samataṭa—East Bengal (*Bṛihat-saṃhitâ*, ch. xiv). Lower Bengal (Dr. Bloch's *Arch. S. Rep.*, 1902, in the *Supplement to the Calc. Gaz.*, Sept. 17, 1902, p. 1303: *Devî Purâṇa*, ch. 46). The Delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra (Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 249; Cunningham's *Anc. Geo.*, p. 501). It was situated to the east of the Bhâgirathî and south of Puṇḍra. Epigraphical evidence, however, shows that Samataṭa comprised the districts of Comilla, Noakhali and Sylhet (*JASB.*, 1915, pp. 17, 18). It was conquered by Samudra Gupta (see Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 1). Its capital was Karmmânta, modern Kamta, near Comilla in the district of Tipârâ, Bengal (*JASB.*, 1914, p. 87).

Sambalaka—See **Sambalapura.**

Śâmbapura—Multan on the river Chandrabhâgâ (Chinab) (*Bhavishya P.*, Brahma Parva, pt., I, ch. 140, *v.* 3; and *Arch. S. Rep.*, v, pp. 114 ff.). It was founded by Śâmba, son of Krishṇa.

Sambhalagrâma—A village near Moradabad in the district of Rohilkhand, eighty miles to the east of Delhi, where Vishṇu would incarnate as Kalki, the ninth Avatâra (*Bhâgavata P.*, XII, ch. 2, *v.* 18; *Kalki P.*, ch. 2; and *Archâvatara-sthala-vaibhava-darpanam*). It is the Sambalaka of Ptolemy (McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 133). According to Col. Yule, Sambhal is Northern Rohilkhand (*Ind. Ant.*, III, p. 115).

Sambheda—A place of pilgrimage at the mouth of the river Sindhu or Indus (*Amarakosha*, Pâtâla-varga).

Sambûka-âśrama—Ramtek, north of Nagpur in the Central Provinces, where Sambûka, a Śûdra, performed asceticism, for which reason he was killed by Râmachandra. Hence it may be identified with the Śaibal-giri, a mountain mentioned in the *Râmâyaṇa* (Uttara, ch. 75). At the time of Kâlidâsa, the author of the *Meghadûta*, it was known by the name of Râmagiri (*Meghadûta*, Pt. I, *v.* 1). See **Śaibala-giri** and **Râmagiri.**

Samet-Śikhara—The Pârasnâth hill in the district of Hazaribagh in the Behar province, two miles from the Isri station in the Grand Chord Line of the E. I. Railway, the holiness of which is held in great estimation by the Jainas. It is the eastern country of Jaina worship as Mount Abu is the western one. Pâraśvanâtha, the twenty-third Tîrthaṅkara of the Jainas, died here at the age of one hundred years. Pâraśvanâtha was the son of Aśvasena, king of Benares, by his Queen Bâma. He was born 250 years before Mahâvîra at Bhelupurâ in Benares. His followers were called the Śvetambaras as the followers of Mahâvîra, the twenty-fourth and last Tîrthaṅkara, were called Digambaras (Prof. Jacobi's *Kalpa-sûtra* in *SBE.*, Vol. XXII, p. 271). The hill was the scene of nirvâna of no less than nineteen of the twenty-four Tîrthaṅkaras. Same as **Samida-giri** and **Malla-parvata.** For the names of the 24 Tîrthaṅkaras of the Jainas, see **Śrâvasti.** The five holy places of the Jainas are Śatruñjaya, Girnar, Abu, Asṭâpada (see **Prabhâsa**) and Sametaśikhara, but the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. II, 1872, p. 354) has Chandragiri in the Himalaya instead of Asṭâpada.

Samida-giri—Same as **Samet-Śikhara.** Perhaps Samidagiri or Sammidagiri is a variation of Samâdhi-giri (or Śikhara) as 19 Tîrthaṅkaras obtained Nirvâna on this hill.

Samugaḍ—Fatehabad, nineteen miles east of Agra (Bernier's *Travels*, p. 43), where Aurangzeb defeated Dara. Samugaḍ is a corruption of Samanagara.

Sâñchi—Same as **Śânti.**

Sandhyâ—The river in Sindh in Malwa, a tributary of the Yamunâ (R. K. Roy's *Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 9, p. 282 n.).

Sâṇḍilya-âśrama—1. Chitai-mandârpur in the district of Faizabad in Oudh was the hermitage of Rishi Sâṇḍilya, the celebrated author of the *Sâṇḍilya-sûtras*. 2. Śâradâ (see **Śâradâ**).

Saṅgala (of the Greeks)—Same as **Śâkala** (Cunningham's *Anc. Geo.*, p. 180). Dr. Bhandarkar (*Ind. Ant.*, I, 22) and McCrindle (*Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 348), however, identify it with Śâṅkala of Pâṇini (*Sûtra*, IV, 2, 75) and place the country between the Hydraotes and Hypasis, probably in the district of Amritsar and towards the hill. Mr. V. A. Smith is also of opinion that the identification of Saṅgala with Śâkala is erroneous; he supposes Saṅgala was in the Gurudâspur district (*Early History of India*, p. 65 *note*).

Sangama-tîrtha—Same as **Râmesvara.** (See **Setubandha.**)

Sangamesvara—1. A town in Konkana, about 20 miles north-east of Ratnagiri. It was the capital of a Chalukya prince Somadeva (see **Parasurâma-kshetra**). 2. It is a Lingayet place of pilgrimage on the confluence of the Malaprabhâ and the Kṛishṇa (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 119). Basava, the founder of the Lingayet or Jangama sect, died at this place (Wilson's *Mack. Col.*, pp. 310, 311). 3. A shrine of Śiva at the confluence of the Ganges and Baruṇâ in Benares (*Linga P.*, I, ch. 92).

Sanjân—An old village called also Sañjaya in the Thana district, Bombay Presidency. It is the *Sindan* of the Arab writers. It was also called Shahpur. Shaheriar was the first priest of the Parsis to settle there in 716 A.D. See **Devabandara.** It is evidently the Sañjayantinagarî of the *Mbh.*, (Sabhâ, ch. 31) conquered by Sahadeva.

Sañjayanti-Nagarî—Same as **Sañjân.**

Sânkala—See **Sangala** (Pâṇini's *Ashṭâdhyâyî*).

Sankarâchârya—The name of a mountain, at present called Takht-i-Suleiman, near Śrînagar in Kasmir. On the top of the hill Aśoka's son Kunâla (or Jaloka) built a monastery, now converted into a mosque, where the celebrated reformer Śankarâchârya established Śiva worship. See **Gopâdri**. The old Hindu name of the hill was Sandhimâna-parvata. The temple of the Mahâdeva Jyeshṭha-Rudra (or Jyeshṭheśvara) was on the top of the mountain (*Râjataranginî*, Bk. I, v. 124).

Sankara-Tîrtha—In Nepal, immediately below the town of Patan at the confluence of the Bâgmatî and the Manimatî (Maṇirohinî). Śiva is said to have performed asceticism at this place for obtaining Durgâ (*Svayambhu P.*, ch. 4, p. 298).

Sânkâsya—Sankisa or Sankisa-Basantpura, situated on the north bank of the river Ikshumatî, now called the Kâlî-nadî, between Atranji and Kanouj, and twenty-three miles west of Fategarh in the district of Etah and forty-five miles north-west of Kanouj. In Patañjali's *Mahâbhâshya*, Sânkâsya is said to be four *yojanas* from Gabidhumat which has been identified with Kudarkoṭ in the Etwa district of the United Provinces (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 179, 183). It was the capital of Râjâ Kuśadhvaja, brother of Śiradhvaja Janaka, the father of Sîtâ of the *Râmâyaṇa* (Âdi K., ch. 70). It was a famous place of Buddhist pilgrimage, as it was here that Buddha descended from the Trayastriṃśa heaven by the ladder of gold, accompanied by the gods Indra and Brahmâ. Cunningham supposes that the temple of Bisâri Devî occupies the site of the three staircases (*Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. I, pp. 271 f.) There is also a stûpa of Aśoka at this place. It was visited by Fa Hian in 415 A.D. and by Hiuen Tsiang in 636 A.D. See **Kapitha.**

Śankha—1. The river Sank, a tributary of the Brâhmaṇî in the Chutia-Nagpur division (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 83); it is called also **Śankhinî**. 2. A place of pilgrimage on the north bank of the Saraswatî in Kurukshetra near Dwaitavana (*Mbh.*, Salya, ch. 38).

Śankhinî—See **Saṇkha** (1).

Sankhoddhâra—The island of Baṭi (Beyt), belonging to the province of Guzerat, situated at the south-western extremity of the gulf of Cutch. Vishṇu is said to have destroyed a demon named Śankhâsura at this place and to have delivered the Vedas (*Padma P.*, ch. 71, Hamilton's *East-India Gazetteer*, *s.v.* Bata Isle).

Sankukarṇa—The southern portion of Benares (*Bṛihat-Nâradîya P.*, pt. II, ch. 48, v. 20).

Sânta-tîrtha—At Gungeśvarî-ghâṭ in Nepal, where the river Maradârikâ joins the Bâchmatî or Bâgmatî. Pârvatî is said to have performed asceticism at this place (*Svayambhu P.*, ch. 5, p. 259).

Sânti—Sâñchi, about six miles to the south-west of Bhilsa and twenty miles north-east of Bhupal (Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 181). It is celebrated for ancient Buddhist topes, constructed according to different authorities in the 5th, 3rd, or 1st century B.C. The great tope was built about 188 B.C. by a king of the Sunga dynasty (Sir Monier Williams' *Modern India*, p. 130). One of the topes contained the ashes of Śâriputra and Moggallâna, two of the principal disciples of Buddha (see **Nâlandâ** and **Śrâvasti**). The railing was constructed in 250 B.C., and the gate in the 1st century A.D. Dr. Fleet, however, considers that the ancient name of Sâñchi is Kâkanâda (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 31). For a description of the Sâñchi topes, see Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 183. See **Kâkanâda.**

Sapâdalaksha—1. Same as **Śâkambharî**, modern Sambhar in Eastern Rajputana (Tawney: *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*, p. 120; *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 422). 2. There is also a temple of Śâkambharî in Kumaun. Sapâdalaksha is the Sanskrit form of the modern Sewalik (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 157). The corruption of Sapâdalaksha appears to be Sawâlâkh (Upham's *Râjâvali*, p. 50), and Sewalikh is the corruption of Sawâlâkh.

Sappinî—See **Giriyek** (*SBE.*, XIII, p. 254 *n.*; Gooneratne's *Aṅguttara Nikâya*, p. 210).

Sapta-dvîpa—The seven dvîpas or insular continents mentioned in the Purâṇas are Jambu, Plaksha, Śâlmalî, Kuśa, Krauñcha, Śaka and Pushkara (*Padma P.*, Kriyâyoga-sâra, ch. I).

Sapta-Gaṇḍakî—The seven rivers which unite and form the river Gaṇḍak are the Barigar, the Śâlagrâmî or the Nârâyaṇî, the Śvetî-Gaṇḍakî, the Marsiangdî, the Daramdî, the Gaṇḍî and the Triśûla (*JASB.*, XVIII, p. 762 map).

Sapta-Gaṅgâ—Gaṅgâ, Godâvarî, Kâverî, Tâmraparṇî, Sindhu, Sarayu and Narmadâ are called Sapta-Gaṅgâ (*Śiva P.*, Bk. 2, ch 13).

Sapta-Godâvarî—A place of pilgrimage mentioned in the Purâṇas situated at Solangipur, sixteen miles from Piṭhâpura (Pishṭapura of Samudra Gupta's inscription), one of the stations of the East Coast Railway, not far from Râjamahendri in the Godâvari district (*Mbh.*, Vana P., ch. 85; *Padma P.*, Svarga, ch. 19). According to some writers the seven mouths of the Godâvarî were called by this name (*Râjataranginî*, Bk. viii, s. 34449: Dr. Stein's trans., vol. ii, p. 271 note).

Saptagrâma—Sâtgâon, an ancient town of Bengal near Magrâ in the district of Hughly; it is now an insignificant village consisting of a few huts. It was a great emporium of commerce and the capital and port of Raḍha at the time of the Romans, who knew it by the name of *Ganges Regia*. It was also the capital of Western Bengal at the time of the Mahomedans (Lane Poole's *Mediæval India under Mahomedan Rule*, p. 164). It was situated on the Ganges. The recession of the Ganges in 1630 A.D. and the rise of Hughly into a royal port caused its ruin (see my *Notes on the History of the District of Hughly or the Ancient Râḍha* in *JASB.*, 1910). Formerly Saptagrâma implied seven villages Bânsberia, Kṛistapura, Bâsudevapura, Nityânandapura, Śibpur, Sambachorâ and Baladghâṭi. For the life of Zaffer Khan, the conqueror of Saptagrâma, see *JASB*, XV (1847), p. 393. Ptolemy says that Gange was the capital of the Gangaridai. The Ganga-ridai were evidently the Gaṅgâ-Râḍhis or the inhabitants of Râḍha, who lived on the west bank of the Ganges, the eastern boundary of Râḍha being the Ganges and hence Gange is evidently Saptagrâma; it is the "Port of Ganges" of the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, the sea being then closer to Saptagrâma than it is at present: hence Saptagrâma was the capital of Râḍha in the 1st or 2nd century of the Christian era (see *JASB.*, for 1810). Saptagrâma was visited

by Ibn Batuta in 1346 A.D. He calls it by the name of Sudkâwân which he describes as a large place "on the shore of the great sea," but says it was close to the junction of the Ganges and the Yamunâ (evidently at Triveṇî). According to him, Sâtgâon was not only a port, but the residence of Fakruddin, the then Sultan of Bengal (*Ind. Ant.*, III, p. 210). Merchants from various parts of India as Kaliṅga, Trailaṅga, Gujerat, etc., used to come to Saptagrâma for trade (*K. ch.*, pp. 196, 229; Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 26; McCrindle's *Ptolemy*).

Sapta-Kauśikâ—See **Mahâkauśikâ.**

Sapta-Koṇkaṇa—The following territories in the Malabar coast were called the seven Koṅkaṇas: Kerala, Tulu, Govarâshṭra, Koṅkaṇa proper, Karahâṭaka, Barâlâṭṭâ and Barbara (Wilson, *As. Res.*, XV, p. 47; Dr. Stein's *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, Vol. 1, p. 136). See **Parasurâma-kshetra.**

Sapta-Kulâchala—The seven principal mountains, which are Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Suktimâna, Gandhamâdana, Bindhyâ and Pâripâtra. For the Gandhamâdana, the *Matsya P.* (ch. 144) has Ṛikshavâna and the *Agni P.* (ch. 118) has Hema-parvata.

Sapta-Mokshadâpurî—The seven holy towns are Ayodhyâ, Mathurâ, Mâyâ, Kâśî, Kâñchi, Avantî and Dvârâvatî (*Brihat-Dharmma Purâṇa*, Madhya kh., ch. 24).

Sapta-Pâtâla—See **Rasâtala.**

Saptârsha—Satara in Mahârâshṭra (*Vishṇu-Saṃhitâ*, ch. 85).

Sapta-sâgara—The seven seas are (1) *Lavana* (salt) or the Indian Ocean surrounding Jambu-dvîpa or India (*Padma P., Kriyâyogasâra*, ch. 1); (2) *Kshîra* (inspissated milk), it is a corruption of Shirwan Sea, as the Caspean Sea was called (Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol. I, p. 59 note), and it formed the northern boundary of Śâka-dvîpa (*Barâha P.*, ch. 86); (3) *Surâ* (wine), it is a corruption of the Sea of Sarain which is another name for the Caspean Sea (Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 494), and it formed the southern or south-eastern boundary of Kuśa-dvîpa (*Brahmâṇḍa P.*, ch. 51; the *Barâha P.*, ch. 87, has Kohîra Sâgara instead of Surâ); (4) *Ghṛita* (clarified butter), it is a corruption of the Erythræan Sea or the Persian Gulf, and it formed the boundary of Śâlmala-dvîpa or Chal-dia, that is Assyria (*Barâha P.*, ch. 89); (5) *Ikshu* (sugarcane juice); Ikshu is another name for the Oxus (*Vishnu P.*, Pt. II, ch. 4), here the river is taken as a sea. It formed the southern boundary of Pushkara-dvîpa (*Barâha P.*, ch. 89), Pushkara being evidently a variant of Bhushkara or Bokhara; (6) *Dadhi* (curd) or the sea of Aral, Dadhi is the Sanskritised form of Dahi (Dahæ) the name of a Scythic tribe which lived in the Upper Jaxartes (*JBBRAS.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 548) and evidently on the shores of this lake, it formed the boundary of Krauñcha-dvîpa (*Barâha P.*, ch. 88); (7) Svâdu-juice (sweet-water), it is perhaps a corruption of Tchadun, a river in Mongolia, it formed the boundary of or rather flowed through Plaksha-dvîpa-. See my *Rasâtala or the Under-world.*

Sapta-śaila—Yelu-mala, a cluster of hills 16 miles north of Cannanore in the Malabar Coast, the first Indian land seen by Vasco-da-Gama in 1498 (Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 321).

Sapta-Sârasvata—1. The collective name of seven rivers: Kâñchanâkshî in Naimishâraṇya, Biśâlâ in Gaya, Manauramâ in Kośala, Oghavatî in Kurukshetra, Sureṇu in Haridvâra, Bimalodâ in the Himalaya and Suprabhâ in Pushkara (*Mbh.*, Śalya P., ch. 39). 2. A place of pilgrimage in Kurukshetra (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 83).

Sapta-Sindhu—The Panjab, where the early Aryans, who were afterwards called the Hindus, first settled themselves after their migration to India. The seven Sindhus (rivers) are the Irâvatî, Chandrabhâgâ, Bitastâ, Bipâśâ, Śatadru, Sindhu and Sarasvatî or the Kabul. The word Sapta-Sindhu of the *Ṛig Veda* (VIII, 24, 27) is the Hapta Hendu of the *Vendidad*

(I, 73) (*Bhavishya P.*, Pratisarga Parva, Pt. I, ch. 5 and Max Müller's ***Chips from a German Workshop***, Vol. I, p. 83). The ancient Aryans who lived in the Panjab at the time of the *Rig-Veda* were divided into five tribes called the Purus (or Bharatas, afterwards called Kurus) who lived on the north of the Râvî; the Tritsus (called Pañchâlas) who lived on the north and south of the Sutlej; Anus; Yadus and Turvasus (Ragozin's *Vedic India*, p. 323).

Sarabhû—Same as **Sarayu** (*Vinaya-piṭaka:* Chullavagga, 9. 1. 3 and 4 in *SBE.*, XX, p. 301, XXXV, p. 171; *Milindâ-pañha*, 4. 1. 35). It is the Saraboo of Ptolemy.

Śâradâ—Sardi, on the right bank of the Kissen-Gaṅgâ near its junction with the Madhumatî near Kamraj in Kasmir; it is one of the Pîṭhas where Satî's head is said to have fallen (Gladwin's *Ayeen Akbery*, Pt. I. p. 396; Dr. Stein's *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, Vol. II, p. 279; ***Skanda P.***, Nagara Kh., ch. 157). Śâṇḍilya Muni performed austerities here. For a description of the temple, see Dr. Stein's *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, Vol. II, p. 279. Lalitâditya Muktâpîḍa, king of Kasmir, having treacherously killed a King of Gauḍa, the Bengalees entered Kasmir on the pretext of visiting the temple of Śâradâ, destroyed the image of Râmasvâmin (Vishṇu), mistaking it for that of Parihâsa-keśava left as surety for safety of the king of Gauḍa (Dr. Stein's *Râjataraṅgiṇî*. Vol. I, p. 152). It is called Sarvajña Pîtha in the *Śaṅkaravijaya* (ch. 16). Śaṅkarâchârya was not allowed to enter the temple till he answered the questions put to him by learned men belonging to various sects.

Śâradâ-Matha—One of the four Maṭhas or monasteries established by Śaṅkarâchârya at Dvârikâ in Guzerat (see **Śriṅgagiri**).

Śâraṅganâtha—Its contraction is Sârnâth; same as *Mṛigadâva* (see **Mṛigadâva**). It was at this place that Buddha after the attainment of Buddhahood, preached his first sermon or what is called "turned the wheel of law" (*Dharmachakra*). The Dhamek stupa according to General Cunningham, was originally built by Aśoka (*Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. 1, p. 112) on the spot where Buddha first preached his doctrine to Kauṇḍinya and four other Brâhmans or as it is called "turned the wheel of law". On the north of the Dhamek stupa there are the ruins of a stûpa where Buddha predicted about the future Buddha Maitreya; but according to Hiuen Tsiang the site where he first proclaimed the truths is marked by Asoka's pillar, recently discovered, and the Dhamek stûpa marks the place where Buddha prophesied about the future Buddhahood of Maitreya. At a spot near the mouth of the river Asî, Buddha converted Yasa and his four friends, Purṇa, Bimala, Gavampati and Subâhu.

Sârasvata—1. The Pushakara Lake near Ajmira (*Varâha P.*, ch. III). 2. Sârasvata or Sârasvatapura was situated on the north-west of Hastinâpura (***Hemakosha***). It was the capital of Bîravarmma of the *Jaiminibhârata* (ch. 47).

Sârasvatapura—Same as **Sârasvata.**

Sarasvatî—1. The river Sarasvatî rises in the hills of Sirmur in the Himalayan range called the Sewalek and emerges into the plains at Âd-Badri in Ambala, and is deemed as one of the most sacred rivers by the Hindus. The fountain from which the river takes its rise was situated at the foot of a *plaksha* tree, and hence it was called Plakshâvataraṇa or Plakshaprasravaṇa and frequented as a place of pilgrimage (*Mbh.*, Âdi P., ch. 172 and ***Padma P.***, Svarga, ch. 14; *Rig-Veda*, X, 75). It disappears for a time in the sand near the village of Chalaur and reappears at Bhawânipura. At Bâlchhappar it again disappears but appears again at Bara Khera; at Urnai, near Pehoa, it is joined by the Mârkaṇḍa and the united stream, bearing still the name of Sarasvatî, ultimately joins the Ghaggar (Gharghar) which was evidently the lower part of the Sarasvatî (*Panjab Gazetteer*, Ambala District, ch. 1).

The Ghaggar or Gaggar is believed to have been the ancient Sarasvatî though it is not known how it has lost that name (*JRAS.*, 1893, p. 51); see **Pâvanî.** The *Mahâbhârata* also says that after disappearing, the river appears again at three places, namely at Chamasodbheda, Śirodbheda and Nâgodbheda (Vana Parva, ch. 82). The Sarasvatî is described in the *Ṛig Veda* as a flowing river: Manu and the *Mahâbhârata* speak about its disappearance in the sand at Binâśana-tirtha near Sirsa (*JRAS.*, 1893, p. 51). In the Vedic period the Sarasvatî was a very large river and it flowed into the sea (Max Müller's *Ṛig-Veda Saṃhita*, p. 46 commentary). The *Ṛig-Veda* does not even hint about its subterranean course in the Triveṇi at Allahabad. The Kurukshetra Sarasvatî is called the Prâchî or Eastern Sarasvatî (*Padma P.*, Uttara Kh., ch. 67). The name, however, is specially applied to the Pushkara Sarasvatî, that is the Sarasvatî which with the Looni issues out of the Pushkara Lake (*Padma P.*, Sṛishṭi Kh., ch. 18). It falls into the Gulf of Kutch. 2. A river near Somnâth in Guzerat now called Raunâkshi (see **Prabhâsa**). It is a small river which rising in Mount Abu runs westward towards the Runn of Kutch from the celebrated shrine of Koṭeśvara Mahâdeva in the marble hills of Arasoor (Forbes, *Râsmâlâ*). It is called Prabhâsa Sarasvatî, and is supposed to be identical with the Prâchî-Sarasvatî (*Skanda P.*, Prabhâsa Kh., Prabhâsa-mâhât., chs. 35, 36). On the bank of this river below an aspen tree near Somnath, Kṛishṇa breathed his last. 3. Arachosia or Eastern Afghanistan (the district of Kandahar), Sarasvatî being written as Harakhaiti in the Zendavesta. It is mentioned as Harauvatish in the Behistun Inscription (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, II. p. 591). It was also called Saukuta, of which the capital is plausibly identified with Ghazni. Dr. Bhandarkar doubtfully derives the name of Arachosia from that of the mountain Rikshoda mentioned by Pâṇini's commentators (*Ind. Ant.*, I. 22). 4. The river Helmand in Afghanistan, the Avestan name of which is also Harakhaiti. Hence the *three Sarasvatîs* of the *Atharva-Veda* are the Helmand, the Indus anciently called Sarasvatî and the Sarasvatî of Kurukshetra (Ragozin's *Vedic India*). 5. The Arghandav in Arachosia according to Hillebrandt (Macdonnell and Keith's *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, Vol. II, p. 437). 6. A tributary of the Alakânandâ (Gaṅgâ) in Garwal (*Agni P.*, ch. 109, v. 17).

Sarasvatî-nagara—Perhaps Sirsa on the Sarasvatî in Kurukshetra, Panjab (*Mbh.*, Mausala, ch. 7).

Saravana—1. The birth-place of Gośâla Maṅkhaliputta near Śrâvastî. He was the head (or founder) of the Âjîvakas (Hoernle's *Uvâsagadasâo*, Intro., p. xiv; Appendix, pp. 1, 4). 2. Retakuṇḍa the birth-place of Kârttika, near Kedâranâtha temple in Garwal.

Śarâvatî—1. Wilford identifies Śarâvatî with the river Bâṅgaṅgâ which passes through the district of Budaon in Rohilkhand (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XIV, p. 409; *Padma P.*, Svarga (Âdi), ch. 3). 2. Fyzabad in Oudh (R. L. Mitra's *Lalitavistara*, p. 9), but Śarâvatî appears to be the corruption of Śrâvasti (modern Sahet-Mahet) on the Râptî (Comp. *Râmâyaṇa*, Uttara, ch. 121 with the *Raghuvaṃśa*, canto XV, v. 97). 3. The river Râpti on which Śrâvasti is situated (*Raghuvaṃśa*, canto XV). It is the Solomatis of Arrian (McCrindle's *Indika of Arrian*, p. 186). 4. The *Divyâvadâna* (Cowell's ed. I, ch. 1) places Śarâvatî, both the town and the river, to the south-east of Puṇḍravarddhana. The river Śarâvatî was the boundary between the countries called Prâchya and Udîchya the former being on its south-eastern side and the latter on its north-western side (*Amarakosha*, Bhûmi-varga).

Sarayu—The Ghagra or Gogra in Oudh. The town of Ayodhyâ is situated on this river. (*Râmâyaṇa*, Bâla K., ch. 24). See **Kâma-âśrama** and **Śoṇa.** It is evidently the Sarabhu

of the *Milinda-pañha*, (4. 1. 35). The river rises in the mountains of Kumaun and after its junction with the Kâlî-nadî it is called the Sarayu, the Ghagra or the Dewâ. According to the *Mbh.* (*Anuśâsana*, ch. 155) it issues from the Mânasa-sarovara.

Śârikâ—One of the fifty-two Pîṭhas where Satî's throat is said to have fallen. The temple of Śârikâ Devî is situated on the Hari Mountain, three miles from Śrînagar in Kasmir. It was the hermitage of Ṛishi Kâśyapa (see **Kâśyapapura**).

Śarkarâvarttâ—It is perhaps the river Sakri in Bihar which has been incorrectly identified by Mr. Beglar with the Śuktimatî (*Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. VIII, p. 124; *Bhâgavata*, V, ch. 19). Śarkarâ and Varttâ appear to be two distinct rivers (*Devî-Bhâgavata*, VIII, ch. ii).

Sarovara—1. See **Nârâyaṇasara.** 2. The twelve Sarovaras are:—Manda, Achchhoda, Lohita, Mânasa, Śailoda, Bindusara, Sâyana, Vishuṇupada, Chandraprabhâ, Payoda, Uttara-Mânasa, and Rudrakântâ (*Brahmâṇḍa P.*, ch. 51).

Sarpaushadhi-vihâra—Adinzai valley in Buner near the fort Chakdarra on the north of the Swat river, visited by Hiuen Tsiang (Dr. Stein's *Archæological Tour with the Buner Force*, p. 31).

Sarpikâ—A tributary of the Gomatî. According to Lassen it is the same as *Syândika* (*Ind. Alt.*, Map). See **Syândikâ.**

Śarvana-âśrama—Dohthi or the junction of the two streams Marha and Biswa in the subdivision of Akhbarpura, district Fyzabad in Oudh, where according to tradition Daśaratha, king of Ayodhyâ, killed Ṛishi Śarvana or Sindhu, the son of a blind Ṛishi, mistaking him for an elephant, while the latter was filling a pot with water. The hermitage of the Ṛishi was near the confluence. But the *Râmâyaṇa* (Ayodh. K., ch. 63) places the scene near the Sarayû.

Saryanâvant—Same as **Râmahrada** (*Ṛig-Veda*, VII. 2. 5; Dr. Wilson's *Indian Castes*, Vol. I, p. 86). It is also written Śaryyaṇâvata.

Śaśasthali—Antraveda, the Doab between the Ganges and the Yamunâ.

Śatadru—1. The river Sutlej; it is also called the Ghaggar or the Ghara, which is the united streams of the Sutlej and the Bias from their junction at Endreesa to the confluence with the Chenab. The Ghara is known to the inhabitants by the name of Nai (*JASB.*, VI, p. 179). According to some authorities the Sutlej was not one of the rivers forming the Pañchanad, but its old bed was the Sotra or Hakra (Ghaggar), which dried up owing to its diversion into the Bias valley. According to Mr. G. Campbell, the Ghaggar is the principal tributary of the Sarasvatî (*Ethnology of India*, p. 64; Drs. Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, II, p. 435). See **Sarasvatî.** 2. Sirhind in the Panjab (*Mârkaṇḍ. P.*, ch. 57; Beal's *RWC.*, I, p. 178).

Satiyaputra—The Tulu country including Mangalore (Asoka's Girnar Inscriptions and Smith's *Asoka*, p. 115). But see **Teliṅgana.**

Śatruñjaya—The most sacred of the five hills (see **Sametśikhara**) of the Jainas in Kathiawar, at the eastern base of which the town of Palitana is situated, 70 miles north-west of Surat and thirty-four miles from Bhownagar. It is sacred to Âdinâth (see **Srâvasti**). The Chaumukh temple is the most lofty of all the temples on the summit of the hill. The Satruñjaya temple was repaired at a cost of one crore and sixty lakhs of rupees by Bâgbhaṭadeva in the reign of Kumârapâla, king of Pattana. The *Śatruñjaya Mâhâtmya* was composed by Dhaneśvara Sûri at the request of Śilâditya of Balabhî.

Satyavatî—Same as **Kauśikî** (*Vâyu P.*, ch. 91, v. 88). It is mentioned as "Suttewle" in Gladwin's *Ayeeni Akbery* (p. 785).

MANIKARNIKA GHAT (BENARES) STONE INSCRIPTION OF VIRESVARA. [VIKRAMA] SAMVAT 1359.

BY RAI BAHADUR DAYA RAM SAHNI, M.A.

This inscription is engraved on a slab of Chunar sand-stone which is now in the possession of Rai Sri Krishna Das, Hastings House, Benares Cantonment, to whom I am obliged for permission to examine the inscription and to have estampages made. I am also obliged to him for the information that this slab was originally lying on the Maṇikarṇikâ Ghâṭ on the Ganges in the city of Benares, and was removed by Babu Hariśchandra Bhâratîndu, a famous Hindi poet of Benares, whose posthumous notes in Hindi on certain places and objects of Archæological interest in India were published sometime ago under the name of *Purâvṛittasaṅgraha*. Babu Hariśchandra rightly laments, in his notes, the loss and destruction of numerous monuments and suggests that the banks of the river conceal remnants of ancient *ghâṭs* which were re-built and renewed times without number, but which are now hidden under modern structures. It is noteworthy that whereas many copper plate inscriptions were issued by their respective donors from the Brahmanical city of Vârâṇasî (Benares), only four other inscriptions on stone appear so far to have been found in it. The earliest of these is the Benares inscription of Pantha,[1] a private individual of no historical importance. The remaining three epigraphs date from the time of Akbar and Jahangir.[2]

The slab on which the inscription is engraved measures 1′ 9″ broad, 1′ 3″ high and 6″ thick. It is broken on the upper side and on the left, but is complete on the other two sides. As the whole of the existing portion of the inscription with the exception of the last line, is in Sanskrit verse, the extent of loss in letters which each line has suffered, is ascertainable with certainty. The extant number of syllables in each line is twenty-one to twenty-seven, and as I find by scanning that each line has lost from sixty-one to seventy *aksharas*, the original width of the slab must have been four times the present breadth, *i.e.*, about seven feet. We now possess portions of the last twelve stanzas of the document, but as the verses are not numbered, the number of stanzas lost in the beginning cannot be determined.

The epigraph is engraved in Dêvanâgarî characters, the height of letters averaging one inch. The artisan has done his work with uniform care. Only two peculiarities of the script deserve mention. One of these is the use of the *pṛishṭhamâtrâ* or a vertical stroke attached to the left of the *mâtṛikâs* in the rendering of the medial vowels *ê*, *ai*, *ô* and *au*, the only exceptions being four syllables in the ninth line where its place is taken by the usual super-imposed stroke of the later Nâgarî. We note that the *pṛishṭha-mâtrâ*, which in the Śâradâ of Kashmir remained in use until the end of the fourteenth century A.D., must have died out from the Nâgarî script somewhat earlier. For, though we find that it is employed side by side with the rival sign in Nâgarî inscriptions of the eleventh century A.D., it is absent in inscriptions of the middle of the twelfth century, and those of the first half of the fourteenth century, such as those noticed at Deogarh in the Jhansi District. It is, therefore, somewhat astonishing to find it employed almost exclusively in this inscription which was recorded in the Vikrama Saṁvat 1359 (A.D. 1302-3). The other noteworthy feature of the script of the inscription is the addition of a right-angled adjunct between the horizontal top stroke and the body of some of the letters, *e.g.*, *u* (*udyânê*, l. 9) *y*, *s*, *h* and *ḍh* (*âshâḍha*, l. 9). There are no mistakes of spelling. The consonants following *r* are, as usual, either doubled or left single, and there is no doubling of consonants preceding the *rêpha*.

1 See *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL, p. 55, and my note in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 59 seq.

2 *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1875, pp. 82-84.

The inscription was a well-composed poem which employed Alaṅkâras or figures of speech, and the rules of prosody are nowhere disregarded. The date of the inscription which is given in figures and partly in words is [Vikrama] Saṁvat 1359, Âshâḍha *vadi* 11, Tuesday. The document has not yet been published except for a few remarks based on a somewhat faulty reading published by Babu Hariśchandra Bhâratîndu in his Hindi notes alluded to above, which I venture to translate here and which run as follows :—

"A portion of the inscription is missing, and it is therefore not possible to make out the name of the prince who had it engraved. What is known is that at the time referred to there were two brother princes of the Kshatriya race, enlightened and devoted to Vishṇu. Their fame spread far and wide, and they caused to be constructed the Maṇikarṇikâ Ghâṭ which extended from Vîrêśvara to Viśvêśvara. In the centre of the Ghâṭ, they had a lofty temple of Maṇikarṇikêśvara-Śiva constructed, with large platforms in the middle of it.......... None of those constructions have now survived. The present temple of Maṇikarṇikêśvara is a deep underground chamber and the Vîrêśvara and Viśvêśvara temples also occupy other sites." A comparison of this extract with the subjoined text will show the shortcomings of Babu Hariśchandra's rendering, though it will be seen that he correctly ascertained the main object of the record, namely, the erection of a temple of Maṇikarṇikêśvara by a certain person whose name he could not make out. But his interpretation is wrong inasmuch as he states that this pious man constructed at the same time a *ghâṭ* of this name, which extended from the temple of Vîrêśvara to that of Viśvêśvara, as there is no mention of any such temples. What he read as Viśvêśvara is really *vaiśvânara*, which stands for the numeral *three*, and Vîrêśvara, mentioned in verse 7, was the name of the builder of the temple whose construction this inscription is intended to record, and not that of a temple as stated by Babu Hariśchandra. Nor have the platforms (*vêdikâ*) of *chintâmaṇi* stone mentioned in v. 4 anything to do with the temple. The whole of the earlier portion of the inscription was devoted to a description of the pedigree of Vîrêśvara, but who he was cannot be ascertained from the surviving portion of the document. Babu Hariśchandra is right in assuming that the temple whose erection is mentioned in this inscription has long since disappeared. I noticed, however, a few architectural stones lying on the Maṇikarṇikâ Ghâṭ, which to judge from the style of their carvings, might well have belonged to this structure. One of these fragments is a door-jamb representing Śiva and Pârvatî.

Text.

1\. — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ कार्त्तिककौमुदीका: [।*]
कौमोरकौधरकराश्रयशङ्ख[शुभ्रा:]
— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [॥*][3]

2\. . . . .
. . . . [।*]
. . . .
. . . . मणिाय ॥
उद्याने निवसत्यमुष्य निभृत: किन्नाम कल्पद्रुम:
कि

3\. — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [।*]
— — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —
— — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [॥*][4]
— — ⏑ — भ्रम्य सुरद्रुमाणा—
मध्यास्य चिन्तामणिवेदिकाश्च ।
विश्रामनं यस्य वि

3 Metre :— *Vasanta-tilakâ*.

4 Metre :— *Śârdûlavikrîḍita*.

4. — ⌣ — —

— — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — ⌣ [||*][5]

⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — — ⌣ —

⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — — ⌣ — [|*]

⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — — ⌣ —

⌣ — मणिमहोभिरैस्त्रुटितबन्धमन्धन्तमः ||[6]

यस्यानुजो भुजाविनिर्ज्जित

5. — ⌣ — —

— — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — —

— — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — —

— — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — — ||[7]

— — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — — — ⌣ — — ⌣ —

प्रासादं मणिकर्णिकेश्वरविभोर्म्मीरेश्वरः श्रेयसे ।

धर्मे यो विदधे

6. ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — — — ⌣ — — ⌣ —

— — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — — — ⌣ — — ⌣ — [||*][8]

— — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — —

— — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — —

— — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — —

कीर्त्या पवित्रीकुरुताद्धरित्रीम् ||[9]

सरसनरसभासम्भावितासौ प्र

7. — —

⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — — — ⌣ — — ⌣ — — [|*]

⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — — — ⌣ — — ⌣ — —

⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — — — ⌣ — — ⌣ — — [||*][10]

— — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — —

⌣ — ⌣ — — घवहावगाता ।

नक्षत्रमाला गुणवत्यसौ चो

त्तवा हृदि ज्ञाननिधे[र्नि]

8. — — [||*][11]

— — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — — — ⌣ — — ⌣ —

— — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — — — ⌣ — — ⌣ — [|*]

— — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — — — ⌣ — — ⌣ —

— — — ⌣ ⌣ नोधरेण कृतिनाऽलेखि प्रशस्तिः शुभा [||][12]

अब्दे नन्देषु वैश्वानरधर

9. [णिमिते*] — ⌣ — — ⌣ — —

— — — — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — — ⌣ — — ⌣ — — [|*]

— — — — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — — ⌣ — — ⌣ — —

— — — — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — — ⌣ — — ⌣ — — [||*][13]

[स]म्वत(त्) १३५९ आषाढ वदि ११ भौमे ।

स्थपति सोमब्रसिमोधायासुतत्रीणि चेति ||

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5 Metre :—*Indravajrâ.*

6 Metre :—*Prithvî.*

7 Metre :—*Vasanta-tilaka*

8 Metre :—*Śârdûlavikrîḍita.*

9 Metre :—*Indravajrâ.*

10 Metre :—*Mâlinî.*

11 Metre :—*Upajâti.*

12 Metre :—*Śârdûlavikrîḍita*

13 Metre :—*Sragdharâ*

A FIXED EASTER AND THE REFORM OF THE CHRISTIAN CALENDAR.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

Introductory.

THIS Journal has taken so large a part in settling Indian Chronology that all matters relating to the Calendar are of interest to its readers. I therefore make no further apology for discussing here the subject of the reform of the Christian Calendar which is involved in a fixed Easter ; especially as now that the Great European War is over this is becoming again of public concern.

I will consider it from four points of view :—

(1) a Lunar-Solar Calendar with Fixed Easter ;
(2) a Solar Calendar with a Fixed Easter ;
(3) the Existing Solar Calendar with a Fixed Easter ;
(4) the Existing Solar Calendar with a Fixed Easter and Intercalary days.

The last point is that which strikes me personally as the most practical and the most to be desired, though each of the other three has many points to recommend it.

I.

A Lunar-Solar Calendar with Fixed Easter.

I have had sent me by Fr. Gabriel Nahapetian of the Mechitarist (Armenian) Congregation on the Island of San Lazzaro, Venice, a pamphlet of 24 pp. entitled *Two Invariable and Universal Calendars and Fixed Easter with* 12 *and* 13 *months.* The object of the pamphlet is not only to show how a Fixed Easter could be conveniently arrived at, but also to prove that the systems which have been brought forward in England and America are in reality copies of that originated by the Mechitarist monks of Venice.

The preface ' to the Reader ' of the pamphlet sets forth that when Pope Pius X brought up the question of a Fixed Easter in his Encyclical *Divino afflatu* in 1912, the Mechitarist Congregation almost simultaneously produced a proposal for a *Fixed Calendar with* 12 *months* in three Italian Papers or Reviews in Rome and Venice, and that this proposal was considered at a Congress in Liège in 1914, but was dropped on account of the Great War. In 1913 a *Fixed Calendar with* 13 *months* was issued by the Armenian Press at San Lazzaro (Venice). On the 5th October, 1912, Fr. Gabriel Nahapetian had audience with the Pope, who encouraged the Mechitarists in their plan. Subsequently the plan seems to have been adopted by a journalist, Ernst von Hesse, with a slight modification, which did not affect the principle, in an article entitled *The Germans and a Fixed Easter.* This plagiarised plan was, I take it, that which was promulgated in England and America.

A Lunar-Solar Calendar.

Leaving aside, however, the above point and also the interesting historical and similar observations made by Fr. Gabriel Nahapetian, I propose to take the Mechitarist plan into consideration ; especially as there are signs of some such idea being brought before the British Parliament by fixing Easter at the nearest Sunday to the 15th April of the present Christian Calendar. That would divide the year more equably than is now possible, as regards the fall of public holidays, but would leave all other irregularities as they now are. But the Mechitarist plan of 13 months, while making many things much more simple for future generations than does the present Calendar, would very much upset the year as regards those who have become habituated to the present system from their early childhood. However, the plan has so much in its favour that it appears to be well worth while to consider it seriously.

The Mechitarist Calendar would base itself on the week, giving thus 52 weeks for the normal solar year with one day over. Thus $7 \times 52 + 1 = 365$ days. By creating 13 months of 4 weeks each and adding one day to one of the months the same result is produced :— $13 \times 28 + 1 = 365$ days. This leaves Leap Year as it is now by adding one day to a second month or 2 days to one month. So far, except as to 13 months in the year, there does not *primâ facie* appear to be much change from existing customs.

This proposal has some immense advantages :—

(1) Every month, but one, has 28 days, the odd month having 29. In Leap Years two months have 29 days, or one month 30 days.

(2) Every week day falls on the same day of the months, *if* the odd days are given special names and made intercalary, *i.e.*, are not counted as being in any week, thus :—

Sunday [1]	1	8	15	22
Monday	2	9	16	23
Tuesday	3	10	17	24
Wednesday	4	11	18	25
Thursday	5	12	19	26
Friday	6	13	20	27
Saturday	7	14	21	28

(3) Easter Sunday falls automatically on the 15th April every year. Christmas Day falls automatically on Wednesday, 25th December, every year. Other authorised festivals and holidays also fall automatically on fixed days in the year.

(4) An upset, however, occurs of existing almost instinctive habits of reckoning the time of year by the 13 months of 28 days each. Thus :—

(*i*) A new month, with of course a new name, must be created.

(*ii*) A new name for the annual intercalary day (making annually one week of actually eight days though counted as seven) must be found, together with a choice made of the month to which it is to be added.

(*iii*) The same process is necessary for the second intercalary day for Leap Years, making either a second week of eight days, or one week of nine days, both counted as seven.

(5) The days of the year with regard to those of the existing normal solar calendar will be much altered. Thus :—

1	Old	Feby.	would fall on existing	29 Jany.
1	,,	March	,,	26 Feby.
1	,,	April	,,	26 March.
1	,,	May	,,	23 April.
1	,,	June	,,	21 May.
1	,,	July	..	18 June.
1	,,	August	,,	16 July.
1	,,	New month	,,	13 Aug.
1	.,	September	..	10 Sept
1	.,	October	..	19 Oct.
1	.,	November	..	6 Nov.
1	.,	December	..	4 December.

1 The Mechitarist Calendar puts the first day of the month on Sunday. The German imitation put it on Monday, but made no other change. There is a good deal to be said for beginning the year on Monday as a matter of convenience and something also to the contrary. The point is, however, beside the present argument.

The Mechitarist plan only concerns itself with the ecclesiastical side of the question, and from the point of view of the Christian religious festivals the difficulties that arise are not great. But the table above given will show at once to any one, who will consider it from either the social or administrative point of view, that the difficulties are really many—meaning by "difficulties" changes in age-old habits of thought and practice.

E.g., one can imagine much trouble being raised over the new name for the 13th month, and the place where it should come in the Calendar. For the purpose of this argument, let us follow the Mechitarists and place it between the older and the newer Roman months, *i.e*, between August and September. And let us call it Sexiber.

Similarly let us put the annual intercalary day at the end of September, for a reason to be given later, and make that the eight-day week as a matter of convenience. Let us call this intercalary day—actually the 29th September—Sanctuary Day. But however convenient ultimately this procedure might prove, it would of course create disturbance in all sorts of social matters that can be easily foreseen in administrative, legal and commercial life, because one week in every year would have an extra day not counted in the Calendar.

Again as regards Leap Years, if we add, on the same principle, one day to the last week of December and make it an intercalary day called, say, Leap Year's Day, we shall have the same trouble.

One can imagine a great torrent of talk over such points, but the really great trouble would occur over the change of 12 months of irregular length to 13 months of regular length. Let us take for instance the public and ecclesiastical holidays. Good Friday would fall on 13th April, Easter Sunday on 15th April, Easter Monday on 16th April. Lent would commence on Wednesday on 4th March. Whitsunday would fall on 8th June, Whitmonday on 9th June, Bank Holiday on Monday, 2nd August. Christmas Day on Wednesday, 25th December, Boxing Day on Thursday, 26th December. The latter half of the year would thus be a long while without a holiday and it would probably end in the 29th September, falling between a Saturday and Sunday, being turned into a Bank Holiday. As it would be an intercalary day, not counted in the week, it would automatically be a real holiday, a *dies non*, on which no writ would run, no bill mature, and so on, and for that reason it might well be called Sanctuary Day. The annual holiday months would be August and Sexiber.

The above dates would be the fall, however, according to the New Calendar of 13 months of 28 days each; but on the existing Calendar, and with a fixed Easter. the public and ecclesiastical holidays would fall as follows :—

Ash Wednesday	1st March.	Whitmonday ..	29th May.
Good Friday	7th April.	Bank Holiday ..	17th July
Easter Sunday	9th April.	Sanctuary Day ..	7th October.
Easter Monday	10th April.	Christmas Day ..	28th December
Whitsunday	28th May.	Boxing Day ..	29th December.

The two holiday months would be from 1st August to the 28th Sexiber (16th July to 9th September of the existing Calendar).

Other "new" things would happen. *e.g.* as the 12th August would fall on 27th July. grouse shooting would have to begin 16 days later or 28th August, a Saturday. So partridge shooting would be commenced on 10th September a Sunday, and pheasant shooting on 9th October, a Monday. Other sporting meetings and date. and close seasons would have to be altered accordingly. But even these minor things would create a great deal of controversy.

Birthdays and other anniversaries would be very much upset. A child born on the 1st June would suddenly find it altered to 21st May, and one born on the 19th August would find the birthday to be the 3rd Sexiber, and so on. There would be an outcry in all nurseries, and what is much more serious, new Calendars would be necessary for 1000 years back at least to reconcile the old and new methods of reckoning the year.

In legal and commercial life many things would require immediate consideration. The Half-year would cease to be six months, but would become six and a half months. Similarly the Quarter would be a month and a week. This would seriously affect Quarter Days for rents, and so on. Lady Day would fall on 18th March, Midsummer Day on 10th June, Michaelmas Day on the 20th September and Christmas Day on 28th December of the present Calendar. Terms of imprisonment, of notices of all kinds, and of contracts could not run, and salaries could not be calculated, as now, by the month, three months, six months and so on, as the term "month" would have a new significance.

All this would require much consideration and would inevitably bring about the calculation of time by the week. *E g.*, the week and fortnight would remain as now, but a Month would be 28 days, a Quarter would be 13 weeks and a Half-year 26 weeks. Prisoners would be sentenced, notices given, and contracts made to run by the week. It is easy to see what a change in habits and in calculating past statements of time would be necessary.

Many other things of a like nature in every Christian country would arise, which would have to be seriously considered. But they need not be enumerated here, as there would be no fear of their being overlooked. Every interest would at once make itself heard.

In fact the adult Christian world would for a time be put to much inconvenience and trouble, but the children and the future population of Christians would benefit enormously.

II.

A Solar Calendar with Fixed Easter.

Fr. Gabriel Nahapetian gives also "an invariable Calendar with 12 months and fixed Easter" based on a scale of eight months of 30 days and four months of 31 days : *i.e.*, $8 \times 30 = 240$ days $+ 4 \times 31 = 124$ days $+ 1$ extra intercalary day $= 365$ days. This intercalary day he places at the end of August, but for the sake of comparison with the Lunar-Solar Calendar above explained I would place it at the end of September, and both call and treat it as before as Sanctuary Day. For Leap Years I would add an extra intercalary day at the end of December, which I would call Leap Year's Day. This Solar Calendar would work out thus :—

(*i*) FOUR CALENDAR MONTHS OF 30 DAYS BEGINNING WITH SUNDAY.

JANUARY, APRIL, JULY, OCTOBER.

Sunday	1	8	15	22	29
Monday	2	9	16	23	30
Tuesday	3	10	17	24	
Wednesday	4	11	18	25	
Thursday	5	12	19	26	
Friday	6	13	20	27	
Saturday	7	14	21	28	

(*ii*) FOUR CALENDAR MONTHS OF 30 DAYS BEGINNING WITH TUESDAY.

FEBRUARY, MAY, AUGUST, NOVEMBER.

Tuesday	1	8	15	22	29
Wednesday	2	9	16	23	30
Thursday	3	10	17	24	

Friday	4	11	18	25	
Saturday	5	12	19	26	
Sunday	6	13	20	27	
Monday	7	14	21	28	

(iii) FOUR CALENDAR MONTHS OF 31 DAYS BEGINNING WITH THURSDAY MARCH. JUNE, SEPTEMBER. DECEMBER.

Thursday	1	8	15	22	29
Friday	2	9	16	23	30
Saturday	3	10	17	24	31
Sunday	4	11	18	25	
Monday	5	12	19	26	
Tuesday	6	13	20	27	
Wednesday	7	14	21	28	

It will be perceived that each year will thus begin on the same day of the week, Sunday, and that therefore the Calendar goes on perpetually. Another way of presenting this Calendar—that adopted by Fr. G. Nahapetian—is shown on Table I attached. From Table I it will be seen that the Four Quarters of the Year follow each other : January, February, March ; April, May, June ; July, August, September ; October, November, December. Also the months of each Quarter commence regularly in order with Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday. It is in fact a much easier Calendar to carry in the head than the existing one, but not so easy as the Lunar-Solar Calendar.

Other advantages also follow on it : Easter Sunday would automatically fall on 15th April and Christmas Day on Sunday, 25th December, Boxing Day on Monday, 26th December. Leap Year's Day would always follow, as in the case of the Lunar-Solar Year, between Saturday, 31st December, and Sunday, 1st January, and as it would be a natural *dies non*, not counted in any week, it would also be a natural holiday, thus giving two holidays running. Sanctuary Day would fall between Saturday, 31st September, and Sunday, 1st October, giving also two holidays running.

To follow the same line in developing the idea of the Solar Calendar as that adopted for the idea of the Lunar-Solar Calendar, it may be observed that the changes in the existing Calendar involved in it would never be more than a day or so, and no new month with an unfamiliar name would be necessary. But the same difficulty as to the intercalary days would arise in exactly the same way.

As regards the public and ecclesiastical holidays. Good Friday would always fall on 13th April, Easter Sunday on 15th April, and Easter Monday on 16th April. Lent would always commence on Wednesday, 7th March, Whitsunday on 4th June, Whitmonday on 5th June, Bank Holiday on Monday, 30th July or 7th August, Christmas Day on Sunday, 25th December, Boxing Day on Monday, 26th December. Sanctuary Day would fall on 30th August. The annual holiday months would not be changed, and there would be only a slight change of a day or so in the actual fall of sporting meetings and dates and close seasons. But the 12th August would fall on a Saturday, the 1st September on a Thursday, and the 1st October on a Sunday. Birthdays and other anniversaries would not practically change, which would be a great advantage.

In legal and commercial life there would not be much change necessary, and Quarter Days would fall regularly : *e.g.*, Lady Day would always fall on Wednesday, 21st March, Midsummer Day on Wednesday, 21st June, Michaelmas Day on Thursday, 29th September, and Christmas Day on Sunday, 25th December. New Year's Day would always fall on a Sunday.

A month would, as now, be either 30 or 31 days, and February would be reckoned as a 30 day and not a 28 day month, so notices and contracts could be made much as they are now, and there would practically be no difference in calculating salaries. In neither ecclesiastical nor social matters would there be serious alteration in old habits.

In fact the Solar Calendar would be more workable than the Lunar-Solar Calendar in practical life, though not so easy as the latter to carry in the memory or for children to learn.

TABLE I.

Fr. Nahapetian's Proposed Solar Calendar.

January, April, July, October.			February, May, August, November.			March, June, September, December.		
I	1	*Sunday*	I	1	Tuesday	I	1	Thursday
	2	Monday		2	Wednesday		2	Friday
	3	Tuesday		3	Thursday		3	Saturday
	4	Wednesday		4	Friday		4	*Sunday*
	5	Thursday		5	Saturday		5	Monday
	6	Friday		6	*Sunday*		6	Tuesday
	7	Saturday		7	Monday		7	Wednesday
II	8	*Sunday*	II	8	Tuesday	II	8	Thursday
	9	Monday		9	Wednesday		9	Friday
	10	Tuesday		10	Thursday		10	Saturday
	11	Wednesday		11	Friday		11	*Sunday*
	12	Thursday		12	Saturday		12	Monday
	13	Friday		13	*Sunday*		13	Tuesday
	14	Saturday		14	Monday		14	Wednesday
III	15	*Sunday*	III	15	Tuesday	III	15	Thursday
	16	Monday		16	Wednesday		16	Friday
	17	Tuesday		17	Thursday		17	Saturday
	18	Wednesday		18	Friday		18	*Sunday*
	19	Thursday		19	Saturday		19	Monday
	20	Friday		20	*Sunday*		20	Tuesday
	21	Saturday		21	Monday		21	Wednesday
IV	22	*Sunday*	IV	22	Tuesday	IV	22	Thursday
	23	Monday		23	Wednesday		23	Friday
	24	Tuesday		24	Thursday		24	Saturday
	25	Wednesday		25	Friday		25	*Sunday*
	26	Thursday		26	Saturday		26	Monday
	27	Friday		27	*Sunday*		27	Tuesday
	28	Saturday		28	Monday		28	Wednesday
	29	*Sunday*		29	Tuesday		29	Thursday
	30	Monday		30	Wednesday [2]		30	Friday
							31 [3]	Saturday.

Conclusion on the first two Calendars.

Whatever the difficulty in overcoming the controversy that is bound to arise on either a Lunar-Solar Calendar or a Solar Calendar, such as the above, being seriously brought to notice politically, there would be no doubt that the British Parliament, when convinced of the

2 To make the 365 days Fr. Nahapetian gives August 31 days by adding an intercalary day after the 30th.

3 Leap Year's extra day could be added as intercalary after 31 December. This Calendar is thus perpetual and invariable, commencing each year with Sunday and fixing Easter Sunday on 15th April.

necessity, could arrange with the Parliaments and Governments Overseas similarly disposed to bring a Reformed Calendar with a Fixed Easter into general use in the British Empire by law. But even then it would only be of partial use, unless the assent of the rest of the Christian nations of the world were gained over—each nationality bringing its own special festivals and customs into the general scheme. It is in fact a feasible though not an easy task, or one likely to be brought to a conclusion in a short time. That it may before long come within the scope of practical politics is shown by the fact that proposals have already been made to bring before the British Parliament a Bill to fix on the Sunday nearest the 15th April in each year as Easter Sunday, all other festivals and customary dates also becoming fixed in the Calendar accordingly.

III.

The existing Solar Calendar with a Fixed Easter.

The plan, however, for a Fixed Easter which would cause the least disturbance of custom is obviously to confine attention to fixing the fall of Easter Sunday for each year. Let us see how this works out.

As the normal year consists of 52 weeks and one extra day, it obviously ends on the same day of the week as that on which it begins : *i.e.*, whatever day of the week the first of January falls on, that is the day of the week on which 31st December falls. Therefore each succeeding New Year commences on the day of the week following that on which the preceding year commenced, but this regular sequence is broken by every fourth year being a Leap Year, the New Year succeeding which being two days later in the week than that on which the Leap Year began. The result is that the sequence is as follows :—

Year	Commencing on	Year	Commencing on
1	Sunday	10	Thursday
2	Monday	11	Friday
3	Tuesday	Leap Year 12	Saturday
Leap Year 4	Wednesday	13	Monday
5	Friday	14	Tuesday
6	Saturday	15	Wednesday
7	Sunday	Leap Year 16	Thursday
Leap Year 8	Monday	17	Saturday
9	Wednesday	18	Sunday

And so on.

It is important to give this cycle, as it shows that there is practically no regularity in the fall of New Year's Day on a particular day of the week according to the existing calendar. This is caused by the extra day over 52 weeks in normal Solar Years, and two in Leap Years, being counted as in a week and not as intercalary. Another result is that the fall of every day of the week in a month is one day (or two days after the "leap" in Leap Years) later in the week in each succeeding year. It is this that affects the question of a Fixed Easter and consequently of every festival and customary "day," depending on Easter. The proposal that has been publicly made to fix Easter for general purposes is to fix Easter Sunday as the Sunday nearest to the 15th April. Let us see how this works out. In a normal year the 15th April is the 105th day of the year, *i.e.*, the year is exactly 15 weeks old on that day, and the result is that it falls on the day of the week previous to that on which 1st January falls. If New Year's Day falls on a Sunday, the 15th April will fall on a Saturday, and so on.

Let us now work out the fall of Easter Sunday accordingly on the proposed scheme.

NORMAL YEARS.

(1) In a Sunday Year,
15th April falls on Saturday : Easter Sunday on 16th April.
(2) In a Monday Year,
15th April falls on Sunday : ,, ,, 15th ,,
(3) In a Tuesday Year,
15th April falls on Monday : ,, ,, 14th ,,
(4) In a Wednesday Year,
15th April falls on Tuesday : ,, ,, 13th ,,
(5) In a Thursday Year,
15th April falls on Wednesday : ,, ,, 12th ,,
(6) In a Friday Year,
15th April falls on Thursday : ,, ,, 11th or 18th April.
(7) In a Saturday Year,
15th April falls on Friday : ,, ,, 17th April.

On the above reckoning Easter would fall between the 11th and 18th April, and all other festivals and customary days, dependant on Easter accordingly. The table attached gives the various principal dates. No other festivals or customs would be affected.

In Leap Years, however, owing to the extra day falling on the 29th February, the 15th April falls on the same day of the week as New Year's Day. *E.g.*, in a Sunday year 15th April would fall on a Sunday, and so on, but that would not affect the cycle of 11th to 18th April for the fall of Easter Sunday in Leap Years.

FALL OF FESTIVALS DEPENDENT ON THE FALL OF A FIXED EASTER.

Ash Wednesday	..28 Feb.	1	2	3	4	5	6	March
Good Friday	.. 9	11	12	13	14	15	16	April
Easter Sunday	..12	13	14	15	16	17	18	April
Easter Monday	..13	14	15	16	17	18	19	April
Whitsunday	..26	27	28	29	30	31 May	1	June
Whitmonday	..27	28	29	30	31 May	1	2	June

It will be clear that this Scheme is not nearly so easy to work on as Schemes I and II, the Lunar Solar and the Solar Schemes already examined, but it would create very much less change in age-old habit. Also it would do no more than fix Easter ; it would not fix a set day for the commencement of the year, as do the two previously discussed schemes.

(*To be continued.*)

KOTTAYAM PLATE OF VIRA-RAGHAVA CHAKRAVARTI.

BY K. N. DANIEL.

(*Continued from page 196.*)

The Dates that suit the Astronomical Positions in the Plate.

Now let us take the copper plate under discussion. It was executed on a Saturday, Rôhiṇi 4th asterism, 21st Mîṇam, when Jupiter was in Makaram. I have examined this date from the first century to the fifteenth century. All dates, which suit the Astronomical requirements just mentioned, have already been pointed out by Kookil Kelu Nair, Burnell, and Kielhorn. They are the following :—

(1) A.D. 230, March 6. It was Kali 3330, Saturday, 21st Mîṇam. The greater part of the day and the whole night was Rôhiṇi. Jupiter just passed the *Makaram râśi*. Mean Jupiter passed $\frac{18}{300}$th of the next *râśi* and the actual Jupiter 3 degrees and 53 minutes, *i.e.*,

about $\frac{1}{8}$th of a *râśi*. It is just probable that such a slight difference might have been caused by the Astronomical systems of those early centuries. Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai also agreed with me on this point, when recently we had a talk on the subject.

(2) 10th March, A.D. 680, Kali 3780.—This date was pointed out by F. Kielhorn. This fulfils all the requirements.

(3) 11th March, A.D. 775, Kali 3875.—Dr. Burnell after consulting an Astronomer pointed out A.D. 774, but certainly he must have meant 775. This is also correct.

(4) 15th March, A.D. 1320, Kali 4420.—This is also pointed out by Kielhorn.

We now have four dates which suit the Astronomical requirements. One of them must be the date required.

The date of Pârkara Iravi.—We must here discuss the date of Pârkara Iravi Varmar also, whose inscriptions form a subject of comparison with the Vira Raghava plate. The date of Pârkara Iravi can be fixed with certainty on Astronomical grounds.

We have a fairly large number of inscriptions of his time. Some of them giving regnal years or age and the positions of Jupiter. I give below a list of those inscriptions with the years and respective positions of Jupiter.

The Perunna inscription of the 14th year[11] Jupiter in *Makara* (10th *Râśi*).

The Tirukkôṭittaṉam Inscription No. 2, 13th year Jupiter in *Iṭavam* (2nd *Râśi*).

The Tirkkâkkara Inscription No. 3, 31st year Jupiter in *Dhanu* (9th *Râśi*).

The Perunna Inscription 33rd year Jupiter in *Iṭavam* (2nd *Râśi*).

The Tirunelli copper plate 46th year Jupiter in *Chiṅṅam* (5th *Râśi*).

The Tirukkâkkara Inscription No. 5, 58th year Jupiter in *Chiṅṅam* (5th *Râśi*).

The Tirunelli plate No. 2, 43rd year Jupiter in *Tulâm* (7th *Râśi*).

It will take nearly a year for Jupiter to travel one *râśi* and nearly 12 years to travel the whole *râśichakram* (ecliptic) of 12 *râśis*. The 13th and the 31st year inscriptions may go together. The 33rd, 46th and 58th year inscriptions may also go together. The 14th year inscription stands alone, so does the 43rd year inscription also. These four kinds of inscriptions cannot be reconciled. The 14th and the 13th year inscriptions cannot be reconciled because in the 14th year Jupiter was in the 10th *râśi* and in the 13th year it was in the 2nd *râśi*. Then again the 14th year inscription and the 33rd year inscription cannot be reconciled, because there is a difference of 19 years between them, and Jupiter will return to the 10th *râśi* after 11 or 12 years and in the course of the remaining 7 or 8 years it should reach the 5th or the 6th *râśi*, but it is in the 2nd *râśi*. The 14th year and 43rd year inscriptions cannot be reconciled, because out of the 29 years of difference 23 or 24 years are required for it to come back to the 10th *râśi*. The remaining 5 or 6 years will bring it to the 3rd or 4th *râśi*, but it is in the 7th *râśi*. Then the 31st year inscription, which may be reconciled with the 13th year inscription, cannot be reconciled with the 33rd year inscription, because in the 31st year Jupiter was in the 9th *râśi* and in the 33rd year it was in the 2nd *râśi*. Again the 33rd, 46th and 58th year inscriptions which may go together cannot be reconciled with the 43rd year inscription ; because in the 43rd year Jupiter was in the 7th *râśi* and in the 46th year it was in the 5th *râśi*. If the years given are all regnal years, there must have been four Pârkara Iravi Varmars. In case we suppose that in some of them the regnal years and in others the ages are given, these may be reduced to two. Anyhow from the style, language and paleography it is evident that the inscriptions of all the

11 12th year opposite the second means 14th (12 plus 2) year. This is quite evident from the Tenkâśi pillar inscription of Arikêsari lines 38-57 (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, pp. 99-102).

Pârkara Iravi Varmars must fall within a period of 100 years. There is no question about this. The suggestion that there were two kings under the name of Pârkara Iravi Varmar has never been made by any one but the present writer.

Now, fortunately, there are two inscriptions of these two different Pârkara Iravi Varmars which give Astronomical positions. When these are put together we have very sure Astronomical data for calculating the dates. The first is the Perunna inscription of the 14th year. This is an incomplete inscription found in the temple at Perunna. Though the name of the king is not mentioned, it is unquestionably taken to be that of Pârkara Iravi. (See *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, p. 34.) The style and paleography leave us in no doubt that this inscription belongs to the reign of Pârkara Iravi. Further there are other inscriptions of Pârkara Iravi mentioned by name in the same temple at Perunna. We have evidence to think that this is the same as that Pârkara Iravi who is the donor of the Cochin plates. In the Cochin plates of Pârkara Iravi Vêṇâṭuṭai (King of Vêṇâṭu), Kôvarttaṉa Mâttâṇṭan is a witness. In the Trikkôṭittâṉam inscription of Pârkara Iravi, Vêṇâṭuṭai Kôvarttaṉa Mâttâṇṭan is mentioned as the owner of Naṉṟuḷa Nâṭu. In another Trikkôṭittânam inscription of Pârkara Iravi also, Vêṇâṭuṭai Kôvarttaṉa Mâttâṇṭan connected with the Naṉṟuḷa Nâṭu is mentioned. In the above Perunna inscription (Perunna is close to Trikkôṭittâṉam), a certain king (the name is not written because the inscription was left incomplete where it should occur) of Vêṇâṭu possessing Naṉṟuḷa Nâṭu is mentioned. Moreover this is dated the 14th year of the unmentioned emperor who is surely Pârkara Iravi, and the Trikkôṭittâṉam inscription mentioned above is also dated the 14th year of Pârkara Iravi. The Perunna inscription named above, therefore, in all probability, belongs to the time of Pârkara Iravi, who was the donor of the Cochin Plates. The Astronomical positions given in the Perunna inscription are the following :—

"20th of the solar month Mîna, Sunday, the 7th asterism and Jupiter in Makara."

I have examined the date of the grant for nearly 1,400 years from the end of the first century to the beginning of the fifteenth. The earliest day for which the date is correct is Kali 3626 (expired) 1,324,781st day of Kali, *i.e.*, 8th March, 526 A.D. It was a Sunday. The whole day was the 7th asterism. Jupiter was almost in the middle of the *Makaram râśi*. The next day for consideration is Kali 4160—12th March, A.D. 1060 (1,519,829th day of Kali). This is the date given by Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai and it is correct.

He has given one more date. Kali 4255, 13th March, 1155. This date is not correct on the following ground. If *samkramam* take place 18 *nâḻika* after sunrise, the Malayalees reckon the next day as the 1st day of the month ; whereas according to the system prevalent in India outside Kêraḷam, if the *samkramam* take place at any time during the day, that very day should be reckoned as the 1st day of the month. That this was the system of Kêraḷam from time immemorial, can be easily proved from inscriptions. Verify the following dates :—

(1) Kollam 392, Friday, 17th *Tulâm* (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. 1, p. 290).
(2) Kollam 782, Thursday, 22nd *Tulâm* (*Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 180).
(3) Saka 1474, Monday, 29th *Mêṭam* (*Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 105).
(4) Saka 1416, Friday, 10th *Mînam* (*Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 265).
(5) Saka 1472, Monday, 19th *Mithunam* (*Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 271).

In Kali 4255 (A.D. 1155) Mînasamkramam took place on a Tuesday, 27th *nâḻika*, after sunrise, and therefore, according to the Malabar system, 1st Mînam was on Wednesday. So 20th Mînam was a Monday. But the inscription was made on a Sunday. The year 1155 therefore, is not correct.

Now let us take the other inscription of Pârkara Iravi Varmar, which contains the necessary Astronomical data for calculating the date. This is a copper plate (Tirunelli plate No. 2) mentioned by T. A. Gopinatha Rao (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, p. 31) :—" Wednesday, 8th day of the solar month *Mîna* and Nakshatra *Uttara Phalguni* (12th asterism) when Jupiter stood in the *Tula râśi*." I have examined this date also from the end of the first century to the beginning of the fifteenth. The earliest date for consideration is Kali 3671 (expired) 1,341,206th day of Kali, *i.e.*, 22nd February 571 A.D. It was a Wednesday. The whole day and almost the whole night was *Uttara Palguni*, the 12th asterism. The mean Jupiter was in *Tulâm*, the actual Jupiter passed into the next *râsi*. This is inconsiderable as I have already shown. Another date for consideration is Kali 3766, 25th February, 666 A.D. On this day 12th asterism came to an end 2 hours and 24 minutes after sunrise. There are two other dates given by Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai. They are Kali 4205 and 4216 This is surely due to an oversight on the part of this eminent scholar. In fact he himself admits it in a reply to a letter of mine on this point.

Now we see two dates each of which fulfils the requirements of both the inscriptions of Pârkara Iravi Varmar. A.D. 526 and 1060 for the Perunna inscription and 571 and 666 for the Tirunelli plate No. 2. The Perunna inscription must be either of 526 or 1060. We cannot take the year 1060 because in that case the Pârkara Iravi Varmar of the Perunna inscription should be placed 400 years later than the other, the latest date which suits the other inscription is 666. That these two Pârkara Iravi Varmars must be almost of the same period is, as already shown, beyond question. We therefore come to the conclusion that 526 is the date of the Perunna inscription, and 571 that of the Tirunelli plate No. 2. These dates were verified and found correct by Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai.

There are eight inscriptions of Pârkara Iravi in which Jupiter's positions are clearly given. There is one more inscription in which though the year portion is slightly damaged the year can be guessed. All the inscriptions can be reconciled, if we suppose that two Pârkara Iravi Varmars, one after the other, ruled in Kêraḷam, and that the years are sometimes age and sometimes regnal years, and sometimes current and sometimes expired. No one has yet reconciled these dates.

A reconciliation table is given below.

The Reconciliation Table.

PÂRKARA IRAVI VARMAR I.

A.D.	K.Y.	Month and date.	Regnal year or age.	Jupiter.	Inscription.
526	3626	Miam 20 ..	14th regnal year current.	Makaram (10th râśi).	Perunna inscription *T. A. S.* II, p. 34.
525	3626	Vṛśchikam 10..	13th[12] regnal year expired.	Do. do.	Tirukkakkara inscription No. 1 (*Ibid*, p. 39).
518	3619	..	33rd age current ..	Iṭavam (2nd râśi).	Perunna inscription (*Ibid*, p. 44).
532–3	3633[13]	Makaram ..	46th age expired ..	Chiṅṅam (5th râśi).	Tirunelli plate No. 1, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 290.
545	3645	..	58th age expired ..	Do. do.	Tirukkâkkara inscription, *T. A. S.* II, p. 49.
564	3664	He died at the age of 78 and his son Pârkara Iravi Varmar II succeeded.			

[12] 2nd against 11th or 21st. On account of the damage, both the above readings are possible.

[13] The Cochin plates are dated the 38th year of Pârkara Iravi. If it is the age it must be Kali 3624 (523-4 A.D.), if regnal year it must be Kali 3650 (549–550 A.D.)

PÂRKARA IRAVI VARMAR II.

A.D.	K.Y.	Month and date.	Regnal year or age.	Jupiter.	Inscription.
571	3671	Mînam 8 ..	8th[14] regnal year current.	Tulâm (7th râśi) ..	Tirunelli plate No. 2 T. A. S. II, p. 31.
577	3678	Tulâm ..	13th regnal year expired.	Iṭavam (2nd râśi)..	Tirukôṭittâṇam inscription (*Ibid.*, p. 36).
585–6	3686	Makaram ..	21st regnal year expired.	Kumpam (11th râśi).	Tirukkâkkara inscription (*Ibid.*, p. 41).
595	3696	Vṛśchikam ..	31st regnal year expired.	Dhaṇu (9th râśi) ..	Do. (*Ibid.*, p. 43).

Thus there can be no doubt as to the dates of Pârkara Iravi Varmar. That two inscriptions, having only two dates, each suitable to the given Astronomical positions during a period of fourteen centuries, should have one date each to fall in the same century by chance, is quite unthinkable. That these dates should chance to be such as to reconcile nine dates of Pârkara Iravi, given in inscriptions with the positions of Jupiter, as being the dates of two kings who ruled one after the other, is still more inconceivable.

Tiruvalla Temple Plates.—There is another set of copper plates belonging to the temple at Tiruvalla now preserved in the Trivandrum Museum. They have been recently published in the *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. II, part 3, under the name of the Huzur Treasury plates. Gopinatha Rao says that these plates are of the time of Pârkara Iravi on the ground that the king Maṇukulâtichchan is mentioned as a donor both in these plates and in an inscription of the time of Pârkara Iravi. There is one more piece of presumptive evidence supporting this opinion. The king of Venpoli Nâṭu mentioned in these plates is Iravi Chiri Kaṇṭan and Kôtai Chiri Kaṇṭan, king of Venpoli Nâṭu, is mentioned in the Cochin plates of Pârkara Iravi Varmar. The name of the king is the same in both the inscriptions. The full name is different. This king being a Marumakkattâyi, Kôtai and Iravi are the names of maternal uncles. Perhaps he might have some times called himself Kôtai Chiri Kaṇṭan and some times Iravi Chiri Kaṇṭan. In these plates certain Astronomical positions are given.

The day of *Viśaka* (16th asterism) corresponding to Wednesday in the solar month *Makaram* when Jupiter stood in *Tulâm*. 6th *Makaram*, Kali 3659, suits the above requirements According to the above reconciliation table, Kali 3650 or 3624 is the date of the Cochin plates. Though it is quite possible to find a day in every century for which the above date is correct, it is noteworthy that a day so close to the Cochin plates is found.

We have already proved that Vîra Râghava was earlier than Pârkara Iravi Varmar who is now shown to be of the sixth century. There is only one date prior to the sixth century fulfilling the Astronomical requirements of our plate, 6th March, 230 A.D. This, therefore, must be the date of the plate under discussion.

14 The year is given thus 2 plus 6 plus 35 = 43. I take 2 plus 6 to be the regnal year and 43 the age. He therefore ascended the throne in his 35th year. This assumption agrees with the other inscriptions.

III. Linguistic Evidence.

Alleged evidence against an early date.—The linguistic question has never been touched by any one except the late Mr. V. Venkayya, Epigraphist for India, and that very meagrely. To quote him fully: "The language of the inscription is Tamil prose mixed with a few Malayalam forms, of which the following deserve to be noticed: *irunnarula* (a, 5) (for *iruntaruḷa*), *aḷannu* (1·12) (for *aḷantu*), *pâvâṭa* (1·9) (for *Pâvâṭai*), *Kuṭa* (1·10) *aṭima* (1·11) *paṟa, niṟa*, (1·12) Śarkara, *eṇṇa iṭa* and *uḷḷata* (1·14) iṭa (1·16) and *viśêshâl* (1·16) (for *viśêshât*). Kôyilakam (1·5) would in modern Tamil mean the inside of a temple. In ancient Tamil inscriptions of the time of Râjarâja I, the word *kôyil* alone is used in the sense of a royal palace. In the present inscription *kôyilakam* means a royal palace as in modern Malayalam. Of the words mentioned above, *pâvâṭai, kuṭai, paṟai* occur also in the Cochin plates. The fact that they are there spelt exactly as in Tamil, and that in the subjoined grant they are spelt as in modern Malayalam, suggests that the Kottayam plate is later than the Cochin grant. The form *uḷḷata* (1·14) occurs in the former, while *iṟukku-maṭu* and *peṟumaṭu* occur in the latter. This again points to the same conclusion." (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, 1896-7, p. 292.)

Mr. Venkayya, it is evident, did not enquire when the forms he refers to came into use in Malabar, nor did he carefully compare, the Cochin plates and the plate in question, though he professes to have done so. We must compare the document in question with the ancient writings of Kêraḷam.

Malayalam was once called the Tamil of the Malanâṭu. The difference between this Tamil and that of the other parts grew greater, and greater, till in course of time they became two different languages. The priority, therefore, of one inscription to another should be decided by its resemblance to Tamil. The language of the country from Quilon southward is even now very different from that of the north, the former being considerably influenced by Tamil. That the difference was very much greater in former days is a point on which there can be no doubt. It is, therefore, of no use to compare the ancient writings of Quilon and the south with the document under consideration. Unfortunately we find no dated inscription prior to the seventeenth century in Cranganore and the adjacent places, which were the real Malayalam area in days of old, but we have a certain literary work of the fourteenth century which will be considered later on. For the present we must confine ourselves to inscriptions, of which we have a few in Middle Travancore. The language of Middle Travancore is even now different from that of the northern regions like Cranganore, although ever since the sovereign of Travancore, whose dominion was formerly bounded on the north by Iṭava, south of Quilon, extended it to Cranganore and Parur, the language of the north and the south has been undergoing a levelling operation, while the press and the facilities of communication are now levelling the language further still throughout Keralam. In former days when these elements were absent, the Malayalam of Middle Travancore and that of the northern parts must have been very different. Anyhow as we have only Middle Travancore inscriptions available, let us compare with them the document in question.

The following are the dated and datable inscriptions available from Kaṇṭiyûr northward: the Kaṇṭiyûr inscription of A.D. 1218 (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, p. 290), and of 946 A.D. (*Ibid.*, p. 292), the Kaviyûr inscription of 951 A.D. (*Ibid.*, p. 288), and of 950 A.D. (*Ibid.*, p. 289), the Mûvaṭattumaṭham copper plate of Tâṇu Iravi, ninth century (*Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 85), the Râjśêkhara copper plate in possession of Mûvaṭattumaṭham,[15]

[15] This plate does not belong to Talamaṇa Illam, Changanacherry, as stated by Gopinatha Rao, but to Mûvaṭattumaṭham, Tiruvalla.

Tiruvalla. (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 13), the copper plates in possession of the Jews of Cochin granted by Pârkara Iravi Varmar at Cranganore commonly known as the Cochin[16] plates (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III, p. 334), the Tirunelli plates of Pârkara Iravi Varmar (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX, p. 290), the stone inscriptions of Pârkara Iravi Varmar (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, pp. 31-51), and the Huzur Treasury plates of the time of Pârkara Iravi belonging to the temple of Tiruvalla (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, Part III, pp. 173-207).

Of all the inscriptions mentioned above the Râjaśêkhara inscription,[17] is pure Tamil. It must be the oldest. The date assigned to it by the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao is the eighth century A.D., but I cannot find my way to accept his conclusion. Later on we shall discuss the date of Râjaśêkhara. We will now take into consideration the Malayalam forms which Mr. Venkayya points out from the document in question.

(*a*) *Irunnaruḷa, Aḷannu.*—Tamil forms are *Iruntaruḷa* and *aḷantu*, Malayalam *nn* is *nt* in Tamil: *nn* has taken the place of *nt* twice in this document.

Let us enquire when the form *nn* instead of *nt* came into use in Malabar. The Kaṇṭiyûr (southern part of middle Travancore almost close to the Tamil area) inscription of 1218 A.D. uses *nn* instead of *nt* five times—*viz.*, *kôvinnan* four times and *chênnan* once. In the tenth century inscription of Tiruvamvaṇṭûr (Middle Travancore) we find *kôvinnan* instead of *kôvintan* (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, p. 23). The Tiruvalla (Middle Travancore) inscription of the ninth century uses *chênnan* instead of *chêntan* twice. Inscriptions of the time of Pârkara Iravi Varmar, who has been shown to be of the sixth century, use the Malayalam form *nn*; *vanniruntu* (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 44), *kôvinnan* (*Ibid.*, pp. 39, 47, 49), *chênnan* (*Ibid.*, pp. 43, 49), *Vannu* (*Ibid.*, p. 47). In the Tiruvalla temple plates of the time of Pârkara Iravi, we find *irunnaruḷi, kûṭiyirunnu, eḻunnaruḷi, vannu, vâḻnnu, pakarnna, uṇarnna, chênnan* and *kôvinnan* several times. We find from these plates that even in Tiruvalla Middle Travancore, *nn* began to take the place of *nt* during the sixth century. This change must have taken place in the north like Cranganore much before the sixth century. Yet the use of *nn* instead of *nt* is enough for Mr. Venkayya to jump to the conclusion that the document in question was of the fourteenth century.

(*b*) The next Malayalam form which Mr. Venkayya points out is the following :—

Pâvâṭa, kuṭa, aṭima, paṟa, niṟa, śarkkara, eṇṇa, iṭa. In all these words *a* is used instead of *ai*, the Tamil form. But this document does not invariably use *a* instead of *ai*. It uses *ai* also, *e.g.*, *muṟai* and *makotaiyar*. Here again Mr. Venkayya did not enquire when this Malayalam form of *a* instead of *ai* came into use in Malabar. In the Kayiyûr inscription of 950 A.D., we find the form *a* instead of *ai, e.g.*, *amachchân* instead of *amaittân* or *amaichchân*. We find *a* instead of *ai* (*irupattañchu* instead of *irupattaiñchu or irupattaintu*) in an inscription of Tiruviṭaikkôṭu (a few miles south of Trivandrum where even now Malayalam mixed with Tamil is spoken) dated 871 A.D. (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, p. 14). In the Tirukôṭittânam inscription of the time of Pârkara Iravi (sixth century) Nos. 1 and 3, we find the forms *naṉṟuḷanâṭu* and *naṉṟuḷainâṭu* (both *a* and *ai*). Again in the Perunna inscriptions (sixth century) we have *naṉṟuḷa-nâṭu* and *naṉṟuḷe-nâṭu* (instead of *naṉṟuḷai nâṭu* and *tapa*[18] (instead of *tapai*) (*T. A. S.*, II, pp. 34, 44). In the Tṛkôṭittânam inscription No. 4 we read *muṉṉe* instead of *muṉṉai* (*Ibid.*, p. 4). Though this form began to be used at so early a period, the other form was also in use till the seventeenth century in inscriptions. (See the Parûr inscription of 1624 A.D., *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, p. 300.)

16 It is now with Mr. N. E. Roby, Jew Town, Cochin.

17 In this document is mentioned, as a current coin, a Roman coin which was suppressed in the Roman Empire under Constantius II, 860 A.D. (*vide Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 652, 653).

18 The reading given in the *T. A. S.* is *tapai*. But it is clearly an oversight. *Tapa* not *tapai* is quite legible in the facsimile.

(c) Mr. Venkayya points out the word *uḷḷata* instead of *uḷḷatu* as a distinctly Malayalam word, but in that tongue both the forms *uḷata* and *uḷatu* are used. Whether it is written *uḷḷata* or *uḷḷatu* pronunciation is the same. The last vowel is pronounced somewhat between *a* and *u*. I wonder whether Mr. Venkayya took note of the fact that the form *a* instead of *u* is used only once in this document, whereas the latter form is used sixteen times—*ânṭu, chakravarttikku, ñâyaṟu, irupattoṉṟu, paṭṭiṉattu, cheṭṭikku iravikkorttaṉukku* (*twice*), *aḷannu, uppiṉôṭu, śarkkarayôṭu, kastûriôṭu, viḷakkeṇṇayôṭu, kopurattôṭu, kaiyeḻuttu*. In the Mâmpaḷḷi plate of Quilon dated Kollam 149, *i.e.*, 973 A.D., *cheytha* is used instead of *cheythu* (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, p. 236).

The next Malayalam word pointed out is *iṭa*. The word *iṭai* is used in the Kaviyûr (Middle Travancore) inscription of 951 A.D. Mr. Venkayya here does not refer to the form of *a* instead of *ai* which is already referred to. The next word pointed out is ***viśêshâl***. The Malayalam form is the affix *âl*. The affix *âl* (*avirôtattâl*) is used in the Tiruvalla inscription of the ninth century and the Kaṇṭiyûr inscription of the tenth century. Again this affix ***âl*** (Aiyyanaṭikaṭiruvaṭiyâl) is used in the Kottayam plates of the ninth century written at Quilon.

(*d*) Then Mr. Venkayya points out *kôyilakam* He says: "The word ***kôyil*** alone is used in the sense of a royal palace. In the present inscription ***kôyilakam*** means a royal palace as in modern Malayalam." It is pardonable that he should make such a mistake regarding a Malayalam word. In Malayalam too *Kôyil*[19] means palace or temple though not very much in use, and *kôyilakam* means inside of a palace or temple. The full expression is *perumkôyilakattirunnaruḷa* (sitting in the great palace). If we take away ***akam*** it would be *perumkôyilirunnaruḷa* which has no meaning whatever.

The following Malayalam forms in addition to those already noted are found in the inscriptions of the time of Pârkara Iravi:—

Nu instead of *ṉukkun mâpârittattiṉu, tiruvamiritiṉu, tiruvakkirattiṉu, viḻuviṉu, maṟṟoṉṟiṉu, nâṭṭiṉu, poṉṉiṉu, pâḷḷittâṉattiṉu, tiruvalakiṉu, amiritiṉu* (*T. A. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 36, 39, 43, 44, 47, 49) *Nukku* form also is used.

ṅṅ for *mk. Pâṭulâṅṅi, maṅṅalam, vâṅṅi, maraṅṅâṭṭu, têṅṅa, chiṅṅam* (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 36, 43, 44, 47, 49).

Ari for *arichi*. (*Ibid.*, p. 47.)

Again in the Tiruvalla temple plates of the time of Pârkara Iravi we find the following Malayalam forms:—

ṅṅ for *mk. Têṅṅa, tuṭaṅṅi, paḷaṅṅari, kuḷaṅṅara, naṅṅaiyâr, aṅṅâṭi, taṅṅal, maṅṅalam. Mk* also is used.

Thus we find a large number of Malayalam forms in the sixth century inscriptions of middle Travancore, and we find them even in so far south a place as Tiruviṭaikôṭu during the ninth century. But we do not find a single Malayalam form in the Râjaśêkara inscription which is the only writing of Kêraḷam available free from Malayalam forms. The Râjaśêkhara inscription, therefore, is the most ancient record yet found in Kêraḷam.

Evidence in support of an early date.—Having shown the error in the argument brought forward by Mr. Venkayya, it remains to be considered whether we can form any idea as to date of our copper plate on a linguistic basis.

(1) There is a book on the Malayalam language known as the *Lîlatilakam* which is written in Sanskrit. It has been translated and published in Malayalam. The latter part of the fourteenth century is the date indisputably assigned to it. I translate a portion from this work. "What do you find in Malayalam poetry (*maṇipravâla*) whether old or new? Is it *vantân, iruntân*? Is it not *vannân irunnân*? Is it *thêmka, mâmka, kañchi, pañchi*? Is it not *têṅṅa, mâṅṅa, kaññi, paññi*? Is it *yân, yânai*? Is it not *ñân, âṉa*? Is it *atiṉai, itiṉai, avaṟṟai, ivaṟṟai*? Is it not *atiṉe*,

[19] *Kôyilkkal pôyi* means to the place or temple.

itiṉe, avaṟṟe, ivaṟṟe ? Is it *kaḷutai, kutirai* ? Is it not *kaḷuta, kutira* ? Is it *uṭaivâl, iṭaiyan* ? Is it not *uṭavâl, iṭayan* ? Is it *niṉṉai, eṉṉai* ? Is it not *niṉṉe, eṉṉe* ? Is it *anamkan, kutumam, mukam, chantiran* as the Tamilians would have it ? Is it not *anamgan, kusumam, mukham, chandran*? In short, in poetry we do not find the slightest Tamil forms." (*Lîlatilakam* translated into Malayalam by Aṯṟur Krishna Pishâraṭi, p. 11.) While speaking about certain songs, *Lîlatilakam* says : " In almost all these songs we see Tamilised Malayalam, on account of its intercourse with Tamil. That is why we see, *aḷanta, viḷanta* instead of *aḷanna, viḷañña*." (*Ibid.*, p. 17.) From this we learn that during the latter part of the fourteenth century Malayalam poetry was free from Tamil forms. The use of *nn* for *nt* and *a* for *ai*, etc., which we have discussed in connection with the copper plate in question were the standard forms of expression during the time of the *Lîlatilakam*, *i.e.*, the latter part of the fourteenth century. " The high caste people," the *Lîlatilakam* goes on, " pronounce *upavâsam, sarasan, dîksha, daivam, śamku, pûja* just as in Sanskrit." (*Ibid.*, p. 70.) But we should bear in mind that in Vaṭṭeḻuttu there are no characters to write these words correctly. Therefore in pure Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions we see these words in a Tamil form. That does not go to prove that that was the accepted pronunciation in those days. Let me transliterate here certain pieces of Malayalam prose quoted by the *Lîlatilakam*. " *Viriñña kaviḷappû pôlayum mariñña kayal pôlayum taḷarnna mânkaṉ pôlayum kûrna vêl pôlayum śôbhikunna lôchaṉam.*" " *Udyâṉattil chûtalata pôlayum chûtalatayil pûmtottu pôlayum pûmtottil vaṇṭinchârttu pôlayum vaṇṭinchârttil mâragîti pôlayum ivvulsavattilatîvarâjatyêsha.*" (*Ibid.*, p. 70.) These are just like the modern Malayalam and the *Lîlatilakam* during the last half of the fourteenth century quoted these passages from some Malayalam book. We, therefore, may safely infer that the portions quoted above were the Malayalam of the thirteenth century.

(2) Let me now quote an inscription of the thirteenth century.

Tiruvallam inscription of Ko. 4 A.D. 1237.

Svasti śrî Kollam 412 *âmâṇṭai tta* (*ṉu*) *viyâḷam makara ñâyiru ñâyiru irîvati innâḷâl tiruvallattu śrimuka maṇṭapattil irunnu cheyitta cheyi kaṭvôlaikkaraṇamâmitu.*

Maṭattu chakki Tiṟuvâṇṭi[20] *tiruvallattu. Tinkaḷamâvâti*[21] *tôrum chellumâṟu kalpichcha chelavu tirukkaṇṇappaṉṉum mâtîvan tiruvaṭikkum tiruvamirtiṉṉari.*[22] ....*namaskâram*.................. : ....*ṉṉum*

pîrkkaṉṉari veñchaṉam uḷpaṭa ari........*yum ârâtikkunnampikku*..........*nel*..........

tinkal uvâvin-tôrum chellumâru kalpichchari. (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, p. 297.)

Tiruvallam, four miles south of Trivandrum, is a place where even now Malayalam mixed with Tamil is spoken, and the above is a sample of the thirteenth century language of Tiruvallam. There is very little Tamil in it. There must be a world of difference between the thirteenth century language of Tiruvallam and Cranganore. Compare the specimens of the Malayalam prose quoted above from the *Lîlatilakam* and the Tiruvallam inscription, both of the thirteenth century, with the language of our copper plate and there is no gainsaying the fact that there is a great deal of difference between the language in them and in Vira Raghava's plate. When we consider this difference, bearing in mind that one of the specimens is from a place where even now a mixture of Tamil and Malayalam is the language, we cannot help concluding that the copper plate is many centuries prior to the thirteenth.

(3) Now let us turn to some of the particular forms found in the document under discussion. This document uses the word *uḷḷa* twice (*Iṭayil Uḷḷata, Chantirâtittiyakaḷuḷḷa*). In the Pârkara Iravi plates also we find *uḷḷa* not *oḷḷa*. In the Tiruvalla temple plates of the

20 *Maṭattu chakki Tiruvâṇṭi* is the name of a person.

21 *Timkaḷamâvâti* is *tinkaḷamâvâsi*.

22 *Tivarumirtiṉṉari* is the reading which is evidently *tiruvamirtiṉṉari*.

time of Pârkara Iravi we find both *uḷḷa* and *oḷḷa* several times. In the Mampalli plate which was written at Quilon in the year 973 A.D. we find the form *oḷḷa* thrice, *uḷḷa* never. (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, p. 236.) In the Kaṇṭiyûr inscription of 946 A.D. we find the word *oḷḷatu* twice. In the Tâṇu Iravi copper plates which were written in the ninth century at Quilon, the word *oḷḷa* is used four times, *uḷḷa* is never used.

In the Tiruvallam inscription of 1143 A.D., the Kûṇamkara inscription of 1196, the Tiruvaṭṭâṟu inscription of 1222, the Kêraḷapuram inscription of 1316, the Chittaral inscription of 1373, we find the form *oḷḷa* invariably. (*Some Early Sovereigns of Travancore* by P. Sundaram Pillai, pp. 66, 70, 74; *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, pp. 296, 298). In Tamil the term is *uḷḷa* not *oḷḷa*. *Oḷḷa* is properly the Malayalam form. In modern Malayalam both forms are used, due to a tendency to bring back the words to their original form. We should bear in mind that Tiruvallam, Kûṇamkarai, Tiruvaṭṭâṟu, Kêraḷapuram and Chittaral are south of Trivandrum and are places where even now Malayalam mixed with Tamil is spoken. In such places also we find the form *oḷḷa* not *uḷḷa* during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The distinct Malayalam form, converting *u* into *o*, came into use in so far south a place as Quilon even during the ninth century, and must have come into use in Cranganore and the adjacent places much before. But in the Vira Raghava copper plate we find only the Tamil form *Uḷḷa*.

(4) Another point to be noted is the use of the word *kuṭuttôm*. The document under consideration uses the form *kuṭuttôm* nine times but never *koṭuttôm*. Râjaśêkhara uses *kuṭukka* three times, *koṭukka* never. The ninth century document of Tiruvalla Middle Travancore uses *kuṭukka* twice. The Quilon inscription (Tâṇu Iravi copper plates) of the ninth century uses *kuṭukka* ten times and *koṭukka* once. Mampalli plate of Quilon dated Ko. 149, *i.e.*, 973 A.D., uses *koṭukka* and *kuṭukka* (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, p. 236). We find the form *koṭukka* thrice and *kuṭukka* never in the Kaviyûr (Middle Travancore) inscription of 951 A.D. The Kûṇamkara inscription of A.D. 1196 and the Kêraḷapuram inscription of 1316 use the form *koṭukka* (*Some Early Sovereigns of Travancore*, pp. 70, 74). Kûṇamkara and Kêraḷapuram are south of Trivandrum. From the eleventh century forward we find the form *koṭukka* invariably. The form *koṭukka* came into use even in such a southern part as Quilon during the ninth century and must have taken the place of *kuṭukka* in such a northern part as Cranganore much before the ninth century. We find the forms *Kuṭuttân* and *koṭuttân* in the Tiruvalla temple plates of the time of Pârkara Iravi. *Kuṭukka* is not at all a Malayalam form, and in modern Tamil it is the colloquial form. Mahâmahôpâdhyâya Swaminatha Iyer of Madras, who is a recognised authority on ancient Tamil literature, assured me that the form *kuṭukka* is invariably found in the ancient Tamil manuscripts, but some other Tamil scholars whom I consulted called this in question. I therefore made a research on this point; and avoided manuscripts as not of great use, for copyists are apt to make corrections according to their ideas of spelling. I, therefore, read a great number of stone and lithic inscriptions in Tamil, many of which do not contain the forms *kuṭukka* or *koṭukka*. I found the form *kuṭukka* in eighty-one Tamil inscriptions invariably, some of them use the word several times. (*Vide Some Early Sovereigns of Travancore*, p. 65. *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 5-9, No. 2, p. 2, No. 3, p. 5, No. 6, pp. 101, 104, 151, 152, No. 8, p. 169, No. 12, p. 189, No. 14, pp. 239, 245, 248, 249, No. 15, pp. 252, 255, 256, 257, 259, 260, 261, 263, 264, 267, 269, 272, 276, 279. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 2, 15, 21, 43, 53, 69, 78, 85, 91, 105, 113, *Ibid*, Part III, pp. 249, 251, 254, 261, 306, 386, *Ibid.*, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 12, 13, 16, 19, 23, 25, 30, 33, 40, 42, 44, 45, 47, 50, 55, 61, 66, 72, 76, 78, 80, 83, 87, 88, 91, 94, 97, 98, 99, 101, 103, 105, 108, 109, 112, 116.

I find only three pure Tamil inscriptions in which the form *koṭukka* is used. One Tanjore inscription dated S. 1368, *i.e.*, A.D. 1446-47, and the Kasukuṭi plates of Nândivarman Pallavamalla (eighth century) use the form *koṭukka* once each (South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II, Part III, pp. 339, 352). We find it again in the Tirukuṟṟâlam plates of Paṇṭya Kulaśêkharadeva Dîkshitar S. 1670, *i.e.*, A.D. 1753 (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, No. VI, p. 150). In fact we find the form *kuṭukka* twice and *koṭukka* once in this record.

From all this we understand that *kuṭukka* was the recognised Tamil form till very lately, but we do not find the form *kuṭukka* in any inscription of the Malabar Coast later than the tenth century. The form *koṭukka*, as is already shown, came into use in Tiruvalla (Middle Travancore) during the time of Parkara Iravi (sixth century) and even in such a southern part as Quilon during the ninth century. It must have come into use in Cranganore very much earlier. We find in our copper plate the form *kuṭukka* not once or twice but nine times.

The above named pieces of linguistic evidence make it abundantly clear that the document under discussion is a very ancient one and that Mr. Venkayya was far wrong in ascribing it to the fourteenth century.

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE SUBJECT-INDEX TO PERIODICALS, 1920 Issued by the Library Association. I. Language and Literature, Pt. I. Classical, Oriental and Primitive. Agents: Messrs. Grafton & Co., 7-8, Coptic Street, W.C. 1; London, 1923.

In this publication, very valuable to scholars, we have 639 entries obtained from the examination of 100 periodicals. Judging from the references to this *Journal*, the association editors have done their work admirably, and I have no hesitation in recommending it to all Indian scholars desirous of knowing where to find what contemporaries are doing in their own line of study.

R. C. TEMPLE.

EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA, Vol. II, Pt. 5. Edited by Don Martino de Z. Wickremasinghe. Govt. of Ceylon: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, London.

This part contains six inscriptions, some of them of much interest and value. It is admirably edited, with fine plates, in the style inaugurated by the late Dr. J. F. Fleet for his Indian inscriptions.

No. 34, the Dimbulâgala Mârâ-vîdiye Inscription is a new edition based on fresh material brought by Mr. H. C. P. Bell. Don M. Wickremasinghe points out that it "belongs to Queen Sundara-mahâdevî and *not* to the reign of Jayabâhu as Mr. Bell contends, for the simple reasons that Jaya-bâhu was no longer living when the inscription was indited." The Editor then naturally proceeds to discuss "the anomaly of dating from the coronation of a deceased king, the first of its kind yet known in Sinhalese chronology," and gives his reasons for asserting that it was really a record of Queen Sundara Mahâdevî's time.

No. 35, the Ambagamuva Rock-inscription of Vijaya-Bahu I (1058-1114 A.D.). Here again Mr. H. C. P. Bell comes to the fore. This inscription of this great monarch is gone into at length and "the principal events of Vijaya-bahu's career" are fixed after consideration also of the literature on the subject.

No. 36, the Polonnaruva Slab-inscription of Sâhasa-Malla is of great importance as "the earliest yet come to light" with a definite date in the Bauddha Era: dated "Wednesday, 1743 years, 3 months and 27 days of the Buddhavarsa," most probably Wednesday, 23rd August 1200 A.D., thus fixing the initial at 544 B.C. On this assumption much important history can be built up.

No. 38, the Polonnaruva Ânaulundâya Slab-Inscription (Reg. No. 1) is of great interest, for it refers, as Dr. L. D. Barnett has assisted in pointing out, to the Kanarese "guild of merchants called Vîra-Banañju or Vîra-Vaḷañjiyar," and thus in showing that they extended their trade to Ceylon in the twelfth century A.D.

No. 39, the Polonnaruva Pot-Gul Vehara Inscription, very difficult of access, the Editor thinks belong to Lîlâvatî, the widow of Parakkamabahu between 1197-1200 A.D.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE LIBRARY SYSTEM OF THE BARODA STATE. By NEWTON M. DUTT, Curator of Libraries, Baroda State. 3rd edition, Baroda, 1924.

This little pamphlet of 45 pages relates the story of a remarkable achievement, as "H. H. the

Maharaja Gaekwar is the first ruler in India to introduce free and compulsory primary education" and "the first to establish free state-aided libraries throughout his dominions." The Library department was established in 1911.

The next interesting part of the scheme is the establishment of organized travelling libraries, by which "all libraries coming under the scheme are entirely free to all persons, young and old, rich and poor, of every caste and creed." The Central Library contains about 100,000 volumes, 20,000 of them from the Maharaja's own private Library and about 20,000 more volumes in the "travelling library section." It contains also the largest circulating library in India, the circulation in 1923 being about 97,000 volumes, exclusive of 6,000 volumes circulated in Baroda City from the travelling library. There is also a Children's Library which lent over 4,000 volumes in 1923, and further, a valuable thing in India, a Mahila (Ladies') Branch Library. A separate Sanskrit Library, a collection of rare MSS. and *The Gaekwad's Oriental Series* for publishing them complete, an institution which is more than a credit to its originator and the Baroda State.

The account of the establishment of District and Village Libraries is very interesting and the facts "that 598 libraries and 91 reading rooms have been established in villages," and that "39 of the more ambitious villages have even erected library buildings," speak volumes for the progress of education in a Native State in India.

R. C. TEMPLE.

RAJENDRA, THE GANGAIKONDA CHOLA. By S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, PH.D. Oxford University Press.

In this pamphlet, reprinted from the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. II, Part III, September, 1923, we have another of Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar's illuminating studies in the history of the Tamils. Rajêndra Chola, who reigned from 1011 to c. 1042 A.D., was one of the great Chola sovereigns and succeeded his father Râja Râja, another great sovereign, as an independent monarch, about 1015 A.D. He did great things for his dynasty and received, among other titles, that of the Gangaikônda Chola, the Chola that took the Ganges. What his exploits were and how he came by this title is the task that Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar has set himself to unearth from inscriptions and literature, performing it with the skill and knowledge that we are now accustomed to expect from him. The task is an important one for the student of South Indian history.

The Professor sets out by showing that the marriage by Râja Râja of his daughter Kundavvai to the Eastern Chalukya, Vimalâditya, was of the first importance to his line. Bit by bit, in the course of a reign of 30 years or more, 985 to c. 1015 A.D., Râja Râja enlarged his dominion till its northern boundary was "the Tungabhadra till it joins the Krishna, and took into it territory along an irregular frontier proceeding northwards from somewhere near Karnûl to the frontiers of Orissa." From this frontier his son Râjêndra started on his long career of conquest, having been associated with his predecessor as heir-apparent, and having "actually done the work of conquest for his father."

So when he started on his own account he was no novice at the work. His first efforts brought him into touch with the Western Chalukyas, whose ruler Jayasiṁha he defeated, having apparently been in Ceylon and Malabar in the interval. All this takes us to his tenth year. In his twelfth year conquests are claimed for him up to the Ganges and across the Bay of Bengal. By his thirteenth year a number of places are mentioned as having fallen to him, and among other rulers he captured Indraratha at Jatinagara and defeated Dharmapâla of Daṇḍabhukti, Raṇasûra of Dakshina Lâḍa, Gôvindachandra of Bengal and Oṭṭamayipâla of Uṭṭara Lâda, and thus reached the Ganges. About this time he sent a fleet of ships "into the middle of the Ocean against Sangrâma Vijayôttunga Varma, King of Kaḍâram and captured him. He took, across the seas, Srî Vijaya, and many other places in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra. Professor Krishnaswami sets about identifying these personages and places with conspicuous knowledge.

By his first campaign Râjêndra "had secured his position both in the South, in his rear," and "along a somewhat irregular frontier extending from the region of Central India to Dhârwâr in the south of the Bombay Presidency." He then set to work to conquer Kalingam and territories across the Bay of Bengal. His capture of "Indraratha of the dynasty of the moon," and of the places mentioned in connection with that monarch took Râjêndra Chola to the modern Central India and beyond Orissa. The Professo then shows that the two Lâḍas represent the two divisions of Râdha in Bengal; that is, Dakshina Lâḍa was Midnapur and Uttara Lâḍa was Bardhwân. Next the Professor makes the important identification of Dandabhukti with Bihâr, the conquest of which brought Râjêndra to the Ganges itself.

Having secured his route to the sea by the conquest of Orissa and part of Lower Bengal, Râjêndra Chola launched his expedition overseas from Pâlûr near Gôpâlpûr, as above said, against Sangrâma Vijayôttunga Varman of Kaḍâram, which the Professor identifies with the River "Katrea on the North Coast of Sumatra" *i.e.*,

Kerti, near Achîn: Śrî Vijaya he identifies with Palembang to the South-West of the Island. And finally he shows that the expedition against Kadâram was undertaken because the expansion of the Palembang State brought it into hostility with the overseas possession of the Cholas. These possessions seem to have been retained by them, until some time in the reign of another great Chola monarch, Kulôttunga. Incidentally, in the course of his illuminating remarks on these expeditions, Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar identifies many old names, including Mânakkavâram with the Nicobar Islands.

Such is a summary of the Professor's researches into the military proceedings of Râjêndra Chola, but it will repay scholars to read carefully how he arrives at his conclusions. Incidentally his remarks show that some of the mediæval Indian rulers led anything but quiet lives.

Râjêndra had many titles. Among them was that of Mudikôṇḍa Chola, the Chola who took crown-jewels, still perpetuated in many place-names. So is that of Gangaikôṇḍa Chola, already explained. He had also a third well-known title, Paṇḍita Chola, the Chola who was the patron of learning. The last two appellations have a bearing on his character as an administrator. He cleverly used the Ganges water collected in his Northern conquests in establishing a magnificent irrigation tank, round which people were induced to settle because of the sacred water he had poured into it He also caused an educational institution to be established for the acquisition of religious knowledge with fourteen professors attached to it, who had definite salaries provided from a settled fund. There were other foundations of a like nature in his reign.

This care for education was carried on through the eleventh century A.D. by Râjêndra's successors, Râjâdhirâja and Vira Râjêndra. The first founded a similar theological college and the latter another of the same kind, attached to which was a hostel for students and a hospital of fifteen beds, one surgeon, two men servants, two female nurses and a ward servant. All this is gleaned from inscriptions, which thus show their value if read with intelligence.

Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar has thus once again proved that Indian scholars are taking the vast collection of epigraphic remains of their country into serious consideration, and are gradually building up the history of the mediæval rulers, to show the present and coming generations what manner of men they were and what they looked on as works worthy to be done for their country. In this way the labours of many scholars over a long period, in making available to the, student what is otherwise a mass of uninteresting and unintelligible forgotten names collected together, is being utilised to invaluable historical purpose.

R. C. TEMPLE.

JOURNAL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Vol. III, Pt. I. December 1923. Longmans, Green & Co., Calcutta.

This issue contains, as usual, some important articles, worth the attention of all Indian scholars. It commences with "Documents of the Seventeenth Century, British India, in the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane." This is unquestionably a very valuable piece of work on a difficult subject—difficult because of the arrangement of Papers relating to the East Indies in the Public Record Office. The searcher, without this article to his hand, would have to search first in the Colonial Series—East Indies, in the Domestic State Papers, and in the State Papers—Foreign; and even then he would have to know what he was about in a way open to few. This means that the Public Record Office is largely shut to the searcher for information about India; *experto crede*. But there is a great deal useful to him in that Office nevertheless.

The paper before us, however, goes deeply into the question. It tells us all about the "Colonial Office Records, East Indies, now C. O. 77," the Colonial Entry-Books, the State Papers, Domestic, as they relate to India, State Papers, Foreign, of the same nature, and about a large collection of State Papers, Miscellaneous (Domestic and Foreign). Then there are Records of Parliament and Council (Privy Council, Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, *i.e.*, Oliver Cromwell), the Legal Records (Chancery Proceedings, with a very valuable list of defendants when the East India Company was plaintiff): Admiralty Court Records and Navy Board Records, Exchequer (K.R.)—Port Books, Board of Customs and Excise, Treasury Records including Accounts (Declared Accounts, Audit Office). Finally there is an Appendix giving a list of the published Calendars of Records and Uncalendared Intervals. It would be hard to find a more important compendium for scholars and searchers.

The next paper is a continuation of the important "Place-Names in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, by Mr. Paul Whalley, late of the B. C. S." This is followed by an interesting correspondence on the "Stone Elephant at Ajmere [*sic*]" between Mr. H. Beveridge and Prof. P. B. Joshi, and an even more interesting paper on Indian Education in the Seventh Century A.D., being I-tsing's account in 672-688 A.D., by Prof. R. K. Mookerji.

Then Sayyad Iftikhar Husain Saheb gives the story of Haji Sayyad Shah Waris 'Ali of Dewa, near Bara Banki. He was a Husaini Sayyad, born in or about 1819, and influenced "the religious conceptions and ideals of an incredibly large

number of human beings." He was by birth, as it were, a Sufi Saint. "It was an ancient practice among the Sufis to seek annihilation in one of the Divine attributes which coloured the whole of their existence and became its predominant feature. The attribute in question involves the annihilation of self and the true recognition of the everlasting nature of the Deity." The attribute concerned with Haji Waris 'Ali was the name Waris, "one of the ninety-nine names of God (as used in the Koran) and indicating that after everything else has perished, He alone will survive." Here we have the key to this Saint's life.

He was initiated into Sufiism by his brother-in-law, Haji Sayyad Khadim 'Ali Shah of Lucknow, to whose mantle he succeeded at eleven years of age, and by the age of fourteen he had a number of disciples. At fifteen he started for Mecca, and quite in his youth he became a Darvesh. He then travelled for twelve years all over Western Asia, and in Europe to Turkey, Russia and Germany, but there is no record of the journeys. In Europe he is said to have been received by the Sultan 'Abdu'l-Majid at Constantinople and by Bismarck in Berlin. Altogether he made seven pilgrimages to Mecca and wandered always, returning to Dewa permanently only in 1899, when 80 years of age—a celibate ascetic all his life, which lasted till 1905.

There are many tales and doubtless some legends told of this remarkable Sufi Saint of our own time, but the interest in his biographer's account of him lies in the Sufiism exhibited by Haji Waris 'Ali. To describe this, he enters into a very brief history of the Sufis which is worth reading for the novelty of the views expressed. He apparently denies their want of orthodoxy, and then he goes on: "Sufiism is really a practical philosophy with an ethical side. In order to obtain a real insight into it, it is essential to go through certain exercises and observances. Hence the need for a spiritual preceptor or 'Shaikh' as the Sufis call him." Here the writer gives us a remarkable footnote: "The word [*Shaikh*] should not be mixed up with the popular caste-name"—another instance of the power of the *Hindu* idea of caste in India. The biographer then describes the fall of the Shaikhs from their original high moral position, till they "trade on the credulity of the popular mind and offer to give you a passport to Heaven if you can pledge your faith to them!" But all this does not create a bad system, and it is contended that in Haji Waris 'Ali one finds a man "who knows God as he ought to be known."

Of the three great Sufi schools in India—the Qadiriya, the Chishtiya, and Naqshbandiya, Haji Waris 'Ali belonged to the first two. "The key-note of his system was Divine and Universal Love." Again: "The Sufis claim that the eternal order of the universe is based on love. It may, therefore, be set down that the deeper a man's love of God, the greater is his spiritual knowledge in proportion." Here we have the teaching of Haji Waris 'Ali. In this doctrine he became "effaced from self," even to the point of becoming "effaced from effacement"—the old Indian Hindu doctrine of reaching to Nothing, to the Nothing that exists as a reality. On his path of progress Haji Waris 'Ali passed through the several stages of spiritual progression till he reached *tawakkul*, complete dependence on God and *taslimu-raza*, resignation to his will.

Unfortunately he disliked long discourses and has left no systematic teaching behind him: only certain precepts and not many of them. His teaching, however, illustrated certain Sufi doctrines: "God alone has a real existence; everything else is 'non ens,'" and "the seat of God is not Heaven: you should look for him among yourselves," reversing thus the doctrine, "All is God" by making it, "God is all." The Haji had his own way of publicly admitting applicants to the Order—admitting all alike, men and women of every shade of thought and of every religion, with a different formula for different faiths, and he encouraged non-Muslims to follow their own faith "with greater zeal and sincerity."

His disciples were in two classes—those who embraced the ascetic life and those who did not, while adopting his doctrine. Of the last class there were very many, even from distant parts of Europe. He was, like all Sufis, practically accused of heterodoxy, a charge largely based on his acceptance of all religions into his fold. At the same time, miraculous actions are attributed to him. By his own wish he had no successor.

The great pity of the life of this great man is that he left no real "Word" behind him, but we are told that "an excellent treatise explaining his mystic doctrine has been published by an old disciple (? in Urdu), Mirza Ibrahim Beg Shaida of Lucknow, under the title of *Minhaju'l Ishqia fi Irshadat Warisiya*." Now, the reason I have dealt with this article at length is that it is very important for English and European students to have an authoritative account of modern Sufiism before them, and I much hope that a correct translation of the treatise will be forthcoming. The issue winds up with one of Mr. W. H. Moreland's excellent accounts of early European trade in India—this time on the operations of the Dutch East India Company, from the W. Geleynssen de Jongh Collection in the Public Record Office at the Hague. This collection throws invaluable "sidelights on life in Agra, 1637-39," and Mr. Moreland's method has further illuminated it.

R. C TEMPLE.

22. The Brahman and his Guru.

(Told by Hira Halwâi and recorded by Bhagwân Prasâd, Nizâmâbâd, Azamgarh District.)

There was once a Brahman who was initiated by his Guru, and he asked him to give him a Mantra, which none but himself could know. So the Guru whispered the usual Mantra into the ear of his disciple and departed.

Soon after the Brahman went to bathe at Benares, and hearing many other pilgrims reciting the same Mantra, he thought that his Guru had deceived him. So he went to him and charged him with trickery. The Guru was wroth and said :

" Take this scrap of paper and put it at the root of a Banyan tree and bring me whatever you find there."

The disciple did as he was ordered, and found a small ball. He brought it to his Guru, who said :

" Take this to the bazar and sell it ; but whoever buys it must give all his wealth in exchange."

He took it to several shops, but no one would buy it on such terms. At last he came to a goldsmith, who saw that it was of wondrous value and gave all his wealth in exchange for it. When he opened it, the whole of his house was filled with a marvellous light, and the king, thinking that the moon had come down, went there with his troops. The goldsmith was afraid, and buried the ball in the ground ; and when the king saw that the light was quenched, he went away. Then the goldsmith called the Brahman and said :—

" Take away your ball. I am afraid to keep it any longer."

The Brahman went back to the Guru, who said :—

" This is like the Mantra which I gave you. It has wondrous powers, which none but I know. Go in peace."

The Brahman fell at his feet and worshipped him.

23. The Biter Bit.

(Told by Ajudhya Prasâd Dube of Bhonpapur, Benares District.)

There was once a very poor Brahman, who was sore pressed to marry his daughter. Having no means, he decided to go to the Râja and see if he could make something towards the marriage expenses. The porters at the Râja's gate would not let him enter ; so he asked them to show him the house of the Râja's Pandit. The Pandit was at his prayers ; but when he came out and learnt what the Brahman wanted, he said :—" There is no use in your going before the Râja unless you can answer the questions he puts. Now what learning do you possess ? " The Brahman was obliged to admit that he was an ignorant man. So the Pandit said, " If you cannot say anything else, say, when you are addressed, " *Dharm ki jay, Pâp ki chhai* " (*i.e.*, " Victory to Religion and Ruin to Vice.")

When they came to the court, the Râja asked the Brahman to recite some verses, and all he could say was :—" *Dharm ki jay, Pâp ki chhai.*" The Râja could understand this, which he could never do when his own Pandit spoke : so he was pleased and gave the Brahman a thousand rupees. As he was going away, the Pandit asked him for half the gift, and when he refused, the Pandit went straight to the Râja and told him what an impostor the Brahman was.

The Râja said nothing ; but next day when the Brahman came to court, he gave him a scrap of paper and said :—" Take this to my Treasurer and he will give you your reward." Now on the paper was written—" Cut off this rascal's nose."

As the Brahman was walking to the Treasury, he met the Pandit, who demanded his share. Said the Brahman, "I fear the Treasurer. You go and get this money, and then we will divide it." When the Treasurer read the message, he cut off the Pandit's nose, despite all his protestations. Next day, when the Râja sent again for the Brahman he was surprised to see him unhurt. When he heard the story and sent for the Pandit, all he could say was "*Dharm ki jay, Pâp ki chhai.*"

So the Râja dismissed the Pandit from his service, and appointed the Brahman Pandit in his place.

24. The Craft of the Barber.

(Told by Pandit Chandrasekhara, Zilla School, Cawnpore.)

There was once an old Mahâjan who was a widower, blind, deaf and lame, and he had no son. One day he called his chief agent and said :—"I am very anxious to marry again and have an heir. If you can arrange this, I will reward you handsomely."

Now in that village lived a very cunning barber, to whom the agent went and said, "If you can arrange a wife for the Lâlaji, you will receive two hundred rupees, and be appointed also his family barber." Delighted with this offer, the barber went to a village some way off, where lived a number of Banias. "There is," said he, "a wealthy Mahâjan who is my client, and I am off to Ujjain to find a bride for him." Hearing this, the Banias began to think there was a chance of profit, and so they came to him and said :—"Worthy barber! why should we send you to Ujjain? Perchance the marriage can be arranged nearer home, and if you could bring it about, we would make it worth your while."

The barber raised sundry objections, till they gave him a handsome present, when he agreed to marry his client to the daughter of one of them. Now he knew they would be asking all sorts of questions about the bridegroom, which he could not safely answer. So he pretended to be very hungry, and when the women took him inside and began to feed and question him, he stuffed his mouth full of rice, so that he could not talk properly. Said one woman to him :—"How old is the youth?" "Twenty, twenty, twenty," said he. "Does he care about seeing nautches?" asked a second. "He sees nobody but himself," said the barber. "Does he care for singing?" asked a third. "He never listens to anyone," said the barber. "Has he a conveyance?" asked a fourth. "He never moves anywhere without a conveyance" was his reply.

The barber then left. When the marriage procession arrived and they saw what the bridegroom was like, they seized the barber and cried, "What a lying rogue you are!". But he replied, "If you think well, you will find that I never deceived you. When I was asked his age, I said "twenty" three times, which makes sixty. I said he never looked at dances or listened to singing, by which, of course, I meant that he was blind and deaf, and when I said that he never moved without a conveyance, you might have understood that he was lame."

But they would not listen to his excuses, and drove him and the procession out of their village.

25. The Affliction of Devi.

(Told by Râm Sahai and recorded by Siu Darsan Sinh, schoolmaster, Aurai, Fatehpur District.)

There were once a Bania and a Lodha in a certain village, and neither of them had a son. So they went to the shrine of Devi, and the Bania vowed that if a son were born unto him, he would offer a gold *mohur*, and the Lodha promised a buffalo as his offering. In due time

by the grace of Devi a son was born to each of them. After the children were named, the Bania and the Lodha went to the shrine with their friends, beating drums and making merry. The Mali, who was the priest of the shrine, thought to himself—" To-day for certain we shall get two valuable offerings." The Bania went in first, and after making a prayer touched the image with a gold *mohur*. Then he took it up, and coming home to his wife, said—" This is a blessed coin. Tie it round the neck of our son, and he will be safe from the attacks of demons and the Evil Eye."

The Lodha, when he went in, also prayed. Then he tied his buffalo by the neck-rope to the image of the goddess and came home. The Mali was well pleased, but just as he was going to loose the beast, it jumped and made a rush for home, and dragged the image by the rope along the ground to the door of the Lodha's house. Just then Mahadeva came up and, seeing the goddess in this wretched plight, asked her what had happened. She answered—" This is the result of conferring blessings on the base. The Bania robbed me of the offering, and this rascally Lodha has caused me to be dragged through the thorns and disgraced." So Mahadeva appeased her, and carried her off to his seat on Mount Kailasa, and there he comforted her.

26. The Age of Man.

(Told by Kâzi Waqar-ullah and recorded by Faizullah, schoolmaster, Budaun.)

On the day of Creation Allah called all creatures into his presence and began to allot their ages on the earth. First came the Ass, and Allah said, " Thy age shall be forty years." Next came the Owl, and to him the same age was given. And so with the Dog. Last came Man, and to him Allah said, " Thy age shall be forty years."

The Man said—" O Almighty Father, Thou hast made me lord of all thy creatures and thou hast fixed forty years as the space of my life. In twenty years I shall gain maturity. Twenty years will be spent in acquiring wisdom and knowledge. What time is then left in which I may do thee service ? "

In the meantime the Ass came into the presence of Allah crying bitterly and said : " O Lord, Thou hast given me an age of forty years. To me has been allotted the duty of carrying bricks and mortar and the foul raiment of men. My food is only the scraps of dry grass I pick up on the wayside, and my master has been allowed to thrash me with a club and torment me in various ways. How shall I be able to bear such hardship for the space of forty years ? Of thy mercy reduce the span of my years." Allah said to his *Peshkar*—" Lessen the age of this creature by twenty years and give it to Man, who claims that the allotted span of his age is too small."

Then the Dog came into the Presence and said—" O Lord, Thou hast fixed my age at forty years, and thou hast given as my food dead animals and all kinds of carrion and the leavings of men. My business is to lie awake at night, and by day to watch the person and property of my master. How can I pass such a length of time in affliction like this ? I pray thee reduce my age. Allah said to the *Peshkar*—" Reduce the age of this creature by twenty years and add them to the age of Man, who prays that his life be increased." And it was so.

Then came the Owl into the Presence and said—" Almighty Lord, my age has been fixed at forty years. But it has been ordained that my presence in any house is ill-omened. Hence men will ever hate and curse me and abuse me. How can I pass such a long time in this misery ? I pray thee shorten my life." And Allah said to his *Peshkar*—" Take twenty years from his life and add it to that of Man, who says that his age is too short." And it was so.

Thus the limit of man's age was fixed at one hundred years; and all the animals came down to this mortal world. This is the reason why up to the age of forty years Man is a man indeed, active and vigorous, courageous and vigilant. After that, for the space of twenty years he is as an ass, idle and slothful and content with what he can get. Then for twenty years he is as a dog, weak in strength and sharp of tongue. He is easily provoked to anger and greedy for everything he sees. After that he acquires the faculties of an owl. His eyes become weak and, as his teeth drop, he speaks in a croaking voice. He loses his power of hearing and sits silent in the house, blinking at his friends, who hate and curse him and long for the day of his death.

27. The Founding of the Dom Kingdom of Gorakhpur.

(Told by Khâdim Husain, village schoolmaster, Dulhipur, Benares District.)

There was once a Râja in Benares, who had no child, and he grieved much on that account. One day a Fakîr came to his palace and begged alms. The Râja gave him much money, and when the Fakir asked what boon the Râja desired in return, the latter said, "Pray that I may have a child."

By and by, through God's grace, the Râni had a daughter. The Râja called the Pandits to draw her horoscope, and when he asked them to explain it to him, they said, "We cannot tell you one thing." But on his insisting that they should tell him, they said, "Your daughter will marry the son of Raghu the Dom."

The Râja sent at once for the Dom boy and had him exposed in the jungle, which swarmed with beasts of prey. As the boy sat alone, the tree above him said, "Dig here, and you will find a treasure." So he dug there and found an underground palace, filled with the treasures of seven kings. He stayed there for some time and then returned to Benares with an army. The Râja, who knew him not, was afraid of his power and gave him his daughter in wedlock. On the wedding night the bride discovered that the prophecy had been fulfilled and that she was the wife of a Dom. So the old Râja drove out his son-in-law, and he went with his force and wealth to Gorakhpur, and there he founded the well-known Dom kingdom.

28. Alexander and the Sea People.

(Told and recorded by Sheikh Waliullah, Mulla of Sahaswan, Budaun District.)

When Alexander had subdued all the people of the world, he desired to conquer also the people of the sea, and he enquired of Aristotle how this could be done. Aristotle, after many days' reflection, came to the king and said :—"My advice is this. Have a palace built on the shore of the sea, and collect a party of the loveliest maidens of the earth and make them live there. Let them go daily to the shore and sing the sweetest songs, and order them to treat with the utmost kindness any who come from the sea, be they men, beasts, demons or angels."

Alexander did as Aristotle advised; and when the maidens came to the palace, they used daily to sit and sing by the shore of the sea. One day they suddenly saw a head appearing above the surface of the water. As long as they continued to sing, the head remained above the water; when they ceased, it sank beneath the waves. In appearance it was as the head of an ape. Day by day the head came nearer to the shore. At last, when the sea-man saw that there was nought to fear, he came on land and sat beside them. So he came and went as he pleased and none forbade him. He lived and ate there and chose the loveliest of the girls to stay with him; and in due course a child was born to them. And the man of the sea loved his son dearly, and he used to dive into the water and bring precious stones and jewels, such

as man never saw, from his treasure beneath the waves. He also taught him the speech of the people of the sea, and his mother taught him that of the people of the land. And the boy would often go with his father and visit the kingdom of the sea.

When Alexander heard what had happened, he came to the palace and rewarded the boy and his mother with costly gifts. Then he consulted Aristotle on what was next to be done. Aristotle went to the girl and asked her to request her husband to take her king to the kingdom of the sea. "If he refuses," said Aristotle, "the king of the land will slay thee and thy son." When the man of the sea heard this, he agreed to the order of Alexander. He came next day with a boat, and placed in it Alexander, Aristotle, his wife and son. Then the boat sank in the water, and they landed in the kingdom of the sea. There he showed them all the wonders, and Alexander ordered the boy to write a letter to the king of the sea, which he sent by the man of the sea. When the king of the sea saw the boy and read the letter, he was much pleased and told him to bring his king to his court.

So Alexander went with the boy to the king of the sea, who received them with the utmost respect and seated Alexander on a throne equal to his own, and said to him—"O Alexander! You are now my guest. I will do what pleases you. But is the income of the land too small that you desire tribute from me?" Then he said—"I will give you this little box of wood. If you can fill it with anything, I will own that I am bound to give you tribute. If you fail, you must return to your kingdom as you came."

Alexander returned to the land and told Aristotle to fill the box with something. Aristotle put into it all the things which the world contained, but still it remained empty. All the wise men of the earth tried with all their skill to fill the box, but they failed. So Alexander and Aristotle returned to the king of the sea and admitted that they could not fill the box. The king of the sea said—"Return to your own land and speak not again of levying tribute from me."

As he was going, Alexander said—"Pray tell me now of what this box is made and how it can be filled." The king of the sea said—"This box is made of the eye of covetousness. Nought but the dust of the grave can fill it."

Alexander and Aristotle were abashed and returned to their own land.

29. The dream of the Sadhu.

(Told by Gokul Sinh Thakur of Nârâyanpur, Cawnpore District.)

A certain Sadhu was wandering about begging, and reached a village just as a grand marriage procession was passing. Seeing the bride and the rejoicings, the Sadhu thought to himself:—"After all, the lot of the married man is the best." And with that he fell asleep on the edge of a well. He dreamed that he was married and had a lovely wife, and that when he called her she came and sat on his bed. Whereupon he cried, "What insolence to sit on my bed," and gave her a slap in the face. At that moment the Sadhu fell into the well and the people had much ado to fish him out with a rope. "After all," said the Sadhu, "the life of the unmarried man is best."

30. The Mulla and the Boors.

(Told by Nârâyan Das and recorded by Rahmatulla, schoolmaster, Baksiya, Budaun District.)

One day a Mulla went to preach in a rude village. "To-morrow," said he, "Ramzan Sharif will come and you must all fast." The rough villagers were much put out at this, and next day, when a stray camel with a young one entered the village, they cried:—"Here is that rascal Ramzan Sharif. Let us kill and eat him." The following day the Mulla returned and seeing them eating meat, asked them what they meant by it. They replied:—"We killed that scoundrel Ramzan and are eating him." Said the Mulla:—"*La haulawa la*

quvvata illahi'l lahi" (There is no strength or power save in God). "Never mind," said they, "we killed the brute *La haula* with its mother." The Mulla gave up teaching them their duty as a bad job.

31. The Liar tricked.

(*Told by Kedarnâth Kayasth and recorded by Jang Bahadur Sinh, Basitnagar, Hardoi District.*)

There was once a man who was a noted liar. One of the villagers happened to say that his house was too small for his family. Said the liar :—"My grandfather's house was so big that it would hold the whole village." No one replied to this, except an old man, who remarked :—"My father's spear was so long that whenever he pleased, he used to pierce the clouds with it and cause the rain to fall." "And where did he keep such a long spear as that," asked the liar. "In the house of your grandfather," was the answer.

32. Honesty is the best policy.

(*Told by M. Durga Prasâd Bhârgava, Banda.*)

A Brahman, who had a grown-up daughter, was so hard pressed to procure money for her marriage that he broke by night into the palace of the Râja. Entering a room, he saw a box full of jewels, but when he seized it, his conscience reproved him, and he laid it down. He entered another room, where he found more valuables, but again he left them untouched. At last he came into a room where the Râja lay asleep on a couch, with a monkey squatting on guard with a drawn sword in its hand. As soon as the monkey saw the shadow of the Brahman fall on the Râja, it raised the sword and would have slain the Râja, had not the Brahman seized the weapon and killed it.

Then the Brahman wrote the following couplet in Sanskrit on the wall of the room :—

Pandita shatru bhalo na murkha hitkârka
Bandro nahdapi Râja Bipra choure na rakshita.

i.e., "It is better to have a learned man for an enemy than an illiterate man for a friend. If a monkey be even a Râja, and a Brahman a thief, they should not be protected."

When the Raja awoke next morning and saw the dead monkey and the verses written on the wall, he was amazed and called on all his learned men to interpret the mystery. But they failed. So he issued a proclamation that anyone who could explain it should be liberally rewarded. At last the Brahman appeared and explained the matter, and the Râja dismissed him with a royal present.

33. The tale of Nobody.

(*Told by Râm Gharib Chaube.*)

There was once a woman, whose husband went away to a far country, and during his absence she took another man as her lover. Whenever she spoke of this man to her little boy, she called him "Na koi"—"Mr. Nobody." After a time the husband returned, and he called his child and asked him whether anyone had been visiting his mother in his absence. He replied :—"Na koi used to come." At which the fool was satisfied.

Hence they repeat the following verse :—

Na koi jâta tha, na koi âta tha,
Na koi god men lekar khelâta tha.

i.e., "Nobody came and Nobody went : Nobody used to take me on his knee and play with me."

[The old tale of Outis and the Cyclops.—W. CROOKE.]

34. The old woman and Satan.

(*Told by Abdulla Julaha of Man, Azamgarh District, and recorded by Pandit Jadunandan Lâl.*)

An old woman, who was barren and was very anxious to have a child, used to visit every Fakir and wiseacre whom she heard of. One day, while on her way to another village, she saw an old woman sitting by the roadside. Now this old woman was Satan (may he be

stoned!) in disguise. The old woman approached Satan and explained her case. Satan replied: "Make water in that well over there, and you will have a child." The old woman said:—"I cannot do this, because the water of this well is used by mankind for drinking and bathing." "Very well," said Satan, "there is no other way: and if you do not do as I advise you, you will have neither chick nor child." At length the old woman yielded to Satan's advice. When she had done so, a terrible flame rose from the well, the glare of which mounted to the heavens. Her eyes were dazzled and she called to the Almighty to deliver her. Then she returned to the old woman who had given her the advice, but could not see her anywhere. To an old man who happened to be standing near she said:—"Babaji, where is the old woman who was sitting here just now?" He laughed and answered:—"That was not a woman, but His Holiness Satan himself. He wished to test your honesty and virtue: and now you will have neither son nor daughter."

When the old woman's husband heard what she had done, he divorced her. She then said:—*Gaye donon jahân se, na idhar ke hue, na udhar ke hue*, "I have been ruined in this world and the next. I am neither on this side nor on that."

35. The Pandit and the Rakshasa.

(*Told by Beni Mâdho Pandit of Hargâm, Sîtapur, and recorded by Kunj Bihâri Lâl, Hargâm School.*)

A Râkshasa and a Râkshasi once lived in a forest near a certain city. One day the Râkshasi said to her husband, "I long for the flesh of a man." The Râkshasa promised to fetch her some soon, and so went to the court of the Râja, dressed as a learned Brahman, and said:—"I will ask a question. If any Pandit of the Court fails to answer it, he must die; and if I fail to answer, I will kill myself."

The Râja agreed, and the Râkshasa then asked the meaning of the following words:—

Na panch Mi na panch Si
Panch Mi aur panch Si.

None of the Pandits could answer this, and the Râja gave them a week to think over it. Only one day remained and still they had not solved the riddle. The Râkshasa used to attend the court daily and go home in the evening. Finally, one of the Pandits, despairing of life, followed the Râkshasa and overheard him talking to his wife. Said she: "You have been a long time getting me the flesh of a man, and now there is little hope left." So he told her about the riddle, and she asked him for the answer. For a long time he would not tell her, but at last, when she pressed him hard, he said:—

> "In the Hindu fortnight there are 15 days. Of these five end in *Mi*, the *Panchami* (5th), *Saptami* (7th), *Ashtami* (8th), *Naumi* (9th) and *Dasmi* (10th). Five end in *Si*; the *Ekadasi* (11th), *Duâdasi* (12th), *Triyodasi* (13th), *Chaturdasi* (14th) and *Purnamasi* (full moon day). The five which have neither *Mi* nor *Si* for their ending are the *Parîva* (1st), *Dvîj* (2nd), *Tîj* (3rd), *Chaturthi* (4th) and *Shashti* (6th)."

The Pandit, having heard this, returned home, and when the Râkshasa received the correct answer, he was confounded and killed himself on the spot. The Râja then had the Râkshasi put to death.

[This story is somewhat on the lines of the English "Tom Tit Tot" and Grimm's "Rumpelstiltskin."—W. CROOKE.]

36. How the pious ploughman escaped death.

(*Told by Sayyid Khâdim Husani, Benares District.*)

There was once a very pious man who fell into poverty and was obliged at last to work as a ploughman. While at work, he used to keep a copy of the Holy Koran at the side of the field, so that he could read a line or two as he came to the end of each furrow. One

day an astrologer passed by and said to his comrade :—" This man is doubtless very pious : but if he is not married within a week, he will die." When the pious man heard this, he was dismayed, and having tethered his oxen went about the place, crying, " For the love of God, will anyone give me his daughter to wife and save my life." For some time none would agree : but at last the pious daughter of a merchant consented to marry him for the love of God.

So they were married, and in the middle of the night the bridegroom said to his wife :—" I have been in such fear of my approaching death that I have not eaten aught to-day. Rise and get me some food, lest I die." So she got up and cooked for him some of the wedding rice, and just as it was ready, a beggar came by and asked for alms. The pious man, though starving himself, gave him the food, and the Fakir blessed him in the following words :—

" May you live a year for every grain of rice you have given me ! "

And so it turned out ; for he lived to a great old age.

[This story resembles one of the incidents in the life of Raja Harischandra.—W. CROOKE.]

37. True Love.

(*Told by Pandit Nârâyan Das of Kangra and recorded by Râm Gharib Chaube.*)

A woman was walking along the road and saw a man following her. She asked him what he wanted, and he said :—" I have fallen in love with you." She replied :—" My sister, who is much prettier than I am, is behind me." So he went back and saw the sister, and lo ! she was very ill-favoured. So he ran back to the first woman and said :—" You lied unto me." And she answered :—" Nay, you lied unto me. Had you truly loved me, you would not have gone after the other."

38. How the Pandit was taught to lie.

(*Told by M. Gaurishankar Lâl, Unao.*)

A Pandit was on his way to give a recitation of the sacred *Bhâgavata Purâna*, when he met the Kali Yuga or Iron Age on the road, who asked him whither he was going. When the Pandit told him and asked him to join the audience, he said :—" I care not for such meetings : but if you wish to please me, tell one good lie in the course of the service."

The Pandit was a very pious man and could not bring himself to tell a lie. So, just as he was going home, the Kali Yuga in the guise of a dancing girl's musician appeared, and when the people asked what such a low fellow as he wanted at a religious service, he said :—" This Pandit of yours owes one of my girls fifty rupees, and he said he would pay me out of what he made by this recital." When the people heard this scandal, many of them ceased attending the service.

The next night Kali Yuga appeared in the guise of a butcher, with the head of a goat under his arm ; and when the audience asked what he wanted, he said :—" Your worthy Pandit owes me twenty rupees for meat, which he promised to pay me out of this night's fees, and he also bade me have a goat's head ready for him when he left the service." With this he showed them the goat's head, and many, who believed that their Pandit never touched meat, left the place.

The third night there were very few peoplepresent,and Kali Yuga came as a liquor-seller. When they asked him why he had come, he replied :—" Your Pandit owes me ten rupees for spirits and I have come for it, and I have brought a bottle for him to drink when he goes home." When they heard this, they all left the place. As the Pandit was going home, Kali Yuga said to him :—" It would have been better for you to do as I asked you." The Pandit replied :—" Don't disgrace me any more and I will tell as many lies as you like."

From that day forth the Pandit became the greatest liar in the village.

THE INDIAN ALPHABET.

BY H. C. RAY, M.A.

THE origin of the Indian Alphabet is one of the few problems of Ancient Indian civilization that still awaits solution. The absence of any clear proof that India had direct intercourse with the borders of Palestine in the seventh or eighth century B.C., as pointed out by the late Prof. Rhys Davids, vitiates the generally accepted theory of Bühler that Indian Script was derived from the alphabet of the Northern Semites in the sixth or the seventh century B.C. It was with great interest, therefore, that we read an article on this subject by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, which was written in 1919 and published in three separate places at three different times. (*Calcutta Review*, January 1920, pp. 21-39; *Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference*, Vol. II, 1922, pp. 305–318; Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's *Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 494–514.)

This article tends further to discredit the Semitic theory of origin, for Prof. Bhandarkar has adduced numerous facts from Vedic Literature to show that not only the system of numerical notation, but also the art of writing letters, was known to the Indians at least as early as 1200 B.C., the latest date assigned to the *Ṛigveda*. Thus shaking the foundations of Bühler's theory, Prof. Bhandarkar has suggested a pre-historic origin for the Indian Alphabet.

As might be expected, the views of Prof. Bhandarkar have received attention and some criticism. But so far as is known to me, nobody has ventured to challenge the facts and his interpretation of them, so far as they pertain to the Vedic period, whereby he has indicated that the Indians could write numerical notations and letters at least 500 years before the date of the famous Moabite stone and other epigraphs (850 B.C.). But exception has been taken to his acceptance of certain views and facts, which he has utilised to show the existence of writing in India on pre-historic pottery and artifacts.

In a paper read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal and published in the *JBORS.*, Vol. IX, Part II, June 1923, which however appeared in January last, Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda has raised doubts as to the value of this evidence in favour of Neolithic writing in India. Mr. Panchanan Mitra, one of the Honorary Assistant Curators of the Indian Museum, while inspecting the pre-historic collections of that Museum, discovered two artifacts inscribed with some writing. One of these was a celt of greenish stone found in Assam. The letters inscribed on this axe-head bear some resemblance to the five Arabic numerals 1, 9, 1, 7, 4; but when the celt is held upside down they show a remarkable resemblance to the pre-historic characters of Egypt published by Dr. Flinders Petrie; and what is more, the letters are all connected by one continuous line as in the pre-historic Minoan epigraphs. Mr. Mitra was for some time in doubt; but he inclined at last to the view that the writing was more probably in pre-historic characters than Arabic integers. (*New Light from Pre-historic India*, *ante*, 1919, pp. 57–64). Presumably he argued that, if these were Arabic numerals giving an English date, why were the integers indicating the day, month and year not separated by any hyphen or dot, and why were they on the other hand underlined in the same manner as in some pre-historic epigraphs. This was the view of Mr. Mitra, when Prof. Bhandarkar was preparing his lecture on the origin of the Indian alphabet; and naturally enough, as he was anxious to utilise all up-to-date information, and as Mr. Mitra was the only Indian scholar who had made any special study of the pre-historic period in India, he accepted this interpretation. Since then we are told that Mr. Mitra, after a further examination of the stone, has relinquished his theory. Apparently he now inclines to the alternative view that these characters look more like Arabic integers, as is evident from the fact that he makes no

mention of his theory in his *Pre-historic Arts and Crafts of India* (*Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, Vol. III, 1920) and in his paper on *Pre-historic Writing in India and Europe* (*JASB.*. Vol. XVII, 1921, No. 4) published long before Mr. Chanda's criticism. We should, however, add that though Mr. Chanda also shares the view that the letters inscribed on the celt are Arabic integers, he has not yet been able to explain away the presence of the underline nor the absence of hyphens or dots, which one would naturally expect between the integers indicating the day, month, and year, if the letters gave an English date. But while Mr. Chanda's criticism on this inscribed stone has added little to our knowledge on the subject, his criticism on the other inscribed stone is quite unconvincing. This is described as a piece of earthy hematite, rubbed and scraped. It is shaped like the palm of the right hand and is scratched with three letters only and was found in an old Neolithic settlement near Ranchi. Prof. Bhandarkar expressed the following opinion on this stone :—

"It is faintly scratched with three letters only, two of which bear a fairly good resemblance to those of the *Brâhmî lipi* of the Aśoka period. These were the letters at the ends, one of which was *ma* and the other *ta*. The middle letter, as it stood, could not be read for a long time. Then it occurred to me that the letter *ta*, evidently in a reversed form, and the other *viz.*, *ma*, must remain the same even when it is reversed. Might not the middle letter similarly present a reversed form ? I at once held the neolith before a mirror, and to my agreeable surprise found that the middle letter came fairly close to the Aśokan *â*. As all the letters are reversed, the inscription has to be read from right to left and reads accordingly *ma-â-ta*."

A comparison of these with the Aśokan letters on Bühler's palæographic chart (*Tafel II*) will at once convince any scholar as to the substantial agreement of the letters. Mr. Chanda himself agrees that one of the decipherable letters is reverse *ta*. But he objects to the reading of one of the letters as *ma*, because 'this type of *ma* with one straight and another hooked side is unknown elsewhere.' But though it is sometimes found that the form of certain letters survives to ages separated by millenia, it would be idle to suppose that all the letters would maintain their form in alphabets, which are separated by thousands of years. A glance at the plates of Bühler's palæography will disclose the absurdity of such a view. When we find letters changing their forms so fundamentally in a few hundred years, it will be, I think, extremely unreasonable to be surprised by the fact that this particular *ma* shows a less hooked side than has hitherto been found.

Prof. Bhandarkar has also utilised the recent discovery of writing on the pottery discovered by Mr. Yazdani in the excavations of the pre-historic cairns in the Nizam's Dominions. Mr. Yazdani has discovered similar letters on the pre-historic pottery in the Madras Museum, and it has been found that at least five of these marks are identical with the letters of the earliest *Brâhmî* script. Mr. Chanda does not contest the reading of these letters, but simply observes that the 'practice of erecting megalithic monuments to the dead still survives in certain localities in India and in the south no copper or bronze age intervenes between the Neolithic and the Iron ages.' But Mr. Chanda would have added strength to his criticism if he had shown that the practice of building this particular type of cairn still survives in the Nizam's Dominions, or that the custom prevailed in the historical period in these localities. Without these facts his criticism loses force ; more so, when there are other scholars and students of the pre-historic period who would refer them at the latest to 1500 B.C.

To sum up the recent discussions of the origin of the Indian Alphabet, we find that Prof. Bhandarkar has succeeded in further discrediting the Semitic theory of Bühler, by showing that writing was known to the Vedic Aryans long before the time of Mesha, king of Moab

(850 B. C.). His theory of the pre-historic origin of the Indian Alphabet is, as is only natural, based on more or less debatable materials. We can admit with Prof. Das Gupta (*JASB.*, 1921, Vol. XVII, pp. 210–212) that unless there is clear evidence to show that inscribed stones were found in neolithic strata, the value of their evidence is appreciably diminished. But even if this is granted, and even if one of the stones were really inscribed with Arabic integers, as Mr. Mitra now holds, even then the materials brought together deserve the serious consideration of scholars. Thus, though he has not succeeded in finally establishing his theory of the pre-historic origin of the Indian Alphabet, it will be admitted that he has practically shattered the theory of Bühler, which has been for sometime past regarded as unassailable by some Indologists. There should now be a further discussion of all the available materials pointing to a pre-historic origin of the *Brâhmî* script. Dr. R. C. Majumdar has recently drawn the attention of scholars (*JBORS.*, Vol. IX, 1923, p. 20) to the fact that Mr. Chanda had observed alphabetic forms, resembling some of the *Brâhmî* signs, on the artifacts of the Azilian period (*Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference*, p. lxxxvi). This is highly important, and we hope we shall have further light on this point from Mr. Chanda.

A FIXED EASTER AND THE REFORM OF THE CHRISTIAN CALENDAR.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(*Continued from page* 219.)

IV.

The Existing Solar Calendar with a fixed Easter and Intercalary Days.

If, however, every February were given 29 days, the 15th April would always fall on the same day of the week as New Year's Day ; and if the extra day given to February were taken from December, the year would have the same length as at present. December would have 30 days and if the last day, 30th December, of the year were made intercalary, *i.e.*, not counted in the week, made a public holiday, and called, say Old Year's Day : Then every New Year's Day would fall on the same day of the week ; *i.e.*, every 1st of January would fall on the same weekday. By this plan December would *count* only 29 days. All that it would be necessary to do would then be to wait until New Year's Day falls naturally in a normal year on a Sunday (say till 1933)[4] and make every subsequent New Year's Day fall also on Sunday. Then every Easter Sunday would fall on 15th April, and Easter would be automatically fixed without any change in the length of the year in relation to the course of the sun. See Table II.

Such a plan would involve a second intercalary day for Leap Year, which might, for the reasons above given, be made a public holiday to fall between 30th September and 1st October, and be called Leap Year's Day, or as above suggested, Sanctuary Day.

This last Scheme appears on the whole to satisfy the requirements with the least possible disturbance of existing habits.

TABLE II—1933.

Lunar-Solar Calendar compared with the Existing Solar Calendar in Normal Years.

Week Day.	Lunar-Solar. Month.	Day.	Existing Solar. Month.	Day.	Lunar-Solar. Month.	Day.	Existing Solar. Month.	Day.
Sunday ..	January	1	January	1	February	1	January	29
Monday ..		2		2		2		30
Tuesday ..		3		3		3		31
Wednesday ..		4		4		4	February	1
Thursday ..		5		5		5		2
Friday ..		6		6		6		3
Saturday ..		7		7		7		4

[4] 1928 will commence on a Sunday but that is a Leap Year.

Table II.—*contd.*

Week Day.		Lunar-Solar. Month.	Day.	Existing-Solar. Month.	Day.	Lunar-Solar. Month.	Day.	Existing-Solar. Month.	Day.
Sunday	..	January	8	January	8	February	8	February	5
Monday	..		9		9		9		6
Tuesday	..		10		10		10		7
Wednesday	..		11		11		11		8
Thursday	..		12		12		12		9
Friday	..		13		13		13		10
Saturday	..		14		14		14		11
Sunday	..		15		15		15		12
Monday	..		16		16		16		13
Tuesday	..		17		17		17		14
Wednesday	..		18		18		18		15
Thursday	..		19		19		19		16
Friday	..		20		20		20		17
Saturday	..		21		21		21		18
Sunday	..		22		22		22		19
Monday	..		23		23		23		20
Tuesday	..		24		24		24		21
Wednesday	..		25		25		25		22
Thursday	..		26		26		26		23
Friday	..		27		27		27		24
Saturday[5]	..		28		28		28		25
Sunday	..	March	1	February	26	April	1	March	26
Monday	..		2		27		2		27
Tuesday	..		3		28		3		28
Wednesday	..		4	March	1		4		29
Thursday	..		5		2		5		30
Friday	..		6		3		6		31
Saturday	..		7		4		7	April	1
Sunday	..		8		5		8		2
Monday	..		9		6		9		3
Tuesday	..		10		7		10		4
Wednesday	..		11		8		11		5
Thursday	..		12		9		12		6
Friday	..		13		10		13		7
Saturday	..		14		11		14		8
Sunday	..		15		12		15		9
Monday	..		16		13		16		10
Tuesday	..		17		14		17		11
Wednesday	..		18		15		18		12
Thursday	..		19		16		19		13
Friday	..		20		17		20		14
Saturday	..		21		18		21		15

[5] In a Leap Year February 29 will make every day after it fall a day later in the week in the existing Calendar.

Table II—*contd.*

Week Day.	Lunar-Solar.		Existing Solar.		Lunar-Solar.		Existing Solar.	
	Month.	Day.	Month.	Day.	Month.	Day.	Month.	Day.
Sunday	March	22	March	19	April	22	April	16
Monday		23		20		23		17
Tuesday		24		21		24		18
Wednesday		25		22		25		19
Thursday		26		23		26		20
Friday		27		24		27		21
Saturday		28		25		28		22
Sunday	May	1	April	23	June	1	May	21
Monday		2		24		2		22
Tuesday		3		25		3		23
Wednesday		4		26		4		24
Thursday		5		27		5		25
Friday		6		28		6		26
Saturday		7		29		7		27
Sunday		8		30		8		28
Monday		9	May	1		9		29
Tuesday		10		2		10		30
Wednesday		11		3		11		31
Thursday		12		4		12	June	1
Friday		13		5		13		2
Saturday		14		6		14		3
Sunday		15		7		15		4
Monday		16		8		16		5
Tuesday		17		9		17		6
Wednesday		18		10		18		7
Thursday		19		11		19		8
Friday		20		12		20		9
Saturday		21		13		21		10
Sunday		22		14		22		11
Monday		23		15		23		12
Tuesday		24		16		24		13
Wednesday		25		17		25		14
Thursday		26		18		26		15
Friday		27		19		27		16
Saturday		28		20		28		17
Sunday	July	1	June	18	August	1	July	16
Monday		2		19		2		17
Tuesday		3		20		3		18
Wednesday		4		21		4		19
Thursday		5		22		5		20
Friday		6		23		6		21
Saturday		7		24		7		22

Table II—*contd.*

Week Day.	Lunar-Solar. Month.	Day.	Existing Solar. Month.	Day.	Lunar-Solar. Month.	Day.	Existing Solar. Month.	Day.
Sunday ..	July	8	June	25	August	8	July	23
Monday ..		9		26		9		24
Tuesday ..		10		27		10		25
Wednesday ..		11		28		11		26
Thursday ..		12		29		12		27
Friday ..		13		30		13		28
Saturday ..		14	July	1		14		29
Sunday ..		15		2		15		30
Monday ..		16		3		16		31
Tuesday ..		17		4		17	August	1
Wednesday ..		18		5		18		2
Thursday ..		19		6		19		3
Friday ..		20		7		20		4
Saturday ..		21		8		21		5
Sunday ..		22		9		22		6
Monday ..		23		10		23		7
Tuesday ..		24		11		24		8
Wednesday ..		25		12		25		9
Thursday ..		26		13		26		10
Friday ..		27		14		27		11
Saturday ..		28		15		28		12
Sunday ..	Sexiber	1	August	13	September	1	September	10
Monday ..		2		14		2		11
Tuesday ..		3		15		3		12
Wednesday ..		4		16		4		13
Thursday ..		5		17		5		14
Friday ..		6		18		6		15
Saturday ..		7		19		7		16
Sunday ..		8		20		8		17
Monday ..		9		21		9		18
Tuesday ..		10		22		10		19
Wednesday ..		11		23		11		20
Thursday ..		12		24		12		21
Friday ..		13		25		13		22
Saturday ..		14		26		14		23
Sunday ..		15		27		15		24
Monday ..		16		28		16		25
Tuesday ..		17		29		17		26
Wednesday ..		18		30		18		27
Thursday ..		19		31		19		28
Friday ..		20	September	1		20		29
Saturday ..		21		2		21		30

Table II—*contd.*

Week Day	Lunar-Solar. Month.	Day.	Existing-Solar. Month.	Day.	Lunar-Solar. Month.	Day.	Existing Solar. Month.	Day.
Sunday ..	Sexiber	22	September	3	September	22	October	1
Monday ..		23		4		23		2
Tuesday ..		24		5		24		3
Wednesday ..		25		6		25		4
Thursday ..		26		7		26		5
Friday ..		27		8		27		6
Saturday ..		28		9		28[6]		7
Sunday[7] ..	October	1	October	9	November	1	November	6
Monday ..		2		10		2		7
Tuesday ..		3		11		3		8
Wednesday ..		4		12		4		9
Thursday ..		5		13		5		10
Friday ..		6		14		6		11
Saturday ..		7		15		7		12
Sunday ..		8		16		8		13
Monday ..		9		17		9		14
Tuesday ..		10		18		10		15
Wednesday ..		11		19		11		16
Thursday ..		12		20		12		17
Friday ..		13		21		13		18
Saturday ..		14		22		14		19
Sunday ..		15		23		15		20
Monday ..		16		24		16		21
Tuesday ..		17		25		17		22
Wednesday ..		18		26		18		23
Thursday ..		19		27		19		24
Friday ..		20		28		20		25
Saturday ..		21		29		21		26
Sunday ..		22		30		22		27
Monday ..		23		31		23		28
Tuesday ..		24	November..	1		24		29
Wednesday ..		25		2		25		30
Thursday ..		26		3		26		1
Friday ..		27		4		27		2
Saturday ..		28		5		28		3
Sunday ..	December	1	December	4				
Monday ..		2		5				
Tuesday ..		3		6				
Wednesday ..		4		7				

[6] Next-day, Sanctuary Day, intercalary and not counted in the Lunar-Solar Calendar, but counted in the existing Solar Calendar.

[7] In the existing Solar Calendar, on account of Sanctuary Day, October 9th will fall really on a Monday and all the rest of the year a day later in the week than that shown in the Table.

Table II—*contd.*

Week Day.		Lunar-Solar. Month. Day.	Existing Solar. Month. Day.
Thursday	..	5	8
Friday	..	6	9
Saturday	..	7	10
Sunday	..	8	11
Monday	..	9	12
Tuesday		10	13
Wednesday	..	11	14
Thursday	..	12	15
Friday	..	13	16
Saturday	..	14	17
Sunday	..	15	18
Monday	..	16	19
Tuesday	..	17	20
Wednesday	..	18	21
Thursday	..	19	22
Friday	..	20	23
Saturday	..	21	24
Sunday	..	22	25
Monday	..	23	26
Tuesday	..	24	27
Wednesday	..	25	28
Thursday	..	26	29
Friday	..	27	30
Saturday[8]	..	28	31

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PUNJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

SERIES IV.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S. (*Retired*).

(*Continued from page* 206.)

Tel-chirâgh : land held revenue-free (for supplying a shrine with oil for its lamp ? B., 159 and 168.

Tel lupri : a rite consisting in anointing bride and bridegroom, followed by worship of the nine planets and the Tel sând, *q.v.* : Ch., 127.

Tel sând : a rite in which oil is poured over the heads of a bridal pair by relatives who cast a small coin into a vessel for the Brahman ; it follows the Tel luprî : Ch., 127.

Telangi : *Viburnum foetens* : Ch., 239.

Tendu : *Diospyros montana* : Sirmûr, App. IV, vi.

Thadairi : archery, a shooting match ; also a tune played at an archery meeting: SS. Keonthal vi. Fr. *thoda*, an arrow.

Thairi : a sort of platform, whereas a *thân* is a mere heap of stones : SS., Bashahr, 26.

Thâkri : a weight = 1¼ *sers khâm* ; = Solhâ : Sirmûr, App. III.

8 In the Existing Calendar the last day of the year falls really on a Sunday for the reason given in the previous footnote, and Christmas Day on a Thursday.

In the Lunar-Solar Calendar Leap Year's Day would be an intercalary day after Saturday Dec. 28th.

Thâkrî : a measure of capacity (4 *thâkrîs* = 1 *patha*), but used as a measure of area : SS., Beja, 4.

Thâl : a form of oath on the Râjâ, like the Darohî but merely placing the person upon whom it is imposed within the Râjâ's mercy : SS., Bashahr., 34 and Jubbal., 23.

Thalli : a sheet : SS., Bashahr, 41.

Thâma : a distribution of *dels* or 'shares' among Brahmans at a wedding : Gloss., I, p. 797.

Thâmba : a group of villages held by descendants of a common ancestor, direct or indirect : Comp., 19.

Thambi : a granary : Mandi, 33.

Thângî : hazelnut, *Corylus colurna* : Ch., 226 and 240.

Thâreth : an official ; = Bhatwâl ; he carries out the Châr's orders in Bhattiyât ; ? fr. *tharra*, 'a platform' : Ch., 265.

Tharwal : *Cornus capitata* : Sirmûr, App. IV, v.

Thehr : a mound ; Panj. *theh* : B., 175.

Thiarshu : Tiṛshu, a small fair ; syn. Shând ; Sarâj (Kulu) : Gloss., I, pp. 440 and 441.

Thobi : a carpet : Ch., 203.

Thoda : a game played with bows and arrows : Sirmûr, 62.

Tholâ, = Thâkri and Solhâ : Sirmûr, App. III.

Thoplu : wheat-cakes : Ch., 139.

Ṭhulla : see under Topa.

Thuth : a root : Ch., 243 : the thumb, in Attock, Attock Gr., p. 113.

Tiâri pânâ : = Tigra pânâ, *q.v.*

Tigra : apparently = Ṭalli, 'a small piece of cloth, a patch' ;—pânâ, to throw a cloth over a man's daughter or sister to disarm his enmity : Gloss., I, p. 906.

Tika : a very good soil : Sirmur, App. I.

Tikar : a very poor soil : SS., Bhajji, 7. **Tîkar**, = Shândtu a minor sacrifice : SS. Bashahr, 28.

Tikidâr : a tenant paying cash rental : Ch., 277.

Tikr : = Tigra, *q.v.*

Tikre : a kind of sweetmeat : B., 106.

Tilla : sweet *pâtis* : Ch., 222 and 243.

Timbar : *Xanthoxylon hostile* : Simla, S. R., xliii : *X. alatum* : Ch., 237.

Timur : *Diospyros malanoxylon* : Sirmûr, App. IV, vi.

Tiraoja : the sending for the bride to her husband's home for the third time : Gloss. I, 824.

Tîria : squint : Ch., 138.

Tirmal : *Zanthoxylum alatum* : Sirmûr, App. IV, iii.

Tirsera : a cess ; see Autariâna : Ch., 96.

Titrî : *Rhus sp.* ; = Arkhol : Ch., 236.

Tola : betrothal by exchange : Ch., 141.

Tola : of gold :—	= 1 rupee	3 *ratîs*	in Amritsar.
	= 1 ,,	4 ,,	,, Ferozepur, etc.
	= 1 ,,	2 ,,	elsewhere.

Tola :	5 *tolas*	= 1 *chhitânk*.
	4 *chhitânks*	= 1 *pao*.
	4 *paos*	= 1 *ser*.
	40 *sers*	= 1 *man* of 82 lbs. : Gujrât.

Tonchara : an inoculator : Gloss., I, p. 356. Bikaner.

Tong : a round basket ; see Pitâr.

Topa : corresponds to the English gallon. A *hath-rakh topa* is the *topa* measured with the help of one hand. The *charra topa* is measured without any aid : D. I. K : the standard measure of capacity in Shâhpur, containing almost exactly 2 standard *sers* of wheat or *bâjra* :—

4 *paropis*[1]	=	1 *topa*	=	2 *sers*.
4 *topas*	=	1 *pai*	=	8 *sers*.
10 *pais*	=	1 *man*	=	2 standard *mans*.
4 *mans*	=	1 *khalwâr*	=	8 standard *mans*.

But on the Chenâb :—1 *topa* contains only 5 *sers* of wheat, and 4 *pais* make 1 *man* = $26\frac{2}{3}$ standard *sers* ; about Bhera and Miâni 1 *topa* contains only $1\frac{7}{8}$ standard sers ; but in the Tappa *ilâqa* of the Salt Range 1 *topa* contains 3 *sers* of wheat and 5 *pais* make 1 *man* = $1\frac{1}{2}$ standard *mans*.

In Muzaffargarh the *topa* varies in weight from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ *sers*, but its usual weight is about 5 or 6 *sers*.In Ferozepur the *topa* equals 3 *sers pakkâ* or, among the Dogaṛs, 4 *sers pakka*.

In Hazâra it = 4 *chobas*, but is now rerely used.

In Gujarât :—

4 *paropis*	=	1 *topa* by measure.
16 *topas*	=	1 *man*.
50 ,,	=	1 *pand*.
4 *pands*	=	1 *mânî*.
1 *mânî*	=	$9\frac{1}{2}$ English *mans*.

The *topa* however varies in weight from $1\frac{3}{4}$ to 3 English *sers*.

Topi : cap ; *topî-lânî*, a form of widow remarriage : Ch., 127.

Topu : a cap, worn by women : SS., Bashahr, 42.

Tor : *Euphorbia Nivulia* : Ch., 239.

Torang : a porridge made of *bâthû*, in Kanâwar : SS., Bashahr, 41.

Toṛe pl. : hollow foot-bangles : B., 112. Cf. Tarora, and P. D. 1147.

Totru : a kind of peas : Simla, S. R., xli.

Totû : a cone, made of parched flour, about a cubit in height and used in the *jânjî* form of marriage. The maternal uncle of the bride makes 7 of these cones, cuts the tops off with his right hand, and with it touches the back of the fireplace (on the north), the east, south, west and north of the room in that order, and the top of the door frame : Ch., 157.

Trakar : a pasture, at a distance from the village but whence the cattle can be brought home at night : Ch., 27.

Trangari : a bridge, temporary or permanent, made of two beams with cross-pieces ; cf., Gurûru : Ch., 12.

Trebhanj : a threefold exchange of brides : Comp., 2. Cf. Chobhanj.

Trimbal : a wild fig, *Ficus glomerata* : Ch. 240.

Tritu : pepper, *Euonymus fimbriatus* : Ch., 237.

Tu'am-i-walîma : marriage feast, in Multân : Glossary, 1, 833.

Tukma : silken thread, worn as an ornament : B., 195.

Tukrî : a measure containing 4 *kassas*, in some villages, and in others 5, of the Boi *ilâqa* in Hazâra : 10 *tukrîs* = 1 *chhat*.

[1] In the Shâhpur Thal the *paropî* is called *ṭhulla*, and the *topa* appears to be called *paropî*.

Tûlû : an inferior kind of tobacco : Sirmûr, 66.

Tumbi : a bottle (?), Simla Hills : Gloss., I, p. 337.

Tumbrî : *Marlea begoniaefolia* : Sirmûr, App. IV, v. Also apparently a dim. of Tumbi.

Tûng : *Rhus cotinus* : Sirmûr, App. IV, iv, and Ch., 237.

Tuni : a box ; cf., Kanjâl : Ch., 208.

Tupkhâ : meat stew ; in Kanâwar : SS., Bashahr, 41.

Ubthal : a kind of rice : SS., Bashahr, 48.

Uch : ? adj., high (caste) : Gloss., I, p. 456.

Uda dhalân : a small due on succession to ownership in land : SS., Kunhiar, 9.

Ugrâhikâ : a collector of revenue ; *ugrahkiyâî*, the circuit of an— : Ch., 264 and 270.

Ujârî : a poor kind of soil : SS., Jubbal, 25.

Ukânh : a tree : B., 160.

Ulanga : see under Hath bhra.

Umm-us-sibiân : lit., 'mother of children,' infantile convulsions ; Ar. *sibyân* or *subyân* = 'boys' : B., 187.

Ungal : 3 *ungals* = 1 *girah*.
16 *girahs* = 1 yard : Gujrât.

Ungî : an instrument of iron, with which the hair is parted in front ; used at weddings: Ch., 142.

Upâs : the single meal eaten only once a day for 3, 5, 7, 8, 9 or 13 days after a death by the family of the deceased : Ch., 154, 159 and 161.

Utar : North : Ch., 149.

Utkar : Malâna, *q. v.*

Vakhan : 'to be said' : Mandi, 53.

Vanan : ? things or various things : Mandi, 53.

Vand : a lot, usually impartible, and when so the inheritance of the youngest son ; in Bangahal (Kângra) : Comp., 73.

Venja : bamboo : Mandi, 53.

Vichola : a go-between : Comp., 9.

Vingrâ : curling ; see under Chûne.

Wâg : a tether : B., 148.

Wahtar : a measure containing 40 *odis* ; in the Pakhlî tract it contains only 20 *odis* : Hazâra.

Wajûd-i-zillî (probably for *wujûd-uz-zill*, 'body of the shadow'), imaginary body : B., 176.

Wâk : an irrevocable betrothal, tantamount to a marriage : Comp., 5 : (2) the power of a girl to bestow herself in marriage (Peshâwar) : *ib.*, 6 and 37.

Wâkdân : lit. 'a gift by word of mouth', an irrevocable form of betrothal among Hindus: Gloss., I, p. 785.

Wano : (? *dâno*, *Dânava*), tyrant, in Pahâri : Gloss., I, p. 448.

Waq, apparently = Wâk, *q. v.* : Gloss., I, p. 790.

Warenâ : a pledge as in *warenâ* or *sanbhâl bhejnâ*, to send a support or pledge in ratification of a betrothal : Gloss., I, p. 811 and 834.

Wârnâ : a wedding ceremony at which a sheep is passed thrice round the heads of the pair by the bridegroom's mother. : Ch., 158.

Waryâ : prisoner's base: B., 201

Wasal : onions, Ar. *baṣal*. B., 192.

Wat : =sâg, vegetables ; *wat walawan*, to send a request for *Wat*, at a betrothal : Gloss., p. I, 792.

Watr sâkh : sending of fresh fruit, etc., by the girl's father to the boy's : Gloss., I, p. 792.

Wattâ, purâna : the old standard of weight, in which :—

2 *tolas* = 1 *sarsâhî*

15 *sarsâhîs* = 1 *ser*. Hence the old *ser* was=to 32 *tolas*: Tarn Târan.

Winâik : a ceremony observed by certain Muhammadan septs in honour of a valiant ancestor : B., 136.

Yât, fem. **-ini** : giant ; Gilgit: Gloss., I, p. 357.

Yud : =*sattu*, porridge, in Kanâwar : SS., Bashahr, 41.

Zaddi baddi : general *corvée* for special persons travelling through the State: SS. Kumhârsain. 22.

Zagat-khâna : various taxes : Suket, 43.

Zâkat : (? Zakât), a duty levied on every house which produces or sells ginger : SS., Kuthâr, 8.

Zakki : =Chaugharia, mahûrat, *q.v.*

Zu : =Ju, *q.v.*

KOTTAYAM PLATE OF VIRA-RAGHAVA CHAKRAVARTI.

BY K. N. DANIEL,

(*Continued from p.* 229.)

IV. Paleographic Evidence.

Let us now discuss the subject from the Paleographic standpoint. The alphabets employed in this document are the Vaṭṭeḷuttu and the Ârya-eḷuttu or the Grantha. The Vaṭṭeḷuttu is otherwise called the Chêra Pâṇḍya alphabet, which was in use throughout Kêraḷam and the country of the Pâṇḍyans : its characters, however, being limited, many Sanskrit words could not be written in it. The South of India, as can be easily shown, was colonised by the Aryans some centuries antecedent to the Christian era, and consequently Sanskrit education in the South must also have begun before the said era. Sanskrit education necessarily implies the existence of some alphabet other than Vaṭṭeḷuttu and accordingly we find the Ârya-eḷuttu alphabet side by side with it, though the Vaṭṭeḷuttu was more commonly used. The Ârya-eḷuttu was used in writing Sanskrit books and sometimes in writing the Sanskrit words in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu documents. Hence we find both Vaṭṭeḷuttu and Ârya-eḷuttu in this document.

Alleged evidence against an early date from the Grantha characters.—Mr. Venkayya has adduced some pieces of paleographic evidence to prove that this document was of the fourteenth century. "As I have already remarked," says Mr. Venkayya, "the Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters of this grant appear to be more modern than those of the Cochin plates of Bhaskara Ravivarman and of the Tirunelli plates. It may not however be quite safe to base any conclusions on the Vaṭṭeḷuttu portion, because no dated inscriptions in that character are published and available for comparison. The Malayalam portion clearly shows that the inscription cannot be so old as the eighth century A. D. The

Table showing the letters of the Vaṭṭeluttu Alphabet in the Kottayam Plates o[f]

Vira Raghava and Thanu Iravi.

		k ക	ṅ ങ	ch ച	ñ ഞ	ṭ ട	ṇ ണ	t ത	n ന	p പ	m മ	y യ	r ര	l ല	v വ	ṟ റ	ḷ ള	ḻ ഴ	ṉ ഩ
a അ													[redacted]	[redacted]					
ā ആ																			
i ഇ																			
ī ഈ																			
u ഉ																			
ū ഊ																			
e എ																			
ai ഐ																			
o ഒ																			

K. N. Daniel

symbols for *a, â, ai, ka, gha, ta, ṭa,* and *ya,* differ but slightly from their modern Malayalam equivalents. The secondary form of the vowel *u,* which is added to consonants, is almost the same as in modern Malayalam. I have compared the Malayalam portion of this inscription with several stone inscriptions from the Western Coast. One of the stones in the Trivandrum Museum contains a much defaced inscription, dated in Kollam 239 (A.D. 1064), which begins with some Sanskrit words written in ancient Malayalam or Grantha. The alphabet employed in it is much more archaic than that of the subjoined grant. The vowel *ai* which may be taken as a test letter, and which occurs in the Trivandrum inscription, resembles the corresponding symbol in the Tirunelli plates. (*Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XX, plate opposite p. 291, line 26). The only three inscriptions known to me, whose characters bear some resemblance to those of the Vîra Râghava plate, are Nos. 266, 269 and 270 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895. Of these, the first is dated in Kollam 427 (A.D. 1252) and the last in Saka Samvat 1256, (A.D. 1314). From these facts I am led to think that the present inscription is much later than the Cochin grant and the Tirunelli plates as well as the Trivandrum inscription quoted above." (*Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. IV, p. 293.)

It is true that the characters, *a, â, ka, gha, ṭa* and *ya,* do not differ much from their modern equivalents. This will not prove anything, unless it is shown that the ancient equivalents of these characters were different. Mr. Venkayya does not try to prove this, except in the case of one of these symbols, *viz., ai.* He saw this character on a stone in the Trivandrum Museum and in the Tirunelli plates (line 26). The symbol *ai,* which we see in line 26 of the Tirunelli plates, is indeed quite different from that of the document under consideration. We see this symbol not only in line 26 (*Aiyâyiravarkkum*), but also in line 34 (*aimpattêḻarai*) of the Tirunelli plates, in line 6 of Tâṇu Iravi copper plates No. 1 (Aiyaṉaṭikaṭiruvaṭi) and in some other inscriptions. But there is one thing which Mr. Venkayya did not know : the character *ai* found in the Tirunelli copper plates is Vaṭṭeḻuttu. The *ai* of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet is, of course, quite different from that of the Ârya-eḻuttu alphabet, which we find in the copper plate under consideration. That the symbol *ai,* which Mr. Venkayya pointed out as Grantha, is Vaṭṭeḻuttu cannot be gainsaid. *Vide* plates showing the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet employed in the Kaviyûr inscription of A.D. 950 and that employed in the Tirunâṇṭikkarai inscription of Râjarâja I and the Râjasêkhara copper plate. (*Trav. Arch. Series,* Vol. I, p. 288 ; Vol. II, p. 10.)

Considering the great advance the study of epigraphy has made during the last 25 years, since Mr. Venkayya wrote this article, we should not blame him for his mistake. At the same time it is difficult to understand how he came to make it. There is no other symbol in Vaṭṭeḻuttu for *ai* and there must be some symbol for it in this alphabet, as every alphabet is complete for writing the language for which it is intended. The character *ai* is also necessary to write Tamil, of which Vaṭṭeḻuttu was the alphabet. Mr. Venkayya was aware of the fact, as he himself says, "in Tamil inscriptions..........it is generally the words of Sanskrit origin that are written in *Grantha.*" The *ai* which he refers to is not used in writing a word of Sanskrit origin and the characters found on either side of it are all Vaṭṭeḻuttu. In these circumstances he ought to have taken it for a Vaṭṭeḻuttu character.

Let me point out one other instance in which Mr. Venkayya shows ignorance of the Malayalam alphabet. He read "*Chandrâdikshyakaḷuḷḷa*" (lines 20, 21). Any school boy will say that there is no *kshya* there, but *tthya.* Moreover, *chandradikshyakaḷuḷḷa* is meaningless.

With all deference to Mr. Venkayya, a distinguished epigraphist, one cannot but observe that with so limited a knowledge of the Malayalam or Ârya-eḻuttu alphabet, he was hardly qualified to make a paleographic comparison of the Malayalam characters.

Let us now turn to the fact that some of the Ârya-eḻuttu symbols found in this document, do not differ from their modern equivalents. Mr. Venkayya is quite right when he says: "The secondary form of the vowel *u*, which is added to consonants, is almost the same as in modern Malayalam." But he should have known that this is the case with the Ârya-eḻuttu of any age : (*vide* plate showing the variations in the Ârya-eḻuttu alphabet).

Now there are two varieties of Ârya-eḻuttu—the Malayalam and the Tamil Grantha. The Ârya-eḻuttu, therefore, was developed into the Tamil Grantha in the Tamil country, and into the Malayalam on the Malabar Coast. Now, in order to trace the development of the Grantha into the Malayalam alphabet, we should compare the ancient writings of Kêraḷam with this document. Unfortunately we have only very few ancient inscriptions—dated or datable—of Malabar available. I have, therefore, taken all the available ancient inscriptions in which the Grantha characters are used. If we find a fully developed Malayalam character in an inscription of the Tamil country, we can be sure that it was fully developed in Malabar also ; on the other hand if we find an archaic one in the inscriptions of the Tamil country, we cannot decide that it was not fully developed in Malabar.

With a view to give the reader as complete an idea as possible regarding the development of the Ârya-eḻuttu alphabet, I have given a plate, of which a description is necessary. In the first column the modern Malayalam characters are given ; in the second modern Tamil Grantha ; in the third, those of the Vîra Râghava plates ; in the fourth, those of the Râjaśêkhara plate (facsimile, *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, p. 12. I have traced the characters not from the facsimile but from the plate itself). In the fifth, those of the Tâṇu Iravi plates No. I (facsimile, *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 66, 68) : in the sixth, those of the Tâṇu Iravi plates No. II (facsimile, *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 80, 82): in the seventh, those of the Cochin plates of Pârkara Iravi (facsimile, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. III, p. 334) : in the eighth, those of the miscellaneous inscriptions of Pârkara Iravi (facsimile, *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, pp. 44-47). These are all from Malabar. In the ninth column the characters of the Mârañchaṭaiyan inscription, A.D. 772 (facsimile, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 320) are given ; in the tenth and eleventh, those of the Nândivarman Pallavamalla inscriptions of the eighth century (facsimile, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 274-277 ; *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Part III, pp. 348-352) : in the twelfth, those of the Madras Museum plates of Jâṭilavarman, *c.* eighth century (facsimile, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 70, 71) : in the thirteenth, those of the Tiruparappu copper plates, ninth century (facsimile, *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, p. 198) : in the fourteenth, those of the Huzur office plates of Karuṇantaṭakkar, A.D. 866 (facsimile, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 6-9) : in the fifteenth, those of the Udeyêndiram plates of Hastimalla, tenth century (facsimile, *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Part III, pp. 384, 385) : in the sixteenth, those of the Râjarâj inscriptions, tenth century (facsimile, *Ibid.*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 4) : in the seventeenth, those of the Râjêndrachôla inscription, A.D. 1012 (facsimile, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, 232).

Now let us compare the characters found in these writings. In the Vîra Râghava copper plate we find the following characters which are almost like their Malayalam symbols, ***a, i, e, k***, *kh, g, gh, ch, ñch, ṭ, n, ṇ, p, m, y, l, ll, v, ś, śr, sh, h, ḷ*. Of these we find ***e, g, śr, h***, in the inscription of A.D. 772 (column 9) : *i, kh, g, ch, ñch, ṭ, ṇ, p, y, l, ll, v, ś, śr, sh, h*, in the eighth century inscriptions of Nândivarman Pallavamalla (columns 10, 11) : *e, g, ṭ, p, y, l, ll, ś, śr*, ***h***, in the Jâtilavarman plates of C. eighth century (column 12) : and *k, g, p, y, v, ś, śr*, ***h***, in the Râjaśêkara copper plate which is shown to be a very early one (column 4). We find all these characters in these plates exactly as they are in Malayalam. We have ***gh*** in the eighth century Tamil inscriptions of Nândivarman Pallavamalla and Jâṭilavarman

exactly as it is in Tamil Grantha. We do not find *gh* in any inscriptions of Malabar, except in the Vîra Râghava plate. The symbols for *gh* in Malayalam and Tamil *Grantha* are almost the same.

In the Vîra Râghava plate we have *m* twelve times and *mm* once. The symbol *m* is twice written exactly as it is in Malayalam. It is written ten times, and *mm* once quite differently, just as we find in all other inscriptions.

As for *ṟ*, it is not Ârya-eḻuttu. This character is not necessary for writing Sanskrit, of which Ârya-eḻuttu is the alphabet. It was, no doubt, taken from Vaṭṭeḻuttu and adopted into the Malayalam alphabet. The symbol *ṟ* of our copper plate is not like the Malayalam *ṟ* but like the Vaṭṭeḻuttu *ṟ* of Râjaśêkhara and Tâṇu Iravi Tiruvalla. The symbols *â* and *u* are added to it, just as in Malayalam. This character, therefore, was adopted into the Malayalam alphabet. No one can, however, say when it was adopted, or whether it was newly adopted, by the writer of our copper plate.

We have *ḷ* in the Tiruparappu copper plate of the ninth century (column 13). We find *ṇ* in the Jâṭilavarman plates (*c.* eighth century) and others, almost like the Malayalam *ṇ*.

As to the remaining characters *a* and *â*, we do not find any other inscription in Kêraḷam in which these characters occur. But we find a symbol for *â* almost like its modern Malayalam equivalent in the inscription of Mârañchaṭaiyan (column 9). We find *a* and *â* in the eighth century inscriptions of Jâṭilavarman and Nândivarman in a slightly different form, *i.e.*, almost like their Tamil Grantha equivalents.

Now let us take the symbol *a* again. In the plate showing the early Pallava Grantha alphabet of the seventh century (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, p 222), the symbol *a* is almost like the modern Malayalam *a*, though all the other characters are far from being similar to their modern equivalents. In the Grantha alphabet of the eighth century (*ibid.*, p. 223) the symbol *a* is far from being similar to the modern *a*, but some other characters approach their modern equivalents. Lastly in the table showing the Grantha alphabet of the last quarter of the eighth century (*Ibid.*, p. 224), the character *a* by no means approaches the modern *a*; but many of the other symbols are just like their modern equivalents. From all this we find that the development of the Grantha alphabet was not uniform throughout Southern India.

So the argument that the Grantha characters of our copper plate are too developed to be ascribed to any date earlier than the fourteenth century falls to the ground. For we find them in the eighth century inscriptions of the Tamil country.

Evidence in support of an early date from the Grantha characters.—Let us see whether we can arrive at any positive idea regarding the date, from the Grantha characters used in this plate.

The peculiarity of the symbol *ai* should be noted. It is written twice with two symbols, called *puḷḷi*, unlike its modern equivalent. Since we do not find that character in any other inscription, we cannot say when this gave place to its modern form.

Let us again compare the characters of Vira Raghava's copper plate with those of other plates. The few characters we find in the Râjasêkhara plate are, no doubt, more archaic than those of Vîra Râghava's plate.

(1) Now compare the Vîra Râghava plate with the Tâṇu Iravi plates. In Tâṇu Iravi there are only very few Grantha characters. The characters for comparison are *t*, *r*, *s*, and *m*. The symbol *s* of Tâṇu Iravi is just like its modern equivalent. We have no pure *s* but *stu* in the Vîra Râghava plate. The symbol *s* of that *stu* is far from being similar to the modern *s* which we

find in the Tâṇu Iravi plates. The symbol *r* of Tâṇu Iravi is decidedly more developed than that of our copper plate. There is a bending on the left side which, if extended further down, makes it like the modern *r*. Out of the 12 *m* symbols in our copper plate, two are fully developed. We find only three of that character in Tâṇu Iravi, and they are like the undeveloped ten of the Vira Raghava copper plate. Taking the whole into consideration, Vîra Râghava is older than Tâṇu Iravi.

(2) If we compare *e, ch, ñch, t, r,* and *s* of our plate with those of the Tamil country inscriptions of Nandivarman (eighth century, column 10), we shall find those of the latter are more developed than those of the former. This is presumptive evidence that Vira Râghava is older than Nandivarman, eighth century.

(3) The symbol *kr* in Nandivarman, Jâṭilavarman, etc., is uniform and has some resemblance to its modern equivalent. But the *kr* of Vira Râghava's plate has no resemblance to the modern *kr*. It is written twice in the Vîra Râghava plate, exactly in the same form. This affords presumptive evidence that our copper plate is earlier than the eighth century.

Again, comparing Râjaśêkhara with Nândivarman, the symbols *kh, t, dh,* and *n* of the latter are just like their Malayalam equivalents, while those of Râjaśêkara are archaic. Râjaśêkhara, therefore, must be earlier than the eighth century.

Is there any evidence against an early date from the Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters ?—Now let us turn to the Vaṭṭeḷuttu portion of the copper plate. Though Mr. Venkayya has said that it may not be quite safe to base any conclusion on the Vaṭṭeḷuttu portion, he says that "the Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters of this grant appear to be more modern than those of the Cochin plates of Bhaskara Ravivarman and of the Tirunelli plates." As usual he does not tell us his grounds.

I have examined almost all the available ancient Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions. Many of the characters are the same in all of them, but there are differences in a few. The subjoined plate shows these characters as they are written in 23 inscriptions. The first column shows the characters of the Vîra Râghava plate; the second those of the Tirunelli plates of Pârkara Iravi (facsimile, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX, p. 290); the third those of the Cochin plates of Pârkara Iravi (facsimile, *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 334); the fourth those of the miscellaneous inscriptions of the same king (facsimile *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, pp. 34-46); the fifth those of the Râjaśêkhara copper plate (facsimile, *ibid.*, p. 12. I have traced the characters from the plate itself); the sixth, those of the first set of the Kottayam plates of Tâṇu Iravi, ninth century; the seventh, those of the second set of the above (facsimile of both, *ibid.*, pp. 66-82); the eighth, those of the Mûvaṭattu Maṭham plate of Tâṇu Iravi, ninth century (facsimile, *ibid.*, p. 68, I have traced the characters from the plate itself); the ninth, those of the inscriptions of Mârañchaṭaiyan, eighth century (facsimile, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 320; *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, p. 286); the tenth, those of the Madras Museum plates of Jâtilavarman, *c.* eighth century, (facsimile, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, pp. 70, 71); the eleventh, those of the Mâmpaḷḷi plate, A.D. 973 (facsimile, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, p. 236); the twelfth, those of the Parttivapuram inscription of A.D. 923 (plate, *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, p. 286); the thirteenth, those of the Kanṭiyûr inscriptions of 936 A.D. (plate, *ibid.*, p. 286); the fourteenth, those of the Kaviyûr inscription of 949 A.D. (plate, *ibid.*, p. 288); the fifteenth, those of the inscription of Rajaraja I, tenth century (plate, *ibid.*, p. 288); the sixteenth, those of the Rajendra Chola inscription A.D. 1003 (facsimile, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, p. 146); the seventeenth, those of the Kanṭiyûr inscription of A.D. 1221 (plate, *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I); the eighteenth, those of the Chittaral inscription of A.D. 1374 (plate, *ibid.*, p. 296); the nineteenth, those of the Nâvâyakkaḷam inscription of A.D. 1439 (plate, *ibid.*, p. 296); the twentieth, those of the

The Plate showing the variations in the Vatteluttu Alphabet

	Vira Raghava	Parkara Tirunelli	Parkara Cochin Plates	Parkara Miscellaneous	Rajasekhara	Thanu Iravi, No. 1, 9th century	Thanu Iravi, No. 2, 9th century	Thanu Iravi, No. 3, 9th century	Maranjadaiyar, 8th century	Jatilavarman, C. 8th century	Mamballi Plate, 10th century	Parthiva, A.D. 923	Kandiyur, A.D. 948	Kaviyur, A.D. 949	Rajaraja, I, 10th century	Rajendra Chola, A.D. 1001	Kandiyur, A.D. 1221	Chittarai, A.D. 1374	Navay, A.D. 1439	Paliyam Plates, A.D. 1663	Parur, A.D. 1624	Michiral Plates, A.D. 1770	Huzur Treasury Plates
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
A																							
I																							
U																							
O																							
K																							
Ku																							
Kû																							
Ko																							
Ṅ																							
Ñ																							
Ṭu																							
Ṭai																							
Ṇ																							
T																							
Tâ																							
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Ṛu																							
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Ṉ																							
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K. N. Daniel

Pâliyam plates, A.D. 1663 (*ibid.*, pp. 6-11); the twenty-first, those of the Parur Church inscription of 1624 A.D. (facsimile, *ibid.*, p. 300); and twenty-second, those of the Michirai Maṭham plate of A.D. 1770 (facsimile, *ibid.*, p. 300); the twenty-third, those of the Huzur Treasury plates of the time of Pârkara Iravi (facsimile, *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, Part III, pp. 178-207).

A mere glance at the accompanying plate, showing the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet of different inscriptions, will convince the expert reader that Mr. Venkayya is wrong in saying that the Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters of the document under consideration are more modern than those of the Cochin plates and of the Tirunelli plates.

Let us compare the characters of the different inscriptions in the accompanying plate. There are two varieties of *ṟ*. We find closed and open *ṟ* symbols in the Tâṇu Iravi plates of the ninth century; a closed *ṟ* in the Parur inscription of the seventeenth century; and an open *ṟ* in the Michirai Maṭham plate of the eighteenth century.

Now let us take *ṉ*. We find a closed and an open *ṉ* in the Tâṇu Iravi plates of the ninth century, and in the Pârkara Iravi. We find a closed *ṉ* in the Nâvâyakkaḷam inscription of the fifteenth century, Chittaral inscription of the fourteenth century, etc., and an open *ṉ* in the Pâliyam plates of the seventeenth century, the Parur inscription of the seventeenth century, Michirai Matham plates of the eighteenth century, etc.

Let us look at the symbol *a*. There are six or seven varieties of this character. We find two varieties in our copper plate. One of them is in those of Pârkara Iravi, Tâṇu Iravi, etc. The other is almost like that of the Mârañchaḍaiyan inscription (col. 9). All the varieties of *a* need not be of the same rudimentary form.

In the modern Malayalam alphabet there are two symbols for *î*. One is an adaptation from the Vaṭṭeḷuttu. In Vaṭṭeḷuttu *î* is a *r* with a dot on either side. In Malayalam an *r* with dot on either sides is read *î*.

The next symbol for consideration is *u*. The difference is only very slight in the case of this symbol. It may be stated that there are five varieties. The one variety which we find in Vîra Râghava is that with two angles. The same variety is seen in four inscriptions of the tenth century (cols. 12, 13, 14 and 15). The Tirunelli plate (col. 2) and the Huzur Treasury plates (col. 23), both of the sixth century, have almost the same form. Another variety is in the plates of Pârkara Iravi, Tâṇu Iravi (ninth century), Mâmpalli plate (tenth century): another in Jâtilavarman (*c.* eighth century), Tâṇu Iravi No. 3, Tiruvalla (ninth century): another in the Pâliyam plates (seventeenth century).

There are three varieties of the symbol *k* and two of them are found in the Tâṇu Iravi plate No. 3 and in the inscriptions of the seventeenth century. The third variety is found only in the eighth century inscriptions.

There are two varieties of the symbol *ṅ*, and both are found in the seventeenth century inscriptions.

Symbol *ñ* is written in two forms and both are found in the Tâṇu Iravi plates of the ninth century. One is in the Râjaśêkhara plate, the Chittaral inscription of the fourteenth century, and Nâvâyakkaḷam inscription of the fifteenth century; the other which is in Vîra Râghava's is found in all other inscriptions.

There are two forms of *pe* and both are found in Tâṇu Iravi of the ninth century. One of them, which is in Vîra Râghava, is found in Pârkara Iravi, Râjaśêkhara, the tenth century inscription of Kaviyûr, the fourteenth century inscription of Chittaral, and the fifteenth century inscription of Nâvâyakkaḷam. The eighth century inscription of Jâtilavarman is also

almost identical. The other form is in Pârkara Iravi, Mârañchaḍaiyan of the eighth century, the Pârttivapuram and Mâmpaḷḷi inscriptions of the tenth century.

There are five or six varieties of *y* in the subjoined plate, from which we cannot draw any conclusion whatever.

Evidence in support of an early date from the Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters.—Let us take the character *lu*. The symbol *l* is quite visible in the *lu* of Vîra Râghava, Râjaśêkhara, and in two inscriptions of Pârkara Iravi, and is fairly visible in the Cochin plates of Pârkara Iravi. *Vide lu* of cols. 1, 3, 4 and 5 and *lû* of cols. 1 and 4. The symbol *l* is uniform in all inscriptions, except in the Paliyam plates and the Michirai plates (cols. 20, 22).

Originally *lu* must have been a *l* with some additional mark, and in course of time have changed and lost all resemblance to *l*. We can clearly trace the development. In the Cochin plates of Pârkara Iravi the additional mark of *u*, instead of coming down through the last line, [illegible], made a bend at the top and came down in another line. This is the only difference between the Vîra Râghava *lu* and a certain variety of the Pârkara *lu* which underwent another change. The bending of *l* gave place to a single line [illegible]. That is the form in which this character appears in other inscriptions. None, I hope, will gainsay this, and contend that the symbol *lu*, which has no resemblance whatever with *l*, is the original form. It is not true with any other symbol of the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet, nor with any symbol of any alphabet. In all alphabets, as well as Vaṭṭeḷuttu, where the symbols have inflections, it is invariably made by adding some mark to the symbol in its *a* form.

Some may argue that though the symbol *lu* of Vîra Râghava and Râjaśêkhara is the original form, it does not necessarily follow that those inscriptions are earlier than all the others, in which a later form of *lu* appears. Original forms and later forms may co-exist for some centuries, and therefore an earlier form may be found in a comparatively late inscription. But we should bear in mind that the Vîra Râghava plate has the symbol *lu* five times and *lû* once ; all uniformly written. The Râjaśêkhara plate has *lu* twice, and both uniformly written. The Pârkara Iravi inscriptions have the different stages of *lu*. The character *lû* employed in the Perunna inscription B of Pârkara Iravî (sixth century) is given in col. 4, which is exactly like that of the Vîra Râghava plate ; and the symbol *lu* employed twice in the Tirukkôṭittâṉam inscription C. of Pârkara Iravî is given in col. 4, in which *l* is quite visible as in the Vîra Râghava plate. But in the same inscription a different *lu*, as we find in col. 7, is used five times in which *l* is not at all visible. I have read all the published facsimiles of the Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions and a very large number of unpublished inscriptions, and I found this *lu* only in one more inscription, *viz.*, that of Mârañchaḍaiyan (eighth century) in the Tirukkuṇâlam temple (No. 480 of the collection of 1917 preserved in the Madras Office of Epigraphy). It is exactly like the Vîra Râghava *lu*. Of the several inscriptions of Mârañchaḍaiyan now preserved, we find this original form of *lu* only in one inscription, and therefore we may assume that this form of *lu* had almost gone out of use during the days of Mârañchaḍaiyan in the eighth century. Nowhere else did I find this original *lu*. We find this original form of *lu* only in five inscriptions, one written at Cranganore and one at Tiruvalla,

one at Perunna, one at Tirukkôṭittâṉam and one at Kuṟṟâlam. We have one ninth century document and another of the sixth century—35 big copper plates now preserved in the Trivandrum Museum—written at Tiruvalla itself. We do not find in any of them this particular form of *lu* which appears in the Tiruvalla plate of Râjaśêkhara. No scholar will contend that all this is due to mere chance. It, therefore, follows that Vîra Râghava and Râjaśêkhara are the earliest and Pârkara Iravi the next in point of date. Some may point to the Paliyam plates and the Parur inscription (cols. 20, 21). The characters of the Paliyam plates (A.D. 1663) are very different from the ancient inscriptions. The symbol *l* which is uniform in all ancient inscriptions has undergone a change in the Paliyam plates. The vowel *u* and *û* is added to *l*, not as it is in Vatteḻuttu, but as it is in Malayalam or Grantha. The symbol *lu* of the Michirai Maṭham plates (A.D. 1770) is not like that of the Paliyam plates (cols. 20, 22). As for the Parur inscription (col. 21), the symbol *lu* is exactly the Tamil *lu—vide* the character in the facsimiles of the ancient or modern Tamil inscriptions. (*Trav. Arch. Series,* Vol. I, pp. 6-9). The symbol *l* of Vaṭṭeḻuttu and Tamil are the same. The Tamil alphabet was commonly used in Keralam during the seventeenth century. The writer of the Parûr inscription had to write a *lu* after a *l*. He therefore may have written a Tamil *lu* by confusion. Or else he thought it proper to introduce a Tamil *lu* into the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet. Anyhow none followed him.

Conclusion.

We can now summarize what we have said on the date of the copper plate in question. We find that there are only four dates which suit the Astronomical requirements given in our plate—A.D. 230, 680, 775 and 1320. I don't think that any one will ascribe to this plate so late a date as the fourteenth century, after reading the specimens of Malayalam prose of the thirteenth century which I have quoted above.

Paleography has made it very clear that Vîra Râghava is earlier than the eighth century. The year 775 is also, therefore, out of the question.

Now there remain A.D. 230 and 680. It is unquestionably proved on Astronomical grounds that Pârkara Iravi Varmar was of the sixth century. Among the witnesses of the Vîra Râghava plate we do not find the king of the Venpolinâṭu who is mentioned in the Cochin plates of Pârkara Iravi. If the dynasty of Venpolinâṭu was in existence at the time of Vîra Râghava, it would have been by no means omitted, seeing that Venpolinâṭu was a strong Christian centre. Vîra Râghava, therefore, must be earlier than Pârkara Iravi. Vîrakêraḷa Chakravartti, who lived during the middle of the first century B.C., is mentioned as the great predecessor of Vîra Râghava, but Pârkara Iravi Varmar does not make mention of him. Perhaps he belonged to a different dynasty or, on account of the great distance of time, the name of Vîrakêraḷa Chakravartti was omitted. This also leads us to think that Vîra Râghava was older than Pârkara Iravi Varmar. Vîra Râghava is a pure Sanskrit name, but Pârkara Iravi is a Tamilised Sanskrit name, and consequently is of so late a date that the Âryan kings in the south allowed their names to be Tamilised. Vîra Râghava, therefore, is earlier than Pârkara Iravi.

Paleographic evidence, especially that afforded by the character *lu* of Vaṭṭeḻuttu, also leads us to the conclusion that Vîra Râghava was earlier. The date, therefore, of Vîra Râghava is March 6, 230 A.D.

MISCELLANEA.

MOUNT D'ELI.

In the issue of this *Journal*[1] for January, 1923 (pp. 83-5), Sir Richard Temple appears to accept almost too readily the view expressed by Mr. K. V. Subramanya Aiyar in his article on "An Unidentified Territory of Southern India," that the real meaning of Mount D'Eli is the Rat Hill, and not the Seven Hills. I venture to suggest that Mr. Subramanya Aiyar's explanation is ingenious but incorrect, and that Sir Richard Temple and others who have held that the vernacular name for Mount D'Eli signified the Seven Hills need not so easily abandon that opinion.

Mr. Subramanya Aiyar admits that in Sanskrit works like the *Kerala-Mâhâtmya* the region surrounding this hill is called the land of the Seven Hills (*Saptaśaila*); but he states that the mistake arose with the Indian scholiast, who confounded the dental *l* with the lingual *ḷ* in transcription. This appears to me to be a gratuitous assumption; for it is not only in Sanskrit works, which are more or less modern, that the hill in question is known as the Seven Hills, but also in Tamil works of undoubted antiquity, in which this hill is mentioned, the name it bears means unequivocally the Seven Hills. Thus in *Naṟṟiṇai,* which is one of the acknowledged Sangam works, we find in lyric No. 391 the following passage :—

Ponpaḍu Koṇkâna Nanna-nannâṭṭ'
Êḻiṟ kunṟam peṟinum,

which means "even if we obtain the Seven Hills (*Êḻir Kunṟam*) situate in the prosperous territory of Nannan in golden Koṇkâna." Again in *Ahanânûru,* another well-known Sangam collection, we read in lyric No. 152, *Nannan êlineḍu-varai,* that is, "the Seven Hills of Nannan." We gather from old Sangam works that this Nannan belonged to a minor branch of the Cêra line (*Ahanânûṟu* 97 ; 258) and ruled over a territory, Pûḻi-nâḍu (*Padiṟṟup-pattu* IV, Epilogue), situated in Koṇkânam, the modern Konkan (*Naṟṟiṇai* 391). His chief cities were Kadambu-peru-vâyil (*Padiṟṟup-pattu* IV, Epilogue), Pâḻi (*Ahanânûṟu* 15 ; 258), Viyalûr (*Ahanânûṟu* 97), and Pirambu (*Ahanânûṟu* 356); and he owned two mountains, Êḻil Kunṟam or Êḻin Neḍuvarai (*Naṟṟiṇai* 391, *Aganânûru* 152) and Pâḻi Śilambu (*Ahanânûṟu* 152). Kunṟam, Varai, and Śilambu are synonyms, meaning mountain. It is this Êḻil Kunṟam or Êḻin Neḍuvarai—the seven mountains—that the European navigators came to call Mount D'Eli. Thus, if the evidence of ancient Tamil literature be accepted —and there is no reason why it should not be—the term *eli* in the European Mount D'Eli has no connexion with *eli,* the Tamil word for *mûshika* or "rat", but it stands for *êḻu,* the Tamil numeral denoting seven. In these circumstances, no purpose is served by attempting to connect the name of the hill with the Tamil word for rat, as Mr. Subramanya Aiyar has done, on the strength of a story told by a romancing poet-chronicler of comparatively recent date. It will be much nearer the fact to hold that the poet gave an ingenious twist to the name of the hill to suit the exigencies of his miraculous story.

K. G. SESHA AIYAR.

TOOTNAGUE.

For examples of the use of this term, see *ante,* vols. XXVI, p. 223 ; XXXIII, p. 323.

Yule, *Hobson Jobson,* derives the word from Port. *tutenaga* and says that the formation is obscure. A recent Reply in *Notes and Queries,* vol. CXLVI, p. 258, however, goes into this origin and there seems no doubt that it is derived from Skr. *tuttha,* blue vitriol, sulphate of copper + *nâga,* tin or lead.

The *Madras Manual of Administration,* Vol. III, *s.v.* Toottam has : Tootnaug (*nâga,* San.; *tuttinâga,* Marh.; *tuttinâgamu,* Tel.; *nâgam,* Mal.; *tuttunâgam,* Tam.). Zinc......spelter.

L. M. ANSTEY.

BOOK-NOTICES.

A METAPHYSIQUE OF MYSTICISM, by A. GOVINDACHARYA SVAMIN (Vedically Viewed).

It is impossible in the course of a brief review to notice in detail the many aspects of mysticism, as related to other philosophical systems or scientific data, or the various view-points of other mystics, which have been quoted by the author, sometimes, at considerable length, to support his views and sometimes in defence of the general tenets of mysticism. Suffice it to say, that the author has filled his work with copious extracts from writers, both Eastern and Western, on Mysticism, Philosophy and Religion. How far there is justification for the claim which is made throughout the work that other mystic systems, such as Sufi-ism, even other religions such as Christianity and Buddhism, or other philosophical doctrines such as Tao-ism in its earliest and purest form, derived their inspiration, if not their origin, from the Vedanta philosophy of the Upanishads and of the Bhagavad Gîtâ, must be left to the reader himself to judge in each particular case. But it may be remarked in general that the claim appears to be a large one, that it ignores the possibility of independent and indigenous origins of creeds and philosophical systems, and that it rests on no very clearly defined evidence. It is, moreover, a question whether the mystic sense has not been read by the Author into the whole Vedanta philosophy of the time of the Upani-

[1] Reprinted from *JRAS.*, April, 1924, pp. 257-258.

shads and of the Bhagavad-Gitâ, down to Shankarâchârya, its most famous exponent. That philosophy stands forth as a notable example of the many reasoned philosophical attempts, which have been made by the human intellect, to resolve the many into the One, to get rid by means of an intellectual *tour de force* of the plurality of objectivity, manifested to the ordinary organs of perception and cognition; by shutting out, as it were. the phenomenal world, including the observer's own body, and by concentrating the attention inwardly, thus attaining to the recognition of the unity of the human soul with God, the *anima mundi*. It should, moreover, never be forgotten that the Vedanta philosophy of Shankarâchârya divides itself naturally into an esoteric and an exoteric conception of the Deity—Param Brahma and Aparam Brahma, where Brahma is advisedly of neuter gender. But the esoteric, or metaphysical aspect is never wholly divorced from the exoteric, or religious aspect. Moreover it is sought to prove the whole Vedanta philosophy by means of the ordinary intellectual processes, witness the identification of "cause" and "effect," and so on. It is therefore open to question how far such a philosophy, based on logical proofs, can be said to be the same as the author's mystic interpretation of it, an interpretation which elevates Shrî Kṛṣṇa into something perilously near a personal God. Nevertheless, the author's work possesses many features of interest to the general reader and will no doubt be welcomed by mystics in all lands as a compendium of Mysticism, a faith which universally uses one form of expression, namely that of transcendental exaltation of the heart. For Mysticism is based on *faith* in God, and is therefore above and beyond proof. In the very opening section the three "fundamentals" of the mystic creed are stated to be "God," "soul" and "immortality." "God" is termed "Spirit," and it is stated that the mystic *requires* God not merely as Absolute, not merely as Personal, but as a combination of both the Absolute and the Personal. The mystic, says the author, "seeks the explication of God; his outpourings are more from the heart than of the head or the hand. Hence his aim is at the beauty, (*rūpa*), side of the Creator, which he expresses from the beauty analogies of his Creation. The mystic is the Lover of God, and "God is the Lover and Love." This is not Vedantism. It is pure imagery and apparently borrowed from Sufi-ism. The Deity is here very much *sa-guṇam* or possessed of attributes. Again, it is said that the mystic is concerned with the relation of his self or soul with God. That this soul can never have existence except by God's existence, and that immortality consists in the union of God and soul, and that the effecting of this union is the endeavour of the mystic. So far this is more or less in keeping with Vedanta esoterism. When, however, it is claimed that the three states of consciousness, namely waking, dreaming and sleeping *prove* that there is an *ego*, a soul, which attaches itself or detaches itself from the objective Universe, we can only reply that, however much Vedanta is followed in this particular, this is not *proof*, but inference. But it is not Vedanta to exalt, as the author does, the *guṇa* (attribute) *ânand* (bliss) above the other *guṇas*, *sat* (being, truth) and *chit* (mind, intelligence) of the *param brahma*. It is obviously logically false to ascribe, as the Vedanta does, *any* attributes to an attributeless Deity; the paradox is sought to be resolved by making the 3 *guṇas*. *sach-chid-ânand* as evanscent or as ineffable as human language can possibly describe them. But mysticism when it exalts "God's bliss," unconsciously perhaps makes a reality of this *guṇa*, and God becomes *sa-guṇam*—a personal God. Here then is the parting of the ways between Vedantism pure and simple and Mysticism. The latter is seen to be a development of the former, a development which in the end results in producing a Theism as distinct from a metaphysical doctrine; a development in process of time, long after the philosophical treatises of the Upanishads and the Bhagavad-Gitâ were composed; traceable through the Theism of the Bhakti poets and tinged in more modern times with the erotic imagery of Sufi-ism, which far from being a development from Vedantism, reacted on the latter, so as to transform it completely and divorce it from its philosophical standpoint. Did not the sage Bahva observe silence when asked to describe the Deity? Does not the mystic speak of God as "bridegroom" and "lover" and dwell on his "bliss" and "beauty"? Hence Vedanta and Mysticism are as the poles apart, but such is the self-deceptive nature of the human intellect that it is possible for the Mystic to claim that "bride-groom," "lover," "beauty" and "bliss" are purely symbolical terms, apparently oblivious of the fact that they are abstract expressions, which have their root in and are suggested by the practical experience of the cognitive faculty in the world of being and becoming.

In the 4th section the author treats of "mystic factors" in the Bhagavad-Gitâ. *Bhakta*, which simply means "devotee" is strained to mean "mystic lover." The derivation of Kṛṣṇa from the roots Kṛṣ and *ṇas*, "earth" and "heaven" smacks of the Pandits.

In the 5th section spiritual knowledge, which might more appropriately be termed spiritual faith, is exalted above objective and subjective knowledge, *i. e.*, knowledge gained by the ordinary senses of perception and knowledge gained by scientific abstraction or deduction from known scientific data, respectively. The position is necessary to the idealist and the dreamer, but it will be found

that, when giving expression to the articles of his spiritual faith, he seeks to establish his position by unconscious reference to objective and subjective data.

Incidentally it may be remarked that the word "Pandit" can hardly mean "mystic."

In the sixth section it is claimed that by the enlargement of the senses, or by expansion of the intellect, or by exaltation of the heart, the mystic is given ineffable visions of the Reality. It is generally supposed that the exaltation alluded to is sufficient to account for the mystic state. For in section seven it is stated that by "metaphysical abstraction" God is "realized"; that is to say the first step is to exclude objective perception or cognition. Then, it is stated, by "mystical abstraction," or, as the ordinary man would say, by exaltation of the feelings, God is "enjoyed."

The 8th section makes large claims for Kṛṣṇa worship as underlying the belief in the Divine in all lands. Lillie, whose work "India in primitive Christianity" connects the doctrines of the Essenes with neo-Buddhism and the latter with Śaivism, is referred to by the Author in this connexion. But there is no room in Lillie's scheme for Kṛṣṇa. The ascription of the Vedic epithet Kṛṣṇa, "black," or "dark-hued" to the Kṛṣṇa of the Mahâbhârata is fanciful. Kṛṣṇa was of Rajput and Western Indian origin and had no place in the Vedic Pantheon of Nature Gods of the Panjab and Ganges Valley.

Section 9 is an attempt to reconcile the agnosticism of Buddhism with the mystic view, by means of the thesis that Buddha in his "illumination" finally attained to "blessed Nirvâṇâ." But this is Edwin Arnold, and no amount of word-painting can reconcile the essential differences between a negative, a pessimistic creed of quietism, albeit charged with the performance of charity and good works, and the positive, optimistic, efflorescent outpourings of the mystic.

A similar argument applies when we turn to China and when it is sought to read mysticism into Confucianism, the author of which said "do not trouble about supersensuous things; they are mere speculations, keep your mind for the practicalities of life."

And again to Tao-ism, which originating as a purely philosophical speculation, in which nothing was very clearly predicted of "Tao," degenerated into a mass of superstitions in combination with Shamanism.

The Mysticism of Sufi-ism is well-known, but it may be remarked that the metaphysical principle underlying it, requiring as it does, the separateness of God and the worshipper, has nothing to do with the Vedanta principle of *advaita* or Monism, and is in fact diametrically opposed to it. It is a fact that the metaphysic of the *bhakti* school of worship, as exemplified in the poetical writings of Narasinha Meheto, Akho Bhakata, Tukarâma, Nâmdeva and others in Western India appears to incline towards Theism and *dvaita-bhâva*, or dualism; a personal God is invoked and too often *advaita-bhâva* is directly contradicted by appealing to such a God. In fact Bhakti worship in its development departed from the Vedanta metaphysic. Indian mysticism hence appears to be a development and Etherealisation of *Bhakti-bhâva*.

So in conclusion it may be said that Mysticism, which speaks of God as "bridegroom" and "lover" and uses other attributes for the *nirguṇam param brahma*, or attributeless Supreme Entity of the Vedanta, has reclothed Him, or shall we say It, unconsciously perhaps, but nevertheless fatally, as far as logic is concerned, with *guṇas* (attributes) and *upâdhis* (limitations), and that in the Divinity of the Mystic we have a spiritualized exaltation of the *aparam Brahma* of Vedanta *theology* and *avidyâ*, but not of Vedanta *metaphysic* and *vidyâ*.

W. DODERET.

ANNUAL REPORT ON EPIGRAPHY FOR THE YEAR 1921-22; Superintendent, Government Press, Madras. 1923.

Several interesting records were discovered and examined during the year by the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, the earliest being a Sanskrit inscription of the Nala kings, engraved in archaic Telugu characters of about the fifth century of the Christian era. The Nalas have hitherto been known as the traditional enemies of the western Chalukyas, and as having been defeated by Kirtivarman I. They apparently belonged to the Kalinga country, though Fleet located them in the Konkan during the 6th century A.D. A copper-plate containing a record of the early Eastern Chalukya king Indra Bhattâraka, is important as proving, in supersession of previous views, that this king actually ascended the throne and reigned for seven days. The short duration of his rule is accounted for by the attack made upon him by king Indravarman of the Ganga dynasty of Kalinganagara and his allies. The record is concerned with the grant of a village, probably in the Kistna district, to certain Brahmans and other persons, whose surnames end in *boya*—probably a Prakrit form of *bhogika*. It is noteworthy that although there are no Brahmans in this area to-day, who bear this title of *boya*, the word does occur in certain modern Brahman names in Kashmir. Among many records of Kulottunga-Chola I, deciphered during the year, is one stating that a captain in a certain regiment presented some of the women of his family as *devaradiyar* for service in a temple, after branding them with the *trisul* (trident) in token of their being set apart to the service of the god. This proves that at the date of the record this class of *devadasi* occupied

an honourable position and had not declined in social esteem to the position which they now hold. In another record of the same reign some of these women are stated to have been forcibly removed from the temple to the king's household, but, on a representation being made to the king, he ordered their return to the shelter of the temple.

A sidelight on criminal justice is furnished by an inscription of Vikrama-Choladeva, which records that a man charged with accidental homicide was sentenced to keep a lamp burning at his own expense in a temple of Śiva for the benefit of the spirit of the deceased. Several inscriptions of the Vijayanagar kings mention various dues and taxes realised from the villages, including dues paid to the village watchman, taxes on garden lands, oil-mills, and tanks, and pay for the military commander and for the royal messenger. Another interesting document of the reign of the Karnata king Sriranga II contains an agreement by the people of a *nadu* (district) to allow certain privileges to three classes of artisans, blacksmiths, goldsmiths and carpenters.

The Report ends with an interesting discussion of the position of the ancient South Indian temple in the corporate life of the community, as depicted in the inscriptions, and with notes on village irrigation, the *gana* of the village, and the *brahmasthana* or Brahman assembly-hall at Uttamasola-sola-Chaturvedi-mangalam. Many other details of interest are included in the Report.

S. M. EDWARDES.

SUPPLEMENTARY CATALOGUE OF THE COINS IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM COIN CABINET. Non-Muhammadan Series, Vol.. I., by B. B. BIDYABINOD, Assistant Curator, Government of India, Calcutta, 1923.

I have been through this valuable publication and the first point that strikes me on perusing it is the enormous advance in the knowledge of Indian Numismatics and history in recent years that has made such a work possible. The writer has had at his hand an important set of numismatic exhibits at Calcutta of which the Indian Museum may well be proud, and he has made such use of the research at his disposal as to bring before antiquarian readers the contents of hitherto uncatalogued exhibits in a manner which cannot but content them. I have noticed slips in printing here and there, but nothing that would mislead the enquirer. The author is to be congratulated.

The collection catalogued covers a wide range of subjects. Punch-marked, Bactrian and Indo-Greek, Indo-Parthian, Kushan, Gupta, Mahâkshatrapa, Traikûṭake, Maukharî and Vardhan kings and emperors are all represented. The Catalogue then turns to Tribal Coins : Mâlava, Nâga of Narwar, Yaudheya, Kuṇinda, Râjâs and Satrapas of Mathurâ, and of Vîrasena, a king in the Gangetic Doab. Next there are coins of Northern India: Ândhra, Audambara, Ayodhyâ, Kosam, Taxila, Mitra of Pañchâla and Kosala, Achyuta of Ahichchhatrâ. And after them Indo-Sassanian, including Mihirakula, Bhojadeva of Kanauj and other types, Hindu Kings of Ohind (Kabul), Kalachuri of Ḍâhâla, Chandella of Jejakabhukti, Tomara of Ajmir and Delhi, Râṭhor of Kanauj, Narvar and Koṭa. There is a fine list from Kashmir, commencing with Toramâṇa, and of Kângrâ, Nepal, Assam and Mithila. South Indian coins follow with several from the now-forgotten Nâyaka Kingdom of Ikkeri, which loomed so large in the eyes of the 17th century European travellers. These are followed by coins from Arakan, of which the Burmese legend is apparently not read, and this is a pity. Finally, a few coins from Native States and Portuguese India wind up the catalogue.

The mere enumeration of dynasties and localities thus given shows the width of reading and research necessary to make up anything like an acceptable catalogue, and I am impressed by the care bestowed on this one. The not infrequent remark opposite the name of a monarch, "New King" shows how valuable the collection is to the historian.

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A FOLK STORY.

Mr. M. Govindarajulu of Hyderabad recently sent to this *Journal* the following example of a folk-story current in that State.

"A certain oilmonger (Têlî) owned a bullock which strayed one day into the compound of the Kâzî. The latter, who was very angry, pronounced a judgment on the oilman, which is embodied in the following verse :—

لال کتاب مین نکلا یون
تیلی بیل پالا کیون
کہلایا کہل بنایا سانڈ
بیل کا بیل پندرہ روپیہ ڈنڈ

"or Lâl kitâb meṇ nikalâ yuṅ :—
"Têlî bail pâlâ kyûn ?
Khilâyâ khal, banâyâ saṇḍ
Bail ka bail ! pandra rupaye daṇḍ !"

'It is written in the Red Book :—Why, O Têlî, did you foster the bullock ? You fed it well with oil-cake and fattened it. Bullock of a bullock, I fine you Rs. 15.'

"The oilman was thus fined Rs. 15 and his bullock was confiscated by the Kâzî, who, however, subsequently lost it. Being alarmed at the loss, and fearing that he might have to pay the value of the

bullock as well as a fine for losing it, the Kazi promptly revoked his judgment."

It seems to me that Mr. Govindarajulu's contribution is a garbled version, or possibly a local variant, of a well-known proverbial saying in Northern India, which is quoted twice by Risley in his *People of India* (pp. 151 and App. I, xxiv) and runs as follows :—

"The oilman's bullock on one occasion took to fighting, and the owner was sued before the Kâzî for damages. The Red-Book (*i. e.*, the Kâzî) up and spake 'Oilman, what made the ox fight ? It was the oilcake you gave him: so I must have the ox and a fine into the bargain."

The whole story embodies the popular opinion that the Kâzî's judgment is a synonym for injustice, and that the injustice is specially noticeable whenever a Hindu is hauled before him. There are other proverbs about the Kâzî which all point to the same belief, notably that which runs :—

"When the Kâzî's bitch died, the whole town was at the funeral; when the Kâzî himself died, not a soul followed his coffin." That these proverbial sayings and popular fables rest upon a solid foundation of fact and experience becomes clear when we read books like Professor Jadunath Sarkar's ***Mughal Administration***. He points out that the Kâzîs of Mughal days were notoriously corrupt. Every provincial capital had its local Kâzî, who was appointed by the chief Kâzî; and these posts were frequently given for bribes. Consequently the Kâzî's department became a byword and a reproach in Mughal days. The popular judgment is crystallised in the common saying :—

"To trust a Kâzî is to court misfortune."

S. M. EDWARDES.

NORTH INDIAN PROVERBS.

The following proverbs, current among the lower classes in Northern India, were collected by Pandit Râm Gharib Chaube for the information of the late Dr. W. Crooke, C.I.E., and have not been published before. It would be interesting to know whether similar sayings are in vogue in other parts of India.

1. *Âwat âdar nâ karai, jât na dîjai hast*
Ye don kaise jiyen, jâchak au grihast.

i.e., "If the *Âdrâ nakshatra* does not bring rain at the beginning of the monsoon, and the *Hast nakshatra* does not bring rain at the end, how are the beggar and the farmer to live ?"

Applied to the beggar, the lines mean that unless the rich man speaks kindly to him when he comes and gives him something when he goes, the beggar cannot live.

2. *Panâ pahir ke jo har jotai, suthan pahir niya râwai.*
Kahai Ghâgh ye tinon bhakna, bojh liye jo gawai.

i.e., "Ghâgh says that these three are fools: he who loughs with sandals on, he who weeds grass with trousers on, and he who sings with a load on his head."

3. *Âge kai kheti âge âge*
Pâchhe kai kheti, karma bhâge.

i.e., "If you sow your seed betimes in the rainy season, you will have the chance of a good harvest: but if you sow late, only good fortune can secure you a harvest."

Much the same idea is expressed in the proverb, *Terah Kâtik, Tin Asâṛh*, meaning that in *Katik* there are thirteen days for sowing, but in *Asâṛh* only three. Those who miss the opportunity will rue it.

4. *Gehun gâheṅ dhâṅ bidâhen*
Mendnâ kodo sohe sâheṅ.

i.e., "If you want a good wheat crop, plough deep and close; if you want a good rice crop, plough your furrows rather wide; if you want *kodo* crops, weed out all the grass carefully.

5. *Thorai jotiṅ, thorai boiṅ, unch kai bândhiṅ ârî ;*
Ehu par jo anna na hokhai, Ghâgh ke diha gârî.

i.e., "Plough little, sow little, but raise the field boundaries high. If even so your crops are poor, abuse Ghâgh."

6. *Jekar bigaral mâs Asârh,*
Tekar bigaral bâraho mâs.

i.e., "He whose business fails in ***Asârh***, will have no business throughout the twelvemonth."

7. *Chhot barâ khar kâtiṅ ;*
Jânal kariṇ biyâh ;
Mâgh mâs har jotiṅ,
Kabahun na kariṅ bisâh.

i.e., "Cut all the grass in the field, marry in a decent family, plough your fields in the month of *Mâgh*, and you will never need to purchase grain."

8. *Dhil dhil bent kudâri kai,*
Haṅsî ke bolai nâri se,
Jo haṅsî ke mângai dâmâ,
I tînoṅ kâm nikâmâ.

i.e., "A loose handle to the spade, accosting women with a smile, and demanding money from a debtor with a smile; these three are evil things."

The collection ends with a caste-proverb.

9. *Châripâni kai Pândê bhalâ;*
Jekare âwai chhattis kalâ.
Chuguli khây ke banhâ deṅ
Zâmin ho ke chhurâ deṅ.

i.e., "The Pânde (Brahmans) of Châr Pâni (near Gorakhpur) are curious people. They know thirty-six tricks. By back-biting they get a man into trouble, and by standing security for the same man, in return for money, they get him released."

Apparently the Pânde Brahman does not stand high in popular estimation,

S. M. EDWARDES.

Saubhanagara—Same as **Sâlvapura.**

Śaukara-kshetra—Same as **Śûkara-kshetra.**

Saundatti—Same as **Sugandhavarti.**

Saurâshtra—The Peninsula of Guzerat or Kathiawad, the Syrastrene of Ptolemy. The name was also applied to the country from Sindh or the Indus to Baroach: that is, Guzerat, Cutch and Kathiawar (*Râmâyaṇa*, Âdi, ch. 13). Saurâjya was a synonym of Saurâshṭra (*JASB.*, 1873, p. 105). Its capital was Balabhî (*Daśakumâracharita*, ch. 6). It was governed by the Satraps under Aśoka and the Maurya kings, then by the Sah kings from the first century B.C. to the third century A.D., and after them by the Senâpatis under the Guptas of Kanouj. Under the Gupta emperors its capital was Bâmanasthali, modern Banthali, before Balabhî became its capital. According to local tradition Mâdhavapura in Kathiawar was the place where Krishṇa was married to Rukminî. Krishṇa met his death at Prabhâsa Patan near Verawal.

Śauripura—The name given by the Jainas to the town of Mathurâ (*Uttarâdhyayana* in *SBE.*, XLV, p. 112). The Jaina Tîrthaṅkara Arishṭanemi or Neminâtha was born at this place and he died on the Summit of Mount Girnar (*Kalpa Sûtra* in the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXII, p. 276). But according to the *Ḍhâlasâgara*, a Jaina work, Śauripura and Mathurâ are two different towns. Śaurî, who succeeded his father Śûra, king of Mathurâ, removed his capital to a newly built city named Śaurîpurî, while his younger brother Suvîra remained at Mathurâ.

Sauryapura—Same as **Śaurîpura.**

Sauvîra—It has been identified by Cunningham with Eder, a district in the provinces of Guzerat which was Badari of the Buddhist period, at the head of the Gulf of Kambay (*Anc. Geo.*, p. 497). Sauvîra was the Sophir or Ophir (*q.v.*) of the Bible (but see **Surpâraka**) and Sovira of the *Milinda Pañha* (*SBE.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 269) where it is described as a seaport. According to another writer, Sauvîra was situated between the Indus and the Jhelum, hence it was called Sindhu-Sauvîra (*Mbh.*, Bhîshma, ch. 9; *Râmâyaṇa*, Âdi, ch. 13). The *Satruñjaya Mâhâtmya* places it in Sindhu or Sindh. It appears from the *Agni Purâṇa* (ch. 200) that the river Devikâ and from *Bhâgavata P.*, (v. 10) the river Ikshumatî flowed through Sauvîra. Dr. Rhys Davids places Sauvîra in his Map to the north of Kathiawar and along the Gulf of Cutch (*Buddhist India*, Map facing, p 320, and *Bhâgavata*, V, ch. 10; I, ch. 10, v, 36). Alberuni identifies it with Multan and Jahrawar (*Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, pp. 300, 302; see also *SBE.*, XIV, p. 148 note). See **Devikâ.** Roruka or Roruva was the capital of Sauvîra (*Jâtaka*, Cam. Ed., Vol. III, p. 280; *Âditta Jâtaka*). But these identifications are doubtful. In the *Mârkaṇḍ. P.* (ch. 57) Sindhu and Sauvîra have been placed in the northern part of India, and mentioned along with Gândhâra, Madra, etc., Rapson says that the two parts of the compound word Sindhu-Sauvîra are often used separately as names having nearly the same meaning. and he identifies it with the modern provinces of Sindh (*Ancient India*, p. 168). Dr. Bhagavanlal Indraji says that Sindhu-Sauvîra like Âkarâvantî are usually found together. Sindhu is the modern Sindh and Sauvîra may have been part of Upper Sindh, the capital of which was Dâttâmitri (*Early Hist. of Gujarat*, p. 36), perhaps from Dâttâmitra (Demetrius), king of Sauvîra (*Mbh.*, Âdi, ch. 141). The identification of Sauvîra by Alberuni with Multan and Jahrawar seems to be correct.

Śeka—The country of Jhajpur, south-east of Ajmir (McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 138 note). But the *Mahâbhârata* (Sabhâ, ch. 31) places it to the south of the Charmaṇvatî (Chambal) and north of Avantî (Ujin); it can therefore be

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identified with North Malwa. It was conquered by Sahadeva, one of the **Pâṇḍavas**, with Apara Śeka which was evidently on the south of Śeka.

Semulapura—1. Semah, near Sambhalpur (Tavernier's *Travels*, Ball's ed., II, ch. 13). 2. Sambalaka of Ptolemy, on the river Koil, in the District of Palamu in the Chota-Nagpur division, in Bihar, celebrated for its diamond mines. It is the Soumelpour of Tavernier.

Semulla—Chaul (Bhandarkar's *Hist. of the Dekkan*, sec. viii).

Senakhaṇḍasela—Kandy (Bishop Copleston's *Buddhism in Magadha and Ceylon*, p. 235). For the transfer of the tooth-relic from Anurâdhâpura, see Mutu Coomara Swamy's *Dâṭhâvaṃsa*, Intro., XIX.

Serendvîpa—Ceylon.

Śeshâdri—See **Trimala** and **Tripadi**. It is also called *Śeshâchala*.

Setavyâ—To-wai of Fa Hian. It has been identified by Prof. Rhys Davids with Satiabia (*Indian Buddhism*, p. 72; Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 88, 347). Mr. Vost identifies it with Basedilâ, 17 miles from Sahet-Mahet and six from Balarampur (*JRAS.*, 1903, p. 513). It was the birthplace of Kaśyapa Buddha.

Setikâ—Ayodhyâ (Oudh). Setikâ is evidently a corruption of Sâketa.

Setubandha—Adam's Bridge between India and Ceylon, said to have been built by Râma with the assistance of Sugrîva for crossing over to Laṅkâ. The island of Râmeśvaram is the first link in the chain of islets forming the Adam's Bridge. The island contains the celebrated temple of Râmeśvaranâtha, one of the twelve great Liṅgas of Mahâdeva, said to have been established by Râmachandra on his way to Laṅkâ (*Śiva Purâṇa*, I, ch. 38, and *Râmâyaṇa*, Laṅkâ, ch. 22). Râmeśvara is also called Saṅgamatîrtha (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 368).

Seunadeśa—The name of the region extending from Nasik to Devagiri in the Deccan. Its capital was Devagiri or Daulatabad (Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, sec. xiv). The town of Seunapura was founded by Seunachandra I of the Yâdava dynasty.

Shaḍaraṇya—Nandî was cursed by Śiva to become a stone; he accordingly became a mountain called Nandi-durga or Nandîdroog (Garrett's *Class. Dic.*, s.v. *Nandî*). Vishṇu interceded on his behalf and Śiva ordered Gaṅgâ who was within his matted hair to fall on the mountain and to wash away the fault of Nandî (the river Pâlâr rises in Nandîdroog). Gaṅgâ replied that if she would descend on earth, she wished that Śiva and Vishṇu should have their shrines on the banks of the river, so that she might run between them to the sea. The request was granted. Śiva came to Kañchipura, where he was established by six Ṛishis. There is a temple of Vishṇu at Vellore on the opposite bank of the river Pâlâr. The waste country in which these six Ṛishis dwelt was called Shaḍaraṇya or "six wildernesses," which in Tamil was called *Aru-cadu*, which in popular language is called Arcot. But *Arcadu* is a Tamil compound of *Al* or *Ar*, the banyan tree, and *Cadu* a forest (see Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, p. 50). See **Japyeśvara**.

Shashṭhî—The island Salsette, about 10 miles to the north of Bombay. It was originally a stronghold of Buddhism and subsequently of Śaivism as evidenced by the five groups of caves Kanheri, etc., contained therein (Da Cunha's *Hist. of Chaul and Bassein*, p. 189). See **Perimuda**. Shatshashthî of the inscription (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Pt. II, p. 25).

Śiâli—Tribikramapura, in the district of Tanjore, Madras Presidency, twelve miles south of Chidambara mentioned in the *Chaitanya-Charitâmṛita* (*Archâvatâra-sthala-vaibhava-darpanam*). It is a corruption of "Śrîkâlî, same as **Siyâlî**."

Siar—Nâthadwâr on the Banas, twenty-two miles north-east of Udayapur in Mewar, where the ancient image of Keśava Deva was removed from Mathurâ by Rânâ Râj Singh in anticipation of Aurangzebe's raid (Tod's *Râjasthân*, Vol. I, ch. 19, p. 544; Growse's *Mathura*, ch. 6).

Siddhapura—1. Siddhaur, sixteen miles west of Bara Banki in Oudh. 2. Sitpur (Sidpur) in the Ahmedabad district in Guzerat, the hermitage of Ṛishi Karddama and birth-place of Kapila, about sixty-four miles from Ahmedabad (*Devî-Bhâgavata*, IX, 21). Same as **Bindu-sara** (2).

Siddhâśrama—1. Buxar in the district of Shahabad. Vishṇu is said to have incarnated as Vâmana (dwarf) at this place. On the bank of a small stream called Thorâ, near its junction with the Ganges, on the western side of Buxar, is a small mound of earth, which is worshipped as the birth-place of Vâmana Deva (*Râmâyaṇa*, Bâlakâṇḍa, ch. 29). A fair is held here every year in the month of Bhâdra in honour of Vâmana Deva. A fair is also held in honour of Vâmana Deva at Fatwa, situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Punpun, in the district of Patna, where a large number of people bathe on a festival called *Vârunî Dvâdaśî*. 2. The hermitage on the bank of the Achchhoda-sarovara in Kashmir (see **Achchhoda-sarovara**). 3. A sacred place near Dwârakâ or in Ânartta or Gujerat, where, according to the *Brahmavaivartta Purâṇa*, the reunion of Kṛishṇa and Râdhikâ took place (*Dwârakâ-mâhâtmya*, VIII, ch. 8). See **Prabhâsa.** 4. A hermitage said to be situated in the Himalaya between Kanchanjanga and Dhavalagiri, on the bank of a river called Mandakini, 14 miles from Namar Bazar (*Râmâyaṇa*, Kish. K., ch. 43).

Silâ—1. The river Gaṇḍak (Wright's *History of Nepal*, p. 130, note 33). 2. A river in the Rudra Himalaya near the source of the Ganges in Garwal (*Archâvatâra-sthala-vaibhava-darpaṇam*). 3. The river Jaxartes called Sillas or Silâ by Megasthenes in his work (see McCrindle's *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 35; Beal's *Record of the Western Countries*, Vol. I, p. 13 note). See **Sitâ.**

Silabhadra-Monastery—It was situated on an isolated hill now called Kâwâ-dol in the district of Gaya near the Railway station Bela; the monastery was visited by Hiuen Tsiang (*Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. VIII, p. 48 and Vol. XVI, p. 47). For a description of the hill, see *JASB.*, 1847, p. 402. Śîlabhadra was the head of the Nâlandâ monastery when it was visited by Hiuen Tsiang in 637 A.D., and the latter studied the *Yoga-Śâstra* under Śîlabhadra for fifteen months. See **Khalaṭika Parvata.**

Silâ-dhâpa—Same as **Mahâsthâna** (*List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal*).

Silahaṭṭa—Same as *Śrîhaṭṭa* (*Târâ Tantra*).

Silâ-Saṅgama—Śîlâ Saṅgama is a corruption and abbreviation of Bikramaśîlâ Saṅghârâma, the celebrated monastery founded by Dharmapâla, king of Magadha, about the middle of the eighth century A.D. It was the ancient name of Pâtharghâṭâ, six miles to the north of Kahalgâon (Colgong) in the district of Bhagalpur, containing the temple of Mahâdeva Baṭeśvaranâtha and rock-cut excavations. Two miles and a half to the south-east of Pâtharghâṭâ was the capital of Râjâ Gandha Mardan called Indrâsan where he built a fort in 88 A.D. (Major Franklin's *Site of Ancient Palibothra*; he quotes *Chaura Pañchâśikâ* by Chaura Kavi as his authority). See **Bikramaśilâ Vihâra.**

Siṃhala—Ceylon. The *Dipavaṃsa* relates the conquest of the island by Vijaya, who came from Lâḷa which has been identified with Râḍha in 477 B.C. Fergusson identifies Lâḷa with Lâṭa or Guzerat, but Upham says that Vijaya came to Ceylon from the province of

"Lade Desay" in the kingdom of Baṅga, which he identifies with Râḍha Deśa (Upham's *Râjaratnâkari*, ch. II, and *Râjâvali*, Pt. I.), and this identification is correct (see *JASB.*, 1910, p. 599). Mahendra, son of Aśoka, and his sister Saṅgha-mitrâ came to Ceylon during the reign of Devânâmpiya-Tissa and converted the inhabitants of the island to Buddhism (Upham's *Râjaratnâkari*, ch. II). See *Laṅkâ*. For the Ceylon coins, see *JASB.*, 1837, p. 298, plate 20.

Siṃhapura—1. It has been identified by Cunningham with Kaṭâs or Kaṭâksha, which is sixteen miles from Pindi Dadan Khan on the north side of the Salt range in the district of Jhelam in the Panjab (*Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. II, p. 191). According to Hiuen Tsiang the country of Siṃhapura bordered on the Indus on its western side; it was a dependency of Kasmir in the seventh century. It was conquered by Arjuna (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 27). It contains a sacred fountain said to have been formed by the tears of Śiva on the death of his wife Satî, to which pilgrims resort every year for the purposes of purification (*JASB.*, XVIII, p. 131). There are remains of ancient temples in Potowar in the neighbourhood of Kaṭâs. Traditionally Siṃhapura is the place where Vishṇu is said to have incarnated as Nṛisiṃha and killed Hiraṇyakaśipu (but see *Mulasthâna-pura*). 2. Siṅgur, in the district of Hughly in Bengal; it was founded by Siṃhabâhu, the father of Vijaya who conquered and colonised Laṅkâ. It is situated in Râḍha, the Lâṭa or Lâḷa of the Buddhists and Lâḍa of the Jainas,—the ancient Sumha (see my "*Notes on the History of the District of Hughly*" in *JASB.*, 1910, p. 599).

Sindhu—1. The river Indus. Above its junction with the Chinab, the Indus was called Sindh (Sindhu); from this point to Aror, it was called Pañchanad; and from Aror to its mouth it was called Mihran (Alberuni's *India*, I, p. 260; *Cal. Rev.*, Vol. CXVII, p. 15). For a description of it's source see Sven Hedin's *Trans Himâlaya*, Vol. II, p. 213. It is the Hidhu of the Behistun inscription, Hoddu of the Bible, and Hendu of the Vendidad. 2. The country of Sindh. According to Ptolemy the Âbhiras dwelt in the southern portion of Sindh, and the Mushikas resided in the northern portion. It was the Âbhiras who took away by force the ladies of Kṛishṇa's household from Arjuna while he was bringing them through the Panjab after Kṛishṇa's death (*Brahma Purâṇa*, ch. 212). After the death of Menander (Milinda of the *Milinda Pañho*) who reigned over the Panjab, Sindh, and Kabul from 140 to 110 B.C., Mauas the Scythian conquered Sindh and expelled the Greeks from the Panjab. Mauas was succeeded by his son Azas who extended his dominion beyond Jellalabad, and Azilesas, son of Azas, conquered Kabul (Cunningham's *Arch. S. Rep.*, II, p. 54). For the Muhammadan conquest of Sindh and its history and for the downfall of Alor and Brahmanabad (see *JASB.*, 1838, p. 93 and also p. 297; *Ibid.*, 1841, p. 267; *Ibid.*, 1845, pp. 75, 155). 3. The river Kâlî-Sindh in Malwa called Dakshiṇa-Sindhu in the *Mahâbhârata* (Vana P., ch. 82) and Sindhu in the *Meghadûta* (Pt. I, v. 30; *Matsya P.*, ch. 113.) The name of India (Intu of Hiuen Tsiang) is a corruption of Sindhu. For other Chinese names of India see Bretschneider's *Mediæval Researches*, II, p. 25. According to Mr. Rapson "India" originally meant the country of the Indus (*Ancient India*, p. 185). 4. A river in Malwa, which rising near Sironj falls into the Yamunâ (*Mâlatî-Mâdhava*, Acts IV, IX). It is the Pûrva-Sindhu of the *Devî P.*, ch. 39. 5. Sindhu-desa was the country of the Upper Indus (Anandaram Baruyah's *Dictionary*, Vol. III, Preface, pp. 20—25).

Sindhuparṇa—Same as **Dakshiṇa-Sindhu** (*Barâha P.*, ch. 85). Perhaps it is an erroneous combination of the words *Sindhu* and *Parnâśâ* (see *Matsya P.*, ch. 113, v. 23).

Sindhu-Sauvîra—See **Sauvîra** (*Matsya P.*, ch. 114).

Sindimana—Sehwan on the Indus in Sindh, the Sivisthâna of the Arabs (Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 264).

Siprâ—A river in Malwa on which Ujjain is situated.

Sirindhra—Sirhind (*Brahmâṇḍa P.*, Pûrva, ch. 50). It is the Sirindha of the *Barâhasaṃhitâ* (ch. 14). See **Śatadru**.

Śirovana—Talkâḍ, the capital of the ancient Chela or Chera, forty miles to the east of Seringapatam in Mysore, now buried in the sands of the Kâverî (*Archâvatâra-sthala-vaibhava-darpaṇam* of Madhura Kavi Śarmâ). See *Talakâḍa*.

Sîtâ—1. According to Mr. Csoma, the Sîtâ is the modern Jaxartes (*JASB.*, 1838, p. 282). It rises in the plateau south of Issyk-kul lake in the Thṭan-shan (McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 280). Jaxartes is also called Sir-Daria, and *Sir* is evidently a corruption of *Sîtâ* and *Daria* means a river (*Matsya P.*, ch. 120). Sîtâ is also identified with the river Yarkand or Zarafshan on which the town of Yarkand is situated. From the names of the places as mentioned in the *Brahmâṇḍa Purâṇa* (ch. 51) through which the Sîtâ flows, its identification with the Jaxartes appears to be correct, and the *Mahâbhârata* (Bhîshma Parva, ch. II) also says that it passes through Śâka-dvîpa. See **Sîlâ**. 2. The river Chandrabhâgâ (Chinab): see **Lohitya-sarovara** (*Kâlikâ P.*, chs. 22, 82). 3. The river Alakânandâ, on which Badarikâśrama is situated *Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 145, v. 49).

Sitadru—The river Sutlej.

Śitâmbara—Chidambara in the Province of Madras.

Sîtâprastha—The river Dhabalâ or Buḍha-Râptî. Same as **Bâhudâ**.

Śitoda-sarovara—The Sarik-kul lake in the Pamir. See **Chakshu.** (*Mârkand. P.*, ch. 56).

Śivâlaya—1. Ellora, Ellur or Berulen, forty miles from Nandgaon, one of the stations of the G.I.P. Railway and seven miles from Daulatabad. It contains the temple of Ghuśrîneśa or Ghrishneśa or Ghusmeśa, one of the twelve great Liṅgas of Mahâdeva mentioned in the *Śiva Purâṇa* (Pt. I, chaps. 38, 58). See **Amareśvara.** The *Padma Pûraṇa* and the *Śiva Purâṇa* (I, ch. 58) place the temple of Ghuśrîneśa at Devagiri (Deogiri or Daulatabad). The village Ellora is about three quarters of a mile to the west of the celebrated caves of Ellora (see **Ilbalapura** and **Elapura**). A sacred Kuṇḍa called Śivâlaya, round which the image of the god is carried in procession at the *Śivarâtri* festival, has given its name to the place. Ahalyâbâi, widow of Khande Rao, the only son of Malhar Rao Holkar, constructed a temple and a wall round the Kuṇḍa (*Antiquities of Bidar and Aurangabad Districts* by Burgess). The Brahmanical Cave temple at Ellora called Râvan-kâ-Khai contains the figures of the Seven Mâtṛikâs (divine mothers) with their Vâhanas namely, Châmuṇḍâ with the owl, Indrâṇî with the elephant, Varâhî with the boar, Vaishṇavî or Lakshî with Garuḍa, Kaumârî with the peacock, Maheśvarî with the bull and Brâhmî or Sarasvatî with the goose.

Śiva-paura—The country of the Siaposh (Śiva-pausa), perhaps the letter 'ra' in *paura* is a mistake for 'sa.' See **Ujjânaka** (*Matsya P.*, ch. 120).

Śivi—According to the *Vessantara Jâtaka* (*Jâtaka*, Cam. Ed., VI, p. 246), the capital of Śivi was Jetuttara which has been identified by General Cunningham with Nâgari, 11 miles north of Chitore in Rajputana, where many coins were found bearing the name of "Śivi Janapada" (*Arch. Surv. Rep.*, VI, p. 196; *JASB.*, 1887, p. 74). Hence Śivi may be identified with Mewar (see **Jetuttara**); it is the Sivikâ of the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ* (ch. 14). But see **Madhyamika.** According to the *Śivi Jâtaka* and *Mahâ-Ummaga Jâtaka* (*Jât.*, IV, p 250; VI, p. 215 respectively) the capital of Śivi was Ariṭṭhapura which perhaps was also called Dvârâvatî (*Jât.*, VI, p. 214). The story of Uśînara, king of Śivi, who gave the flesh of his own body to save the life of a dove is related in the *Mahâbhârata* (Vana, chs. 130, 131). Both Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsiang place the scene of this story in Udyâna now called the Swat valley. But according to the *Mahâ-Ummagga Jâtaka* the country of Śivi was between the kingdoms of Bideha and Pañchâla. According to the *Mahâbhârata* (Anuśâs., ch. 32) Śivi

was king of Kâśî. It is also mentioned in the *Daśakumâra-charita* (Madhya, ch. vi). It was conquered by Nakula (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ, 32). See **Arishṭhapura.** Jetuttara is called by Spence Hardy as Jayatura (*Manual of Buddhism*, p. 118). The recent discovery of a steatite relief (now in the British Museum) which represents in a most artistic way the celebrated story of Uśînara, king of Śivi, as given in the *Mahâbhârata* (Vana, ch. 131) makes it highly probable that the present Swat valley was the ancient kingdom of Śivi. See also the account of Śivika Râjâ by Sung Yun (Beal's *Records of Buddhist Countries*, p. 206). It appears, however, that there were two countries by the name of Śivi, one was situated in the Swat valley, the capital of which was Ariṭṭhapura, and the other is the same as Śivikâ of Barâhamihira (*Bṛihat-saṃhitâ*, ch. XIV, v. 12) which he places among the countries of the south, Śivikâ being a pleonastic form of Śivi, the capital of which was Jetuttara, and Jetuttara is evidently mentioned by Alberuni as Jattaraur (*India*, I, p. 302) which, according to him, was the capital of Mairwar or Mewar.

Sivika—See **Sivi.**

Sivisthâna—Sewan on the right bank of the Indus.

Siyâlî—See **Siali.**

Skanda-kshetra—Same as **Kumârasvâmi** (*Chaitanya-Charitâmṛita*, Pt. II, ch. 9).

Sleshmâtaka—Uttara (North) Gokarṇa, two miles to the north-east of Paśupatinâtha (*q.v.*) in Nepal on the Bâgmati (*Śiva P.*, bk. III, ch. 15; *Barâha P.*, chs. 213—216; Wright's *History of Nepal*, pp. 82, 90 note). North Gokarṇa is used in contradistinction to Dakshiṇa (South) Gokarṇa called *Gokarṇa* (*q.v.*) (*Barâha P.*, ch. 216). The *Liṅga P.* (Pt. I, ch. 92, vs. 134, 135) also mentions two Gokarṇas (see also *Svayambhû P.*, ch. 4).

Sobhâvatî-nagara—The birth-place of Buddha or Kanakamuni (*Svayambhu P.*, ch. 6; *Buddhavaṃsa* in *JASB.*, 1838, p. 794). It has been identified by P. C. Mukerjee with Araura in the Nepalese Terai (see **Kapilavastu**).

Solomatis—See **Sarâvatî** (McCrindle's *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 186).

Somanâtha—Same as **Prabhâsa** (*Agni P.*, ch. 109). It was also called Someśvaranâtha (Merutuṅga's *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*, ch. I).

Soma-parvata—1. The Amarakaṇṭaka mountain, in which the river Nerbuda has got its source (Amara-kosha). 2. The southern part of the Hala range along the lower valley of the Indus (*Râmâyaṇa*, Kishk., ch. 42).

Soma-tîrtha—1. Prabhâsa (see **Prabhâsa**). 2. A place of pilgrimage in Kurukshetra where Târakâsura was killed by Kârttikêya, the general of the gods (*Mbh.*, Śalya P., chs. 44, 52; *Śakuntalâ*, Act I).

Someśvara—See **Somanâtha** (*Kûrma P.*, ii, ch. 34).

Someśvara-giri—The mount in which the river Bân-Gaṅgâ has got its source.

Soṇa—The river Sone, which has got its source in the Amarakaṇṭaka mountain in **Gandwana.** It was the western boundary of Magadha. It formerly joined the Ganges at Maner a little above Bankipore, the Western suburb of Patna, from which its embouchure is now sixteen miles distant and higher up the Ganges (Martin's *East. Ind.*, I, p. 11; McCrindle's *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 187 note; *JASB.*, 1843—*Ravenshaw's Ancient Bed of the Sone*). The Sone and the Sarayu now join the Ganges at Siṅghi or rather between Siṅghi and Harji-Chupra, two villages on the two sides of the Ganges, about two miles to the east of Chirand and eight miles to the east of Chupra. At the time of the *Râmâyaṇa* (Âdi, ch. 32) the Sone flowed by the eastern side of Râjagṛiha, then called Girivraja or Basumatî from its founder Râjâ Basu, down the bed of the river Punpun, joining the Ganges at Fatwa. At the time of the *Mahâbhârata* it appears to have flowed by the present bed of the Banas which is immediately west of Arrah (*Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. VIII, p. 15).

Soṇaprastha—Sonepat (see **Kurukshetra**). It is 25 miles north of Delhi. See **Pâniprastha.**

Soṇitapura—The ancient Śoṇitapura is still called by that name, and is situated in Kumaun on the bank of the river Kedâr-Gaṅgâ or Mandâkinî about six miles from Ushâmaṭha and at a short distance from Gupta Kâśî (*Harivaṁsa*, ch. 174). Ushâmaṭha is on the north of Rudra-Prayâga, and is on the road from Hardwar to Kedârnâtha. Gupta-Kâśî is said to have been founded by Bâna Râjâ within Śoṇitapura. A dilapidated fort still exists at Śoṇitapura on the top of a mountain and is called the fort of Râjâ Bâna. Śoṇitapura was the capital of Bâna Râjâ, whose daughter Ushâ was abducted by Aniruddha, the grandson of Kṛishṇa (*Harivaṁsa*, ch. 175). It was also called Umâvana (*Hemakosha and Trikâṇḍaśesha*). Major Madden says that Kotalgad or Fort Hastings of the survey maps situated at Lohool in Kumaun on a conical peak, is pointed out as the stronghold of Bâṇâsura, and the paṇḍits of Kumaun affirm that Sooi on the Jhoom mountain is the Śoṇitapura of the Purâṇas (*JASB.*, XVII, p. 582). The *Matsya Purâṇa* (ch. 116) says that the capital of Bâna Râjâ was Tripura (Teor on the Nerbuda). A ruined fort situated at Damdamâ on the bank of the river Punarbhavâ, fourteen miles to the south of Dinajpur, is called "Bâna Râjâ's Gaḍ," and it is said to have been the abode of Bâna Râjâ, whence they say Ushâ was abducted by Aniruddha, and various arguments are brought in to prove this assertion. But the route of Kṛishṇa from Dwârakâ to Śoṇitapura as given in the *Harivaṁśa* (ch. 179) and the description of the place as being situated on a mountain near Sumeru, do not support the theory that Damdamâ was the ancient Śoṇitapura. An inscription found in the fort proves that it was built by a king of Gauḍ of the Kamboja dynasty. Bâna Râjâ's fort in the district of Dinajpur is as much a myth as the *Uttaragogṛiha* (northern cowshed) of Râjâ Virâṭa at Kântanagar in the same district. The Assamese also claim Tejpur as the ancient Śoṇitapura. Devikoṭe on the Kâverî in the province of Madras and also Biana, 50 miles south-west of Agra, claim the honour of being the site of the ancient Śoṇitapura. Wilford identifies it with the Mañjupattana (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX, p. 199).

Sopatma—See **Surabhipattana** (*Periplus, Schoff*, p. 46.)

Soreyya—Not far from Takshaśîlâ (Kern's *Manual of Ind. Buddhism*, p. 104; *SBE.*, XX, p. 11). Revata lived here, he presided at the Vaiśâlî Council.

Sotthivatî—Same as **Suktimatî**, the capital of Chedi (the Cheti of the Buddhists).

Sovîra—See **Sauvira**.

Śrâvaṇa-beḷigoḷa—Śrâvaṇa-Belgola, a town in the Hassan district, Mysore, an ancient seat of Jaina learning, between the hills Chandrabetta and Indrabetta which contain Jaina inscriptions of the fourth and fifth centuries B.C. On the top of the former is a colossal statue of the Jaina god Gomaṭeśvara. See also **Vindhyâ-pâda Parvata**. Bhadrabâhu, the great Jaina patriarch who had migrated to the South with his followers in order to escape the twelve years famine which took place during the reign of Maurya Chandragupta, went to Śrâvaṇa-Beḷigoḷa from Ujjayinî, where he died in 357 B.C. Hence it is a very sacred place to the Jainas (*Ind. Ant.*, II, pp. 265, 322; III, p. 153; Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, Intro., p. lxxxvi). See **Kuṇḍapura.** Maurya Chandragupta became a Jaina ascetic in the latter part of his life, and he is said to have died at this place (Rice's *Mysore Gazetteer*, 1, p. 287).

Śrâvastî—Sahet-Mahet, on the bank of the river Râptî (ancient Airavatî or Achiravatî) in the district of Goṇḍa in Oudh. It was the capital of Uttara-Kośala, ten miles from Balarâmpur, 58 miles north of Ayodhyâ and 720 miles from Râjgir (*Râmâyaṇa*, Uttara, ch. 121). The town was founded by Śravasta, a king of the Solar race (*Vishṇu Purâṇa*, IV, ch. 2, v. 13). Râmchandra, king of Oudh, when dividing his kingdom, gave Śrâvasti to his son Lava (*Vâyu P.*, Uttara, ch. 26). Śrâvasti is the Sâvatthi or Sâvatthipura of the Buddhists and Chandrapura or Chandrikâpuri of the Jainas. At the time of Buddha, Prasenâditya or Prasenjit was king of Uttara-Kośala and his capital was at Śrâvastî; he visited Buddha while the latter was residing at Râjagṛiha (see **Kuṇḍagâma**). Buddha

converted him to his own religion by preaching to him the *Kumâra-drishtânta-Sûtra.* Prasenajit had two sons Jeta and Virudhaka by two wives. Sudatta, called also Anâthapindika or Anâthapindada on account of his liberality, was a rich merchant of Śrâvasti and treasurer to the king: he became a convert to Buddhism while Buddha was residing at Sîtâvana in Râjgir, where he had gone to visit him. On his return to Śrâvastî he purchased a garden, one mile to the south of the town, from prince Jeta, to whom he paid as its price gold coins (*masurans*) sufficient to cover the area he wanted (see **Jetavana-vihâra**), and built in it a *Vihâra,* the construction of which was superintended by Sâriputra (see **Nâlandâ**). Buddha accepted the gift of the Vihâra, to which additions were made by Jeta who became a convert to Buddhism , hence it was called *Jetavana Anâthapindikârâma* or simply *Jetavana-Vihâra.* The Vihâra contained two monasteries called Gandha-kutî and Kośambakutî which have been identified by General Cunningham. The alms-bowl and begging pot and the ashes of Sâriputra who died at Nâlandâ (see **Nâlanda**) were brought to Srâvasti and a stupa was built upon them near the eastern gate. Viśâkhâ, the celebrated female disciple of Buddha, built here a *Vihâra* called Pûrvârâma which has been identified by General Cunningham with the mound called Orâ Jhâr, about a mile to the east of Jetavana (see **Bhaddiya**). Buddha resided for 25 years at Jetavana-Vihâra in the Punyaśâlâ erected by Prasenajit (Cunningham's *Stupa of Bharhut,* p. 90; *Arch. S. Rep.,* I, p. 330; *Anc. Geo.,* p. 407). 416 *Jâtakas* (birth-stories) out of 498 were told by Buddha at this place. Devadatta, Buddha's cousin and brother of his wife Yaśodharâ, who had several times attempted to take away the life of Buddha, died at this place during an attempt he again made on his life (see **Girivrajapura**). Chiñchâ, a young woman, is as set up here by the Tîrthikas to slander Buddha. The sixteenth Buddhist patriarch, Rahulatâ (see **Tâmasavana**) died at Jetavana-vihâra in the second century B.C. Prasenajit was a friend of Buddha, but his son Virudhaka or Vidudabha who usurped the throne, became a persecutor of the Buddhists. He murdered Jeta, his brother, and he slew 500 youths and 500 maidens of Kapilavastu whom he had taken prisoners, though his mother Vâsabha Khattiyâ or Mallikâ was the daughter of a Śâkya chief by a slave girl Mahânandâ (Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism,* 2nd ed., p. 292, and *Avadâna Kalpalatâ,* ch. 11). He was burnt to death within a week as predicted by Buddha. Traditionally Śrâvastî, or as it was called Chandrikâpurî or Chandrapurî , was the birth-place of the third Tîrthaṅkara Sambhavanâtha and the eighth Tîrthaṅkara Chandraprabhânâtha of the Jainas. There is still a Jaina temple here dedicated to Śobhânâth which is evidently a corruption of the name of Sambhavanâtha. The names of the 24 Tîrthaṅkaras of the Jainas with their distinctive signs are as follows; 1. Rishabha Deva or Âdinatha (bull). 2. Ajitanâtha (elephant). 3. Sambhavanâtha (horse). 4. Abhinandana (monkey). 5. Sumatinâtha (Krauñcha or curlew). 6. Padamprabhâ (lotus). 7. Supârsva (Svastika). 8. Chandraprabhânâtha (moon). 9. Subidhinâtha or Pushpadanta (crocodile). 10. Śîtalnâtha (*Srîvatsa* or white curl of hair). 11. Śreyâmśanâtha (rhinoceros). 12. Bâsupûjya (buffalo). 13. Bimalanâtha (boar). 14. Anantanâtha (falcon). 15. Dharmanâtha (thunderbolt). 16. Śântinâtha (deer). 17. Kunthunâtha (goat). 18. Aranâtha (Nandyâvartta). 19. Mallinâtha (pitcher). 20. Munisuvrata (tortoise). 21. Naminâtha (blue water-lily). 22. Neminâtha (conch). 23. Pârśvanâtha (hooded serpent). 24. Mahâvîra (lion). The name of Sahet-Mahet is said to have been derived from "Mahâsetthi" by which name Sudatta was called, and people still call the ruins of Jetavana as "Set" (*Imperial Gazetteer of India.* Vol. XII, p. 127). The inscription of Govindachandra of Kanouj, dated 1128 A.D., sets at rest the question of identity of Śrâvastî with Sahet-mahet, the site of Sahet represents the Jetavana, and that of Mahet the city of Śrâvasti (Dr. Vogel: *Arch. S. Rep.,* 1907-9, pp. 131, 227).

THE ANCHUVANNAM AND THE MANIGRAMAM OF THE KOTTAYAM PLATES OF TANU IRAVI OR THE JEWS AND CHRISTIANS OF MALABAR.

BY K. N. DANIEL.

WE read of the Añchuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrâmam in the *Payyaṇûr Paṭṭôla* which is spoken of by Dr. Gundert as the oldest specimen of Malayalam composition he had ever seen.

Cheṅṅâtam vêṇam perikeyippôḷ Kôvâtalachchetti añchuvaṇṇam Kûṭṭam[1] *Maṇikkirâmattâr makkaḷ nammaḷâl nâlu nakarattilum nâlarekoḷka kuṭikku chêrnnôr. nâlar kuṭikku chêrnnôre koṇṭâr annâṭṭil Paṭṭiṇa Svâmimakkaḷ Tôḷar Patinnâḷu Vamkiriyam Tôlppippânilla innâṭṭil ârum.—Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. XIII, part II, p. 16.

" Strong guards are now required, take the sons of Govatalachchetti of Añchuvaṇṇam and of Maṇigrâmam, who together with ourselves are the four classes of inhabitants in the

With the issue for December 1924, Sir Richard Temple completes forty years of ownership and editorship of the *Indian Antiquary*. In the uncertainty of individual human life the time has now come when the responsibility for the continuance of the *Journal* must be transferred to other hands. He has accordingly made arrangements with The Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 50, Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1, to take over from January 1925, the conduct of the *Indian Antiquary*, which the Institute intends to run as heretofore under its present editors.

be paid to the Añchuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrâmam. These people were given seventy-two privileges, such as the right of carrying (*maṇṇunîr*) bathing water[3] on the back of the elephant on marriage occasions . . . . If they have any complaint they shall redress their complaint by stopping the customs duty on weighment (of articles of merchandise). If any of them commit any crime, they should enquire into the case themselves. Whatever the Añchuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrâmam, who are made the trustees of this city (Quilon) together with their two chiefs, do, only shall be valid."

Now who are the Añchuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrâmam ?

Añchuvaṇṇam.—It is rather amusing to see the remarks of the late T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M.A., on the Añchuvaṇṇam. While commenting upon the above plates he says :—" Literally it (*añchuvaṇṇam*) means five colours and by extension of its connotation five castes. From the two Kottayam plates we learn that five castes

1 *Kûṭṭum* or *Kûṭum*.

2 Seems to be the same as *veṭṭi* in, Tamil meaning roadway or pathway—ED.

3 *Maṇṇunîr* means bathing-water for kings and gods.

contributed to the bulk of converts to Christianity, and these were Îḻavar, Tachchar, Veḷḷâḷar, Vaṇṇâr, and one more which is not legible in the inscription. These, in all probability, formed the Añchuvaṇṇattâr" (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, page 74).

In the above plates nothing is said about converts or conversion. In plate No. I it is said that a few Îḻavas and Vaṇṇâns (washermen) were given to Tarisapaḷḷi, and of these slaves, Îḻavas were to be exempted from paying taxes on their *taḷai* (footropes) and *êṇi* (ladder), (*taḷai* and *êṇi* for climbing trees), and should be allowed to enter into the market, and the washerman also should be allowed to come into the market and do his work. In plates No. II it is said that a few *tachchans* (carpenters) and Veḷḷâḷas were "Ordained to plant and sow for God, so that the church may have due supply of oil and other things." Does this mean that these people embraced Christianity ? For argument's sake let it be granted that they do so. The plates, which mention the granting of tachchans and others to the Paḷḷi, also mention the extraordinarily high position of Añchuvaṇṇam. One cannot understand how a distinguished scholar like the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao could dream of identifying these slaves with the Añchuvaṇṇam, on whom were conferred the aristocratic privileges of the country. Nobody, after reading the words of the Tâṇu Iravi Copperplates quoted above, can identify the Añchuvaṇṇam with the slaves, Îḻavas, Vaṇṇâns, etc. But the Añchuvaṇṇam can be easily identified with the Jews. In the Parkara Iravi Varmar Copperplates (commonly known as the Cochin plates of Bhaskara Ravi Varmar) in possession of the Jews of Cochin, it is said "Îsupu Irappan, who owns Añchuvaṇṇam" (*Añchuvaṇṇam Uṭaiya Îsuppu Irappân*). From the name it is very clear that Îsuppu Irappân was a Jew. "The Joseph Rabban," says the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao, "of the Cochin plates need not be Rabbi Joseph a Jew. The word Rabban may be considered as another form of Ramban,[4] the name applied to those Christian priests who aspire to the position of a Bishop and who in Russia are either widowers or unmarried men, and in Malabar only unmarried men. The donee of the so-called Jewish deed may as well be a Christian."—(*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, page 80). Then how did the Jews get these plates ? Did they steal them ? A Hebrew translation of these plates is, according to Dr. Burnell, in all probability, 400 years old—(*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III, page 334). What was the use of stealing these plates ? Is it possible for a people to take all of a sudden certain privileges, saying that they were enjoying them from time immemorial ? In days of old the kings and the people were very particular about such things, and no community would dare to go beyond the limit allotted to them by proveable usage. The Christians of Malabar are not likely to give ready credence to the words of the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao, who coming from beyond the Ghats tells us that the copperplates in possession of the Jews of Cochin are stolen property of ours, while none of our ancestors have ever said so. It is, therefore, certain that Îsuppu Irappân was a Jew. If the Añchuvaṇṇam people were owned by Îsuppu Irappân, a Jew, the Añchuvaṇṇam themselves must be either Jews or slaves. Since the high respectability of these people is described at length, there can be no question that these were Jews. It does not seem to be possible to find out how the Jews got this name.

Maṇigrâmam.—(1) Now who are the people of Maṇigrâmam ? The Tâṇu Iravi Copperplates were granted to the parishioners of the Tarisappaḷḷi, the foreign Christian community just colonised in Quilon. There is a passage in this grant which speaks very clearly about the ancient Christians of the country, *viz.* "The *pârkkôl* and *pañchakanṭi* which the *paḷḷiyâr* (the people of the Church) had formerly received," (*muṇṇam paḷḷiyâr peṟṟuṭaiya pârkkôlum pânchakanṭiyum*). The *paḷḷiyâr* here evidently does not refer to the parishioners of the Tariśappaḷḷi recently colonised here. Though modern scholarship cannot sufficiently explain the words *pârkkôl* and *pañchakanṭi*, we can rest assured that they are some signs

[4] Rabbi is quite naturally represented by Irappân in Tamil. Ramban could be represented only by a grammatical license, for which there must be good grounds of justification—ED.

of royalty, because the king Ayyaṇaṭikaḷ himself, the vassal of the Cheraman Perumâḷ, says :— "I who have received formerly *pârkkôl, kappân* and *paiñchakkaṇṭi*" (*pârkkôlum kappâṇum paiñchakkaṇṭiyum muṇṇam peṟṟutaiyan nâṇum*). *Pârkôl* is, no doubt, some kind of staff (*kôl* means staff) and *pañchakkaṇṭi*, some kind of necklace. In the Huzur Treasury plates it is said that a king gave, among other things, a *mâṇikkakkaṇṭi* (a necklace of rubies) to the temple at Tiruvalla (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, part III, p. 192). In line 11 of Tâṇu Iravi Plates No. I, we read *Painchkkaṇṭi* and in line 51 of plates No. II *pañchakaṇṭi*. The word *pañcha* in Sanskrit means five and *kanthi* necklace. *Pañchakaṇṭhi* is pure Sanskrit, meaning a necklace of five. *Kaṇṭhi* when written in Vaṭṭeḻuttu becomes *kaṇṭi*, because there is no *ṭh* but *ṭ* in this alphabet. *Paiñchakkaṇṭi* is the Tamilised form of *pañchakaṇṭhi*. *Paiñch* is the Tamil form of *pañcha*. According to the Tamil rules of Grammar *k* of *kaṇṭhi* should be doubled, but according to the Sanskrit Grammar it should not be doubled. So we find this word in its pure Sanskrit form in plate No. II and in a Tamilised form in plate No. I.

Pañcha, in all probability indicates *pañcharatnam*[5] (five jewels), *i.e.*, sapphire, diamond, ruby, pearl, and coral. If so, *pañchakaṇṭi* means a necklace of five jewels. The *pârkkôl* and *pañchakaṇṭi*, a staff and a necklace, were given formerly by the emperor of Keralam to the *paḷḷiyâr*, *i.e.*, the head of the Christians, just as to the kings who were his vassals. From this we understand that when the copperplates mentioned above were given to the foreign Christians, the local Christians were evidently enjoying some royal privileges. Is it likely that, while so much is said about the Jews, and they with the *Aṟunûṟṟuvar*, a body of Nairs, are made protectors of Tariśappaḷḷi, the local Christians would be ignored ? Therefore the other community the *Maṇigrâmam*, who were also made protectors of the Tariśappaḷḷi, enjoyed extraordinary privileges and were entitled to *patippatavâram*, the rent due to one who rules under a king, must be identified with the local Christians who are said to have held *pârkkôl* and *pañchkaṇṭi*, the signs of royalty.

(2) Further from the words quoted from the Tâṇu Iravi plates, the Añchuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrâmam seem to be mercantile peoples. The *Añchuvaṇṇam* are identified with the Jews who are mostly merchants. The *Maṇigrâmam*, therefore, must be Christians who are also mostly merchants. Barretto who was procurator of the Jesuit Provinces of Malabar during the early part of the 17th century speaks of the St. Thomas Christians as follows :— "These Christians are highly esteemed by the gentile kings in whose country they live, and they engage themselves in respectable occupations such as commerce and military service." (*Relatione Delle Missioni E Christianita Che appartengono alla Provincia di Malavar*. In *Roma Appresso Fransisco Cavalli*, 1645, p. 20.)

(3) John de Marignoli who visited Quilon in the year 1348 says that the St. Thomas Christians were then "the masters of the public weighing office" (*Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol. III, p. 216). Further when Afonso D'Alboquerque visited Quilon in 1504, the Christians of the place came and told him "that as he was desirous of confirming to them their ancient customs, to wit, that the Christians who had the management of the Church, also should have in their keeping the seal and the standard weight of the city, which privilege the king of Caulao (Quilon) had taken from them for the fault and negligence of one of their number." (The Commentaries of the great Afonso D'Alboquerque, *Second Voyage of India*[6] translated by Walter De Gray Birch, Vol. I, p. 15.) The *Maṇigrâmam* were made masters of the public weighing office by the Tâṇu Iravi plates. If the *Maṇigrâmam* were not Christians, we do not find elsewhere that the Christians of Quilon ever received this privilege. The *Maṇigrâmam*, therefore, must be Christians.

5 *Pañcharatnam* is differently enumerated by some other authorities ;—(1) gold, diamond, sapphire, ruby and pearl ; (2) gold, silver, pearl, coral and an inferior kind of diamond considered as a lucky possession for princes.

6 This book was edited by his son Alboquerque in the year 1576.

(4) "This Church," says Barbosa while speaking about the Church of Quilon, "was endowed by the king of Coulan with the revenue from the pepper, which remains to it to this day." (*A Description of the Ccast of East Africa and Malabar in the Beginning of the 16th century*, by Duarte Barbosa, 1516 A.D., p. 162.) The *Maṇigrâmam* were authorised to collect customs duty on all articles of merchandise. If they were not Christians, we do not find elsewhere that the Christians of Quilon ever received this right. We, therefore, cannot but conclude that the *Maṇigrâmam* were Christians.

(5) In the agreement of peace which Afonso D'Alboquerque made, "it was arranged that the civil and criminal jurisdiction should be under the control of the native Christians, as it had always been hitherto." (*Commentaries of the Great Afonso D'Alboquerque*, Vol. I, p. 14.) This privilege was given to the *Maṇigrâmam.* If they were not Christians, we do not find elsewhere that the Christians ever received this privilege. They, therefore must be Christians.

Having shown that *Maṇigrâmam* were Christians, we shall proceed to examine the argument of the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao to the contrary.

"The word in all the documents under notice," says the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao, "clearly indicates a close alliance of the Maṇigrâmakkars with the Christian Sapir Iso and therefore were likely themselves Christians. From the fact that the Añchuvaṇṇakkars and the Maṇigrâmakkars observed the ceremony of *ankurârpana* during their marriages, it would appear that they still continued to be Hindus, though they served the Christians. It is quite likely that some of those families, which were made over to the Christian merchant prince Maruvan Sapir Iso, did not become Christians at all, but remaining Hindus, they served their new masters, the Christians, and on that account they became degraded in the eyes of their castemen. This last supposition might account for the existence at present of a sect of Sudras known as the Maṇigrâmakkâr, who are said to be looked down upon by the other Sudras as their inferiors." (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, pp. 74, 75).

The late Mr. Gopinatha Rao thought that these people observed the ceremony of *ankurârpana*, simply because it is said that they were given the privilege of carrying *maṇṇunîr* (bathing water) on the back of an elephant. The late Mr. Gopinatha Rao took the word *maṇṇunîr* to mean "earth and water," and consequently thought that this indicated *ankurarpana.* He did not know that bathing water brought on the back of an elephant for a king or a god was called *maṇṇunîr*. Here the brides and bridegrooms of the Añchuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrâmam were given the privilege of bringing *maṇṇunîr* on the back of an elephant. In this there is no religious significance whatever.

The late Mr. Gopinatha Rao says that the Añchuvaṇṇam and the Maṇikkirâmam served the Christians; As a matter of fact they did not serve anybody. We read that they were men of extraordinary privileges. The privileges given to them were much more than the privileges given to the Christian colonists who came with Mar Sapor, whom according to the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao, the Añchuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrâmam served. The privileges of the Christian colonists were only that their slaves, as well as the inhabitants of the land belonging to their Church, were not on any account to be punished by the Government authorities but by the Church, while the privileges of the former were the following :—No poll-tax shall be levied upon the slaves bought by them ; they were entitled to certain customs duties on articles of merchandise; levying of Government customs, appraising of articles and all other business of the king should be done only in their presence ; they were to keep in their custody the daily collection

of Government customs ; if they found any cause for complaint, they could redress it by stopping the customs duty and the duty on the weighment of the articles of merchandise ; they were entitled to the rent due to a *pati* (one who rules under a king) from the Kârâḷma land (the land which is held on perpetual lease) within the fort ; they were given seventy-two privileges, such as the right of carrying *maṇṇunîr* (bathing water for kings and gods) on the back of an elephant on marriage occasions; if any of them committed any crime they could enquire into the case themselves, not the Government authorities : they were the trustees of the city.

If the Maṇigrâmam who enjoyed such extraordinary privileges were Nairs, why should they be looked down upon by the other Nairs ? Moreover they are ashamed to own the name Maṇigrâmam. Why ?

Again the chief man among them is controlling the affairs of the temple in Quilon belonging to the Kammâḷas. We read in the Vîra Râghava copperplate that the Kammâḷas (artisans) were given as slaves to the Christians. The Christians of Malabar are traditionally believed to be the masters of the Kammâḷas. That the chief Maṇigrâmam Nair is still holding a special control over the Kammâḷa temple, is a proof that these Nairs were, some centuries ago, Christians. This is the traditional belief of the other Nairs as well as Christians. Once a Nair friend of mine, a citizen of Quilon, pointing at the Kaḷari which was used by the Maṇigrâmam Nairs as a temple, said that that was their Church. It looks like a Church, he added, rather than a temple. These Maṇigrâmam Nairs are found in Quilon, but one or two families are found elsewhere too. What led them to apostatize, one cannot tell.

We read in the decrees of the synod of Diamper held in the year 1599, that some of these Christians turned Hindus during the 16th century. While speaking about the Church of Travancore, a small town south of Trivandrum (not the State of Travancore), the Synod says :—" Whereas the Church of Travancore is at this time totally demolished, the greater part of its parishioners having above forty years ago turned perfect heathens, all which has happened through the negligence of sending priests among them by reason of their great distance from any other Church, there being nevertheless several good Christians there still.'' (Session VIII, decree VI.)

There is now no remembrance of the names Añchuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrâmam among the Jews and Christians. It may be that, when the grant of privileges connected with the title of Maṇigrâmam became a dead letter, the name went out of memory among the Christians. As for the apostate Maṇigrâmam, that name could not but be retained, because they could not be called Christians after their apostasy. So their title Maṇigrâmam, which by itself indicates no religion, was retained.

One is not ignoring the fact that the name Maṇigrâmam does not necessarily indicate Christians. This word occurs in one of the inscriptions of the reign of Rajakesarivarman in Tiruvellarai near Trichinopoly :—" *Oru Brâhmaṇaṇe ûṭṭuvatâka Uraiyûr Maṇigrâmattu nârâyaṇan nachchan . . . vachcha pon.*" [7] (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, p. 74.) But the Maṇigrâmam named in the Tâṇu Iravi Copperplates executed at Quilon, undoubtedly were Christians and the Maṇigrâmam Nairs of Quilon were, in all probability, Christian perverts to Hinduism.

[7] There is another reference to Maṇigrâmam in inscriptions. The term occurs in the Takopa inscription, vide *JRAS.*, 1913, pp. 337-9, and *ibid.*, 1914, in Siam, where the Maṇigrâmam occurs as among three communities under whose protection the temple and tank of Nârâyaṇa were placed. Maṇigrâmam cannot therefore be Christians as such, though the Maṇigrâmam dignity might have been conferred upon Christian or Jews. The term seems to refer to the class or guild of merchants dealing in gold and jewels, and being assayers as a consequence. It seems to imply headship of the community of jewellers and no more.—ED.

THE KNIGHT'S TOUR AT CHESS.

BY L R. RAMACHANDRA IYER, M.A.

THERE was a discussion on the Knight's Tour at Chess, *ante*, vol. LII, pp. 351–354, in the course of which plates were given of an " Indian Knight's Tour by Figures " and of a " Correct Knight's Tour." also by figures. It was pointed out that the problem to be solved is to move the knight over every square on the chess-board in 64 consecutive moves ; that is to say, if the top left-hand square is counted as No. 1. No. 64 *must* come within a knight's move of square No. 1. The " Correct Knight's Tour " solved the problem, but the " Indian Knight's Tour " did not, because, although it filled up every square in consecutive moves up to 64, the last " move " was not within a knight's move of square No. 1. Therefore there were only 63 moves, as No. 1 is a station and not a move.

But the interest in that " Indian Knight's Tour " lies in the fact that the first half of the board is filled by 32 " moves," in such a way that by merely repeating the " moves " in the first half in the same order in the second half the whole board becomes filled. The tour failed, however, to solve the problem, because neither did move 32 fall within a knight's move of square No. 1, nor did move 64 fall within a knight's move of square No. 33.

The " Correct Knight's Tour " is indeed correct, in so far as move 64 is within a knight's move of square No. 1, but it does not arrange that when half the board is filled, the rest of it can be filled up automatically, as in the case of the " Indian Knight's Tour."

It is, however, possible so to arrange the moves that when half the board is filled up, the remainder can be filled up automatically, and yet to bring move 64 within a knight's move of square No. 1.

To make my meaning clear I here repeat the plate of the " Correct Knight's Tour " and the " Indian Knight's Tour by Figures :" see Plates I and II attached. I also add thereto Plate III which I have called a " Symmetrical Knight's Tour."

It will be observed from Plate III that the moves 1 to 33 are so arranged that No. 33 falls in the bottom right-hand corner of the board ; *i.e.*, exactly at the opposite corner diagonally of No. 1, which is at the top left-hand corner. So the second half of the moves can be worked backwards to No. 1 in exactly the opposite direction to the first half working forwards from No. 1, and yet No. 64 falls within a knight's move of No. 1. It will therefore be seen that Plate III exhibits not only a " correct " knight's tour, but also a more perfect tour than that previously given, as the last half of the board can be filled up automatically. The Symmetrical Knight's Tour combines in fact the advantages of the Correct Knight's Tour (Plate I) and the Indian Knight's Tour by Figures (Plate II).

The point can be made yet clearer by observing Figures A and B of Plate IV, which show the distribution of the first 33 moves in Plates I and II respectively, move 33 belonging to the second half of the board. It will be seen that in the first case the moves are distributed 16 in each half of the board divided vertically : in the latter case they are 16 in each half of the board divided horizontally.

Plates V and VI represent the moves of the " Symmetrical Knight's Tour." In Plate V, Fig. A, moves 1 to 32 are distributed, 15 in the upper half of the board and 17 in the lower half : the board being divided horizontally. In Plate V, Fig. B, moves 33 to 64, these facts are reversed, and the distribution is 17 in the upper half and 15 in the lower. Similarly in Plate VI, Fig. A, moves 1 to 32 are distributed, 21 in the left half of the board and 11 in the right half ; the board being divided vertically : and in Plate VI, Fig. B, the reverse occurs, the distribution being 11 moves in the left half and 21 in the right half of the board.

A CORRECT KNIGHT'S TOUR.

1	36	5	24	59	34	7	30
4	25	2	35	6	31	60	33
37	**64**	27	58	23	62	29	8
26	3	38	63	28	9	32	61
45	16	57	12	47	22	51	10
56	13	46	39	42	11	48	21
17	44	15	54	19	50	41	52
14	55	18	43	40	53	20	49

R. C. TEMPLE, DEL.

INDIAN KNIGHT'S TOUR BY FIGURES.

1	30	9	20	3	24	11	26
16	19	2	29	10	27	4	23
31	8	17	14	21	6	25	12
18	15	32	7	28	13	22	5
33	62	41	52	35	56	43	58
48	51	34	61	42	59	36	55
63	40	49	46	53	38	57	44
50	47	64	39	60	45	54	37

R. C. TEMPLE, DEL.

A SYMMETRICAL KNIGHT'S TOUR.

1	6	51	8	11	60	57	54
50	13	2	61	52	55	10	59
5	64	7	12	9	58	53	56
14	49	62	3	16	47	36	31
63	4	15	48	35	30	17	46
24	21	26	41	44	39	32	37
27	42	23	20	29	34	45	18
22	25	28	43	40	19	38	33

L. R. RAMACHANDRA IYER, DEL.

FIG. A.

A CORRECT KNIGHT'S TOUR.

(The First Thirty-Three Moves.)

1		5	24			7	30
4	25	2		6	31		33
		27		23		29	8
26	3			28	9	32	
	16		12		22		10
	13				11		21
17		15		19			
14		18				20	

FIG. B.

AN INDIAN KNIGHT'S TOUR.

(The First Thirty-Three Moves.)

1	30	9	20	3	24	11	26
16	19	2	29	10	27	4	23
31	8	17	14	21	6	25	12
18	15	32	7	28	13	22	5
33							

R. C. TEMPLE, DEL.

A SYMMETRICAL KNIGHT'S TOUR

Board divided horizontally.

FIG. A: MOVES 1 TO 32.

1	6		8	11			
	13	2				10	
5		7	12	9			
14			3	16			31
	4	15			30	17	
24	21	26				32	
27		23	20	29			18
22	25	28			19		(33)

FIG. B: MOVES 33 TO 64.

(1)		51			60	57	54
50			61	52	55		59
	64				58	53	56
	49	62			47	36	
63			48	35			46
			41	44	39		37
	42				34	45	
			43	40		38	33

N.B.—The two figures in circles are not counted.

R. C. TEMPLE, DEL.

A SYMMETRICAL KNIGHT'S TOUR

Board divided vertically.

FIG. A: MOVES 1 TO 32.

1	6		8	11			
	13	2				10	
5		7	12	9			
14			3	16			31
	4	15			30	17	
24	21	26				32	
27		23	20	29			18
22	25	28			19		(33)

FIG. B: MOVES 33 TO 64.

(1)		51			60	57	54
50			61	52	55		59
	64				58	53	56
	49	62			47	36	
63			48	35			46
			41	44	39		37
	42				34	45	
			43	40		38	33

N.B.—The two figures in circles are not counted.

R. C. TEMPLE, DEL.

A SYMMETRICAL KNIGHT'S TOUR

Board divided into quarters.

FIG. A: MOVES 1 TO 32.

I.

1	6		8
	13	2	
5		7	12
14			3

II.

11			
		10	
9			
16			31

III.

	4	15	
24	21	26	
27		23	20
22	25	28	

IV.

	30	17	
		32	
29			18
	19		33

FIG. B: MOVES 33 TO 64.

IV.

1		51	
50			61
	64		
	49	62	

III.

	60	57	54
52	55		59
	58	53	56
	47	36	

II.

63			48
			41
	42		
			43

I.

35			46
44	39		37
	34	45	
40		38	33

N.B.—The two figures in circles are not counted.

R. C. TEMPLE, DEL.

Also in Plates V and VI it will be seen that the second half of the moves 33 to 1 are in exactly the opposite squares of the board diagonally to those in the first half, 1 to 3[illegible] This fact becomes quite clear if the board be divided, as in Plate VII, into quarters for convenience of noting the places of the respective figures.

Table A below, taken with Plates V, VI and VII, shows how the two halves of the board ctly correspond diagonally with the Symmetrical Knight's Tour. Thus :—

TABLE A.

DIAGONAL OPPOSITES IN THE SYMMETRICAL KNIGHT'S TOUR.

First Half	with Second Half	First Half	with Second Half	First Half	with Second Half	First Half	with Second Half
1	33	9	41	17	49	25	57
2	34	10	42	18	50	26	58
3	35	11	43	19	51	27	59
4	36	12	44	20	52	28	60
5	37	13	45	21	53	29	61
6	38	14	46	22	54	30	62
7	39	15	47	23	55	31	63
8	40	16	48	24	56	32	64

I give also Table B showing how the two halves of the board correspond diagonally in the case of the Correct Knight's Tour (Plate IV, Fig. A). It will be seen that there is considerable, but by no means completely, exact correspondence. That is to say, the 1st and 3rd quarters of the board correspond exactly, but there is a certain confusion in the 2nd and 4th quarters. Thus :—

TABLE B.

DIAGONAL OPPOSITES IN THE CORRECT KNIGHT'S TOUR.

First Half	with Second Half	First Half	with Second Half	First Half	with Second Half	First Half	with Second Half
1	49	9	57	17	33	25	41
2	50	10	26	18	34	42	58
3	51	11	27	19	35	43	59
4	52	12	28	20	36	44	60
5	53	13	29	21	37	45	61
6	54	14	30	22	38	46	62
7	55	15	31	23	39	47	63
8	56	16	32	24	40	48	64

Taken all round, the "Indian Knight's Tour" fails, because it does not solve the problem in 64 moves : the "Correct Knight's Tour" fails, because it is not exactly symmetrical : the "Symmetrical Knight's Tour" succeeds in being both correct and symmetrical. It does not, however, explain itself in the first half of the moves, Nos. 1 to 32 : nor does it confine itself to one half of the board in the first 32 moves. It is this point that has puzzled mathematicians. How is a mathematical statement, or a mnemonic *śloka*, to be drawn up which will automatically settle the problem from beginning to end ? There is still room for research in this problem.

SOME COPPER COINS OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

(*A Note on the Plates issued, ante, vol.* XXXII (1903), pp. 313-25.)

BY CH. MOHD ISMAIL, M.A., M.R.A.S.

THERE is no doubt as to the fact that there was little material for the identification of coins when Mr. Sewell explained the Plate mentioned above. The research carried out during the last twenty years has made it comparatively easy to identify most of the coins now. Being chiefly concerned with Musalman coins or specimens, stamped with "Persian" or "Arabic" characters, I have tried to identify some of the figures in the plates illustrating Mr. Sewell's article, and being successful in some cases, I give below my observations :—

Plate I.

Figures 4-A—4-I. Mr. Sewell says that these specimens have peacocks on one side, but with the exception of 4-A, 4-B, 4-F and 4-I, these birds are not clear. For the sake of convenience, however, we may term these specimens "peacock coins". In this connection the following quotation from the British Museum *Catalogue of Persian Coins*, 1887, will be of interest. "The copper coinage of Persia under the Shahs is until the present reign, with insignificant exceptions, autonomous. It presents on the obverse a type, usually the figure of an animal, and on the reverse the name of the mint, preceded by ضرب فلوس , ضرب or فلوس. No doubt the first inscription should be read فلوس ضرب, the inversion being due to the habit on gold and silver money of placing the word ضرب at the foot of the coin, to be read immediately before the mint written next above it. As the types in several instances are identical with the eponymous animals of the Tatar Cycle, it might be supposed that these at least were chosen with a chronological intention."—Introduction, p. xc.

Now out of these coins, 4-A and 4-B bear the legend فلوس, which is evidently a portion of ضرب فلوس *plus* the name of the mint where the coin was struck. This fact goes to prove that they cannot be associated with a temple (presumably a Hindu one), which would never use "Persian" for the legend. Though the name of the mint is not to be found on these two specimens, yet by comparing them with figures 9, 21 and 94 of the autonomous copper coins of Persia, given in the above-mentioned *Catalogue* of the British Museum and figures 30 (p. 105), 47-50 (p. 119), 1 (p. 129), 35 (p. 133), 75 and 84 (p. 141), 172–175 (p. 155) of "*Modern Copper Coins of the Muhammadan States*" by W. H. Valentine, and taking into consideration the last paragraph of the above quotation from the British Museum *Catalogue*, we can say with certainty that these coins are "autonomous" of Iranian origin, if we take Iran to mean Caucasia, Persia and Afghanistan, and have nothing to do with the temples of Southern India. Of course, if there is no "Persian" inscription, we are in darkness, as coins of similar appearance have been given, though not definitely assigned, in plate IV (figures 8 and 9) of Thurston's *Mysore Coins.*

Figures 7-A—7-G.—Mr. Sewell then takes them to be of the "same type (as 6A–6B), the principal object being a lozenge-shaped ornament with nine dots inside it, Hindustani or Persian lettering around." I am of opinion that all of them belong to Muḥammad 'Âdil Shâh (A.H. 1037—67, A.D. 1627—56) of Bîjâpur. Figure 7 of plate XXXIX illustrating the article of Dr. Taylor (pp. 678—87) in No. 11 of *Numismatic Supplement, JASB.*, 1910, reproduces the original die, and we find the complete legend as given by Dr. Taylor in the above article as :—

جهان زاین دو محمد گرفت زینت و جاه ∴ یکی محمد مرسل دوم محمد شاه

"The world from these two Muhammads received beauty and dignity. The first is Muḥammad the apostle, the second Muḥammad Shâh (the king)". The reconstruction as given by Dr. Taylor does no doubt differ to some extent in appearance from the figures 7A–7G, yet I am confident that I am right in assigning them to Muḥammad Âdil Shâh. I have examined about 200 coins of this pattern, in the collections of the Poona Archæological Museum, Prince of Wales Museum, the Bombay Royal Asiatic Society, and of some friends of mine, and some amongst treasure trove coins. All the specimens which I came across, bore, as a rule, fragmentary and in some cases crude inscriptions, and differed a good deal from one another.

In 7-A the word شا is clear.

In 7-B شاه and جهان ین can be read. Similarly fragmentary inscriptions can be made out in other specimens.

7-F. This coin has "similar lozenge but with a squatting figure of Narsiṁha, on the opposite side" says Mr. Sewell. This coin, if similar to 7-A–7-E which are of a Musalman king, cannot have, as a rule, the Hindu God Narsiṁha on either of its sides. Possibly the suggestion as to Narsiṁha is due to the preconceived idea that the coin belongs to some temple. This specimen may also be of Muḥammad 'Âdil Shâh, but one cannot be positive. The "Narsiṁha" figure may be the "sun face" or "Persian Lion" with the face of a man—a representation of 'Ali, the "Lion of God," and thus the coin may be "Persian."

No. 8. On one side we find within the rhombus formed by cross lines جد and on the other عا / آباد, We may read it as جلوس and غازی / بادشاه, and may assign the coin to the Mughal dynasty. It is certainly a post-Aurangzeb coin and probably belongs to Shah 'Âlam II. Mr. Sewell is quite right in thinking that it has nothing to do with the temples.

9-A—9-B. These two specimens, on one of which شاه can be read, may be assigned to chiefs who began to strike their own coins during the decline of the Mughal dynasty, stamping them with their own signs or mint marks (in this case the trisula and a club ?) while the coin bore the usual Mughal legend *plus* the name of the impotent ruler at Delhi, usually Shâh 'Âlam II, though in some cases he was long dead. Only as a mark of nominal allegiance, this practice was followed by the British East India Company as well, though the Emperor at Delhi was their pensioner.

9-C. It is very much defaced with an illegible inscription. It may be of 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh I of Bîjâpur. (Compare fig. 1 of pl. XXXIX, N. S. No. 11.)

9-D-1, 9-D-2, 9-D-3. By collation of all these we may read ضرب جلوس and شاه باد. Evidently it is Mughal and probably of Shâh 'Âlam II, for traces of Shâh 'Âlam شاه عالم in 9-D-1 and 9 D-3 may be read.

9 E. It is evidently of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II (A. H. 988-1037) of Bîjâpur. Only the reverse, of which the full legend is غلام علی مرتضی, has been given. Compare fig. 2 on plate XXXIX, N. S. No. II (1910).

9-F. The lettering حلو which is a portion of جلوس can be read. So it is a Mughal or pseudo-Mughal coin.

9-G. The جد which is probably a portion of جلوس can be read on one side, and ع on the other. I cannot say anything definite about it. Thousands of coins like this, which were struck by local independent chiefs, are still found.

9-H. It closely resembles *fulûs* of Shikârpur.

Plate II.

9-I. In this باد عا which is a portion of بادشاه غازي can be read on one side, and ع on the other side. The circular stroke of ع resembles the ع of 9-G, but in this case in the belly or the bigger curve of ع there are no dots.

9-K. The words which can be made out are ٥ ، ٻو / م س and ٨٣ و ، / س ٢ which may be read as و ، ٨٣ / جلوس or فلوس and پور / ضرب شكار but one cannot be certain whether the mint is بهاولپور , لاہور , پیشاور , شكارپور , Shikârpur, Peshâwar, Lahore or Bahâwalpûr, and whether the coin is of Durrânî or the Mughal dynasty. Probably it is of the former.

9-L. This coin, though defaced can be assigned to Alî 'Âdil Shâh II (A.H. 1067—83) of Bîjâpur. Compare the figure with figure 8 of plate XXXIX of the N. S. II. Here in this specimen, على / شا / عا which is a portion of عادل شاه على and صفدر / سيد / ر which is a portion of صفدر / حيدر / غلام can be read.

10. The coin is very much defaced. Imagination helps me to read on the obverse, مہسور Mahisur or ضرب پٹن and if so, the coin may be assigned to Mysore—but all this is doubtful.

Plate III.

No. 42. I assign it to Muḥammad bin Tughlaq (A.H. 725—52, A.D. 1325—51) of the Tughlaq Dynasty. The inscription which is legible on one side is الحاكم / الله / بامر, which is similar to that of 219 in Thomas and 373 of Indian Museum *Catalogue*, the only difference being in the arrangement of letters. It is الحاكم / بامر الله in the above specimen, whereas it is الله / الحاكم / بامر in the above references.

No. 45. This is no doubt a Mysore coin of Tipû Sultân, as suggested by Mr. Sewell. If Tufnell and Thurston have not figured such a coin in their plates, possibly they did not find one. In fig. 5, pl. VI, figs. 7, 8, pl. VIII of Thurston we see an elephant to the right with similar tail, and if *alif* is not to be found it is immaterial.

Figs. 162, 176, 188, 194, pl. IV, figs. 228, 230, 255, pl. V, figs. 299, pl. VI, of "The Coins of Ḥaidar Alî and Tipû Sultân" by Henderson also bear similar figures of the elephant to the right.

Fig. 46. This coin is of Tipu Sultân and the mint possibly is خالق آباد, Khâliqâbâd

A VISIT TO TUMÂNA.

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL, B.A.

TUMANA, the representative of the ancient Tummâṇa, the first capital of the principal Haihayas of Mahâkośala, was first discovered by me in the year 1903, but I wanted stronger proof than the mere similarity of names for establishing its identity, and this I could not do satisfactorily without personally seeing the place. I found an opportunity to visit the place on 22nd May 1908, but owing to press of work I failed to write a note on it, as promised in a foot-note to my article on Râmṭek (*ante*, 1908, p. 204, foot-note 11). Unfortunately the matter was later on forgotten, until I found the other day some rough notes which I had taken on the spot. It is now very difficult to recollect all that I saw 16 years ago, but I consider it necessary to redeem the promise then made as well as I can with the materials before me.

Tumâna is now a small village in the Lâphâ Zamindâri of the Bilâspur District in the Chattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. It is situated in 22° 35′ N. and 82° 45′ E., within a ring of mountains enclosing some 16 villages,[1] occupying as many thousand acres, the whole tract being known as Tumâna *khol.* Traditionally there are five *khols* in that part of the country, the other four being Devikhol, Bhairavakhol, Narakhol and Varâhakhol. There are two entrances to the Tumânakhol, one from the Uprorâ Zamindâri and the other from Mâtin, and if these two are guarded or garrisoned, the *khol* becomes a natural fort. It is just the place which kings of olden times would have selected for their residence. Tumâna is situated on the river Jaṭâśankarî, a streamlet which issued from the foot of a mountain close by, known as Lâphâgarh or Chittorgarh, on which stands an ancient fortress, presumably constructed for offensive and defensive purposes in times of war, which were of frequent occurrence in those days of " might is right."

The ancient remains at Tumâna are not very numerous, but they are quite sufficient to establish its antiquity and importance in days gone by. They consist of ruins of about 30 temples, a palace and a number of tanks. To the east of the present village, which consists of a few huts, there is a space about 200 cubits square, within which there are about 20 piles of carved and cut stone. The central pile, which seems to have been the best and the last to fall down, has a huge Nandi, probably in the very place where it was originally enshrined. Its plan indicates that it was once a grand structure. The portion above the top of the entrance has fallen, covering the rest with débris, which I had removed and found a superb gateway. It was surmounted with a number of figures carrying garlands of flowers, with a *Kîrtimukh* in the middle. Under these was the dedicatory block with three niches, the middle one representing Siva in the *Tâṇḍava* dance. The nich to the proper right was occupied by Brahmâ in a sitting posture and the left by Vishṇu riding on Garuḍa. In the intervening space between the niches there were figures of the nine *grahas* or planets. At the bottom of the door stood the rivers Yamunâ and Gaṅgâ, holding pitchers of water, the former on her tortoise to the proper right and the latter on the dragon on the left. The sides of the door were ornamented with figures of Vishṇu's incarnations, beginning with *Machchha* (fish) just on the top of the Yamunâ and running up to *Vâmana*. The remaining five commenced with *Râma* on the top of the Ganges and ran up to the *Kalkî*. Two beautiful figures of Mahâdeva were carved on each side of the rivers guarding the entrance. The

[1] 1. Kesalpur, 2176 acres. 2. Barbaspur, 497. 3. Khoḍari, 912. 4. Kansaghar, 2220. 5 Dumarmuda, 409. 6. Sirkî, 1125. 7. Ghoghara, 157. 8. Amalḍiha, 839. 9. Chheondhara, 280. 10. Puṭuā, 1103. 11. Amjhar, 403. 12. Pachdhar, 523. 13. Tuman, 1596. 14. Bankheta, 1813. 15. Ponḍî, 897. 16. Naugaî Kuṭesar, 1104.

exterior of the temple appears to have been ornamented with *kîrtimukhas*, four-handed figures and animals. A line of geese was still visible. I also noticed a figure of a tiger overpowering an elephant, which has been regarded by some writers as the distinguishing crest of the Gonds. The most that can be claimed for the Gonds is that the Chândâ princes adopted the device as such, copying it from the figures in the old temples which they found there. It was no invention of theirs. The figure probably appealed to their imagination, the tiger of their jungles representing the ideal of prowess. Another important ruin known as Satkhaṇḍâ Mahal or seven-storied palace, is situated just on the bank of the Jaṭâśankarî to the west of the village. Here a number of cut stones were spread over an area, which may well have been the site of a royal residence. The structure appeared to have been a plain one, as very few carved stones were to be seen. This place is protected by hills on two sides and the only approach from outside is by the river Jaṭâśaṅkarî.

Tradition avers that there were *chhai âgar chhai kori talao* or 126 tanks, but now only one *korî* or twenty can be traced.[2] There are two tanks in the vicinity of the great group of temples, named *Râjâ talao,* and *Rânî talao,* and there is one named *Diwân ḍabrî* or minister's pond. The Dulhâ, Jhîngâ, Kajrâ and Terhâ tanks have heaps of cut stone on their banks. These belonged to temples which have now fallen down.

The earliest mention of Tummâṇa is the Ratanpur inscription of 1114 A.D.[3] In this record it is stated that " in the moon's primeval race was born the illustrious Kârtavîrya, from whom were born the Haihayas " " In the race of the Haihaya princes was born that ruler of Chedi, the illustrious Kokalla, an image of the god of love, whence all derived delight, by whom being on earth in order to measure his own fame how much it might be ......this of (?) Tritasaurya was sent up high into the universe." (Verse 4.) " He had 18 sons, who destroyed the enemies as lions do elephants. The first-born son among them was ruler of Tripuri, and he made the remaining brothers lords of *maṇḍalas.*" (V. 5.) " The race of one among these younger brothers in the course of time obtained an unequalled son, Kalingarâja, a tree of prowess grown large by the water of the eyes of the wives of the enemies, who in order not to impoverish the treasury of Tritasaurya abandoned the ancestral land and acquired by his two arms this country Dakshiṇa Kosala." (V. 6.) " Since Tummâṇa had been made a royal residence of his ancestors, therefore residing there, he increased his fortune, causing the destruction of his enemies." (V. 7.) His son Kamalarâja begot Ratnarâja or Ratneśa. " Tummâṇa with its temples of the holy Vankeśa and other gods and also Ratneśvara and the rest, with a garden containing innumerable flowers and beautiful fruits, a charming high mango grove, and crowded with palatial buildings, decorated with charming beauty, was made by Ratneśa pleasant to the eyes, when viewed by the people." (V. 10.) It was this Ratneśa, who finally removed the capital about 45 miles southwards to a place where he founded a town, which he named after himself. The inscription describes it as a glorious town, which had its fame listened to in every quarter and was like the city of Kuvera. From Ratnarâja was born Prithvîdeva who "for the glory of religion established the shrines of Prithvîdeveśvara and others at Tummâṇa and a tank resembling the ocean was built by him at Ratnapura." (V. 17.) His son was Jâjalladeva, who caused the record to be inscribed, from which the above account has been taken.

2 They are named *Sukhârî, Terhâ, Majhlâ, Dalahrâ, Dulahi talâi, Ghâṭ tarâi, Sâras ḍabrî, Jhînga, Rautâin, Chamâr dabrî, Dewân ḍabrî, Râjâ talao, Rânî talao, Bamhnin talao, Gadhia talao, Purainhâ, Raunâ, Ban tarâi, Khajrâ,* and *Kukurbuḍâ ḍâbri.*

3 *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 1, pp. 32 ff.

The next inscription in which Tummâṇa is referred to, is at Mahâmadpur, 19 miles from Bilâspur. It states that "in the Tummâṇa country there was a king Jâjalladeva, the ornament of the Kalachuris."[4] This record is not dated, but from the names of kings mentioned therein, it appears that it was carved about the time of Prithvîdeva II, who flourished about 1145 A.D. A third record with a definite date in the Chedi year 919 (1167–1168 A.D.) was found at Malhâr, 16 miles south-east of Bilâspur. It refers to Jâjalladeva II as "ruler of Tummâṇa," during whose time a renowned Paṇḍit Gangâdhara, who had settled at Tummâṇa, built a temple of Kedara at Mallâla (the present Malhâr).[5] The fourth reference is found at Kharod (37 miles south of Bilâspur) in a record of the Chedi year 933 (1181–1182 A.D.), which gives the geneology of the Kalachuri kings up to Ratnadeva III, and refers to Kamalarâja as "Lord of Tummâṇa."[6] Finally a Ratanpur inscription of Prithvîdeva III, belonging to the year 1189–90 A.D., speaks of one Govinda, who had come in that Raja's time from the Chedi country to Tummâṇa,[7] showing that in spite of the capital having been moved from there, it continued to be a place of importance. It would appear that the old capital was remembered with pride long after it had ceased to be the residence of what is now called the Ratanpur line of Haihaya kings. It is this association with Ratanpur which led Dr. Kielhorn to identify Tummâṇa with 'Jûnâshahar' or old town, which is the name of an abandoned quarter of Ratanpur. He had never heard of the existence of Tummâṇa forty-five miles further north.

Tummâṇa owes its importance wholly to the Kalachuris, who however do not appear to have occupied it continuously, since they first selected it as their residence. The quotations from the inscriptions, which I have given above, indicate that one of the eighteen sons of Kokalla of Tripuri (six miles from Jubbulpore) made it his head-quarters about 875 A.D. It appears that after the lapse of about 125 years the place had to be reconquered by Kaliṅgarâja, a scion of the Tripuri family, who is stated to have taken Dakshina Kośala by the might of his two arms, after destroying the enemy at Tummâṇa.[8] Apparently some aborigines had displaced the Kshatriyas. There is a tradition that a local chief called Ghughghus fought with the Kshatriyas for about 10 years. How long Tummâṇa remained with the aborigines there is no material to determine, but after Kalingarâja took it, it remained in the possession of his family for about 700 years, although the parental stock at Tripuri became extinct within about 200 years from Kalinga's time.

Various conjectures have been made as to the place whence the Kalachuris immigrated to Tripuri. One of them makes Tritasaurya their original capital, as this word occurs in inscriptions and has been taken to stand for a place-name. Thus, in the inscription first quoted above the name occurs twice, and Dr. Kielhorn has treated it as their old capital without any attempt to locate it. To me the name sounds a tribal one, and I am inclined to interpret differently the two *ślokas* which run as follows :—

तेषां हैहय भूभुजां समभवद्वंशे स चेदीश्वरः
श्री कोकल्ल इति स्मर प्रातिकृतिर्विश्व प्रमोदो यतः ।
येनायं त्रितसौर्यं [सैन्यबलमाया] मेन मातुं यशः
स्वीयं प्रेषितमुच्चकैः कियदिति ब्रह्मांडमन्तःक्षिति ।४।

4 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX and Hiralal's C.P. Inscriptions, p. 111.

5 *Epi. Ind.*. Vol. 1. pp. 39 ff and Hiralal's C.P. Inscriptions, p. 112.

6 *Ind. Ant.*. Vol. XXII p. 82 and Hiralal's C.P. Inscriptions, p. 108.

7 *Epi. Ind.* Vol. 1, p. 50.

8 दक्षिण कोशलो जनपदो बाहुद्वयेनार्ज्जितः राजधानी स तुम्माणः पूर्वजैः कृत इत्यतः । तत्रस्थोऽरि क्षयं कुर्वन् वर्धयामास स श्रियम् । (*Epi.*, *Ind*, Vol. I, p. 34).

प्राप्त्तेषु कलिङ्गराजमसमं वंशःक्रमादानुजः
पुत्रं शत्रुकलत्रनेत्रसलिलस्फीतंप्रतापद्रुमं ।
येनायं त्रितसौर्ये कोशमकृशकित्तुं विहायान्वय
क्षोणीं दक्षिण कोशलो जनपदो बाहुद्वयेनार्ज्जितः ।६।

I have already quoted Dr. Kielhorn's interpretation of both the verses in the commencement of this article. In the original, six letters in the third line of verse 4 are broken off. I have conjecturally supplied them as given within the brackets. If they can stand, I would interpret the measure of Kokalla's prowess to be the great army of Tritasauryas, whom he apparently defeated and thus exalted his fame. In verse 6 Kalingarâja's high-mindedness is exhibited by his generous act of leaving his own king's army with the intention of lessening the burden on the enemy's treasury. So valourous was Kalinga that the fight would have continued with the greatest vigour, entailing a heavy expenditure on the enemy's treasury, if he had not left the army and directed his attention to 'fields and pastures new.' If the meaning, as given by Dr. Kielhorn, is accepted, it would indicate the poverty of the Kalachuri treasury. Thus instead of being praise, it would be a reproach, implying great weakness, in that it was incapable of supporting even a scion of the family and a great warrior to boot. The question will then arise as to who the Tritasauryas were. In the Vedas we find a tribe named Tṛitsu, whose king Divodâsa was very powerful. His son Sudâsa fought the biggest battles noticed in the Vedas. His opponents combined against him and yet they were defeated. To overpower such a strong tribe would have been an act exceeding the limits of fame. The Tṛitsus are said to have belonged to the solar race, while the Chedis, who also find a mention in the Vedas, obviously belonged to the lunar race and were famous for their generosity. In the eighth *maṇḍala* of the Ṛigveda it is stated that a Chediputra gave away 100 buffaloes and 10,000 cows to a poet. These facts would support the antipathy between the Tṛitsus and the Chaidyas, (who were the ancestors of the Kalachuris or Haihayas) and their mutually antagonistic temperaments. It is therefore possible that Tritasaurya refers to the descendants of Tṛitsus, the hereiditary enemies of the Kalachuris. Phonetically the words appear similar, but it is doubtful whether the connection can be established grammatically. This is a problem for Sanskritists to solve.

FOLK-TALES FROM THE DECCAN.

BY J. S. MOOTHIAH.

1. Luami and the Drummer.

ONCE upon a time lived Luami, who was ill-treated by her parents-in-law, so she determined to commit suicide by throwing herself into a well.[1] So she adorned herself with all her jewels, and taking her *bindâ* (*lôṭâ*, brass water-pot) went towards the jungle. On the way she met a *madala-kâdu* (drummer, 'tom-tom' beater) hurrying after his master as he was late. He was, however, much struck with the beauty and the jewellery of Luami and stopped to speak to her.

"Where are you going, Luami, such a long way for water ?"

"I am tired of my troubles and I am going to kill myself."

"Why are you so troubled ?"

"My father and mother-in-law so trouble me that I am going to extricate myself from troubles."

Then said the drummer :—"I will show you an easy way to die : follow me." So they went together to a place where was neither man nor beast, where the drummer halted and said :—"Do as I do and then you can die by your own hands." So he put his *madala* ('tom-tom') on the ground, stood on it and tied a noose to a tree-branch round his neck. But the *madala* gave way and the drummer was left hanging to the tree.

It was now quite dark and the girl had sense and was not frightened : so she made ready to sleep where she was for the night. At midnight some thieves arrived, and placed all the property they had plundered under the tree from which the drummer was hanging. Then they suddenly saw his body and ran off in great fear, leaving their booty behind. The girl saw her opportunity and filled her *bindâ* to overflowing with the stolen goods.

When the sun had risen next morning she started back for her mother-in-law's house, who received her and her money in the *bindâ* with great joy, and Luami lived thereafter in great happiness.

2. The Meaning of Dharmam.

Once upon a time a Brahman lad lived with his mother, making their living by begging. When the boy grew up he observed that his mother gave away half the proceeds of her begging in charity. He did not understand this and asked his mother the reason. She replied that it was *dharmam*.

"But what does *dharmam* mean, mother" ?

"That I don't know. If you want to know, go to the jungle and ask a Sannyâsi or Sâdhu (a sage)."

So the young Brahman went to the jungle and sat down to rest after his first day's journey. While he was resting a Râja came up and asked him what he was doing.

"I have come to find out the meaning of *Dharmam*."

"Where are you going to find it ?"

"I must find a Sannyâsi in the jungle who will tell me."

"When you find him," said the Râja, ask him also why the *band* (dam) of my lake does not stand firm."

[1] This is a more common occurrence in real life than is perhaps realised. There were at the Andaman Islands several prisoners who were girl-wives, that, to avoid ill-treatment in their husbands' houses, had thrown themselves into a well with their babies. The babies died but the girls were rescued alive. They had thus committed murder under British law—R.C.T.

In the morning the lad got up early, and went on till he found a place of safety. There at midnight a huge snake, that was a *nâga,* came to him and asked the same questions as the Râja. In the end the Nâga said :—" Will you ask the Sannyäsi why all Nâgas of my age die, but I don't ?" The boy promised to do so.

Next morning he went on, and arrived at a mango tree, where he stopped for the night. When it was dark the tree spoke to him and asked him where he was going. After the Brahman boy had explained his errand, the tree said :—" Kindly ask the Sannyâsi why no one eats my fruit ? "

At the end of the fourth day the Brahman lad was again obliged to stop the night in the jungle, when he saw a fire and by it sitting a man and his wife, to whom he explained what had happened to him. The man was a Koli (cultivator) and asked his wife to give a share of her food to the Brahman, as he was giving a third of his own. But she refused, whereon the Koli gave half his own share and also half of his bedding, and so they slept that night. In the morning the Koli had disappeared, and his wife began to abuse the Brahman, as she said her husband must have been taken by wild animals.

And so the Brahman left her and went on and met a Sannyâsi, and said to himself ' this must be the sage I am looking for. ' So he at once asked him what *dharmam* meant. Said the Sage :—" Go to the city hard by. There will be a son born there to-day to the Râja. Ask him to bring the boy to you, and he will explain the meaning of *dharmam.*"

The Brahman did as he was told, and when the baby was brought to him, all the people from all parts of the city flocked to hear a child just born speak. The Brahman at once asked the child :—" What is the meaning of *dharmam ?* " Then said the child :—

" I am he that gave you half my wheaten bread and half my bed. At midnight I fell out of the hammock and was torn to pieces by wolves. So I was born here to-day as the Râja's son. And even to-day is my wife a pig. Ten pigs have been born to-day in this city : the ninth of them is my wife. This distribution of reward and punishment is *dharmam.*"

Then asked the Brahman :—" Why doesn't the lake dam stand firm ? "

The child replied :—" Because the Râja has two daughters who are marriageable ? The dam will stand as soon as they are married."

" Why doesn't the Nâga die ?

" It will die as soon as it gives away the *manikam* (jewel) in its head."

"And why does no one eat the fruit of the mango tree ? "

" There is much money buried at its roots. Every one will eat its fruit as soon as that money is given away."

After this the lad began his homeward journey, and coming to the tree he explained that people would eat its fruit as soon as the money at its roots was given away. Said the tree :—" There is no one so worthy of it as yourself." So taking the money, he came to the Nâga serpent and explained about the *manikam* (jewel) in its head, and was at once presented with it. Then he came to the Râja and told him about his daughters. Said the Raja :— " You are the man to whom I must marry my daughters, as you have saved my lake. "

As soon as he was married the Brahman returned home. When his mother saw him, she perceived that it was that half a loaf of wheaten bread that had procured the boy all his riches and his position and caused the Koli to be born again as a Râja's son and his wife a pig in her next life for refusing it. Then they both understood the meaning of *dharmam* (duty of self-sacrifice).

The moral drawn from this tale for children is that even the poor man can help those poorer than himself.

BOOK-NOTICES.

A PRACTICAL SANSKRIT DICTIONARY, with transliteration, accentuation, and etymological analysis throughout, by A. A. MACDONELL, M.A., Boden Professor of Sanskrit. Oxford University Press, London, 1924.

The object of this work, which is dedicated to the memory of Professor Max Müller, is to satisfy all the requirements for ordinary reading of both scholars and students of Sanskrit. It contains about twice as much material as other Sanskrit works of the same type; it is the only one of its kind that is transliterated and can therefore be used by persons who do not know the Devanagârî alphabet; and it gives a derivative analysis of all the words it contains. Finally it indicates the literary period to which words and their meanings belong, as well as the frequency or rarity of their occurrence. While purely technical terms relating to medicine, botany, astronomy and ritual are excluded, the dictionary includes a full vocabulary of general post-Vedic literature and also such selections of Vedic texts as are readily accessible to the student. The system employed for the transliteration of the palatal and cerebral consonants is not very attractive to the ordinary reader, though its adoption in the *Sacred Books of the East* gives it justification. To one accustomed to older methods, *k*andra for chandra, *g*aya for jaya, and *gh*ampa for jhampa, seem very unfamiliar. In *g*vara one would not at first recognize jvara (fever). But apart from this minor criticism, the dictionary strikes one as a valuable product of scholarship and is likely to be useful not only to the student of Sanskrit, but also to those who study the Indian vernacular languages, which have borrowed their vocabulary so largely from the Sanskrit.

S. M. EDWARDES.

"STUDIES IN SOUTH INDIAN JAINISM." By MR. M. S. RAMASWAMI AIYENGAR, M.A. Vizianagram Maharaja's College Publication No. I. Rs. Four.

Critical attempts to write the history of the various religious sects of ancient India have been made in comparitively modern times and have followed in the wake of historical research in this country in the last generation or two. The labours of Western scholars like Bühler, Hoernle, Jacobi, Wilson, Burgess, Rhys-Davids and others whose researches in Jainism and Buddhism have placed before the earnest student of history a fund of valuable materials cannot be exaggerated in this direction. In spite of this, it is still true that the history of Jainism and Buddhism from the remotest period to the modern times in the northern as well as peninsular India yet remains to be written. The history of the development of the Brahmanical sects such as Vaishnavism, Sivaism etc., has been attempted with success by the veteran scholar Dr. Bhandarker in his scholarly work "*Vaiṣnavism, Sivaism and minor religious systems*" which forms a part of the Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan-research. So far as South India is concerned, the histories of Vaishnavism and Sivaism and their literature have been sketched in a masterly manner by Dr. S. K. Aiyengar in his "*Early hisotry of Vaishnavism in Southern India*" and in his "*South Indian contributions to Indian Culture.*" No one however has so far written a connected account of the history of the Jains and Buddhists of Southern India from the early times. We are therefore gratified to find that the history of Jainism has now been undertaken by the talented scholar, Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Aiyengar in the work under review.

We have been doubting within ourselves whether the time is yet ripe and whether there are as yet sufficient materials to write a connected history of the Jain sect and literature in southern India. Mr. Ramaswami Aiyengar has however, shown that in spite of these difficulties the history of the Jains could be sketched from about the beginning of the Christian era almost to the days of the Vijayanagar emperors. The learned author indeed admits that his work is "sketchy and meagre" but yet represents an attempt 'to estimate in however tentative and fragmentary a fashion the value of Jain contribution to the rich and fruitful stream of south Indian culture.' With this note of caution from the author we may proceed to notice the work in a little more detail.

In the first two chapters (pp. 3–31). the author gives an account of the origin and early history of Jainism, discussing the views of Messrs. Barth, Bühler. Jacobi, and then proceeds to indicate the period of the migration of the Jains in the days of Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta Maurya, which according to the author is to be regarded as the starting point for an account of the Jains in Southern India. In the next and following four chapters (p. 32-80) he takes us into the vicissitudes of the Jain faith from the Sangham age, the age of Siva Nâyanmârs and Vaishṇava Âlvârs, the Western Gangas, Rashtrakutas, Hoysalas, and Vijayanagara sovereigns, Harihara and Dêvaraya. In the last chapter (Chap. VIII) he takes up for examination the age of the Tamil Sangham, which he probably regards as essential to the chronology of Tamil literature he has assumed, but which we feel he might very well have relegated to the appendices, where he has included two more similar discussions of the same subject. These discussions not altogether germane to the subject occupy about one-third of the work.

It is probably unnecessary to enter into a detailed examination of the work, but we are venturing to

point out a few of the many inaccuracies of statements, inconsistencies, exaggerations and wrong conclusions that have unfortunately crept into a critical work like this, representing as it does the inaugural research work of the Vizianagram College. We do so in no spirit of disparagement to the author, but entirely in the interests of genuine historical research, the cause of which the work, as it is, does not seem to advance. We hope that these will be removed in a subsequent edition.

Among the conclusions of the author that remain unsubstantiated by positive evidence we may mention his view that Tiruvaḷḷuvar, Tolkâppiyar and the author of the *Kalingattuparaṇi* were Jains. It is well-known that every religionist has claimed the author of *Kuṛal* as belonging to his religion, and expressions like (p. 41) 'Malarmiśai-Êhinân' and, Eṇguṇattân' and the evidence of the commentator of Nîlakêśi (p. 43) by no means finally establish that 'Kuṛaḷ was certainly composed by a Jain' (p. 89). There is also no evidence to agree with the author and those who identify the author of the *Kuṛal* with Kundakundâchârya alias Êlâchârya, the contemporary and instructor of Śivaskanda of Kâñchi in the first century A.D. (P. 43). But the way in which Tiruvaḷḷuvar alludes to the Brahmans in certain of his couplets 'ஆபயன் குன்றும் அறுதொழிலோர் நூன்ம றப்பர்' gives us the impression that he regarded the maintenance of the Brahmanical-Veda as indispensable to the well-being of the state, a notion which no Jain author would care to lay stress on. Moreover, attributes to Vishṇu in such expressions as நாமறைக்கண்ணன், and அறவாழி அந்தணன் to Śiva have been found in the work. Altogether it seems to be correct to concur with Professor S. K. Aiyangar, who after a minute examination of the *Kural* has concluded that its author, though undoubtedly belonging to a lower caste, was Brahminical in religion rather than Jain (p. 131. '*Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture.*') As regards Tolkâppiyar the author quotes a reference to him by a contemporary, Panambâraṇâr, பல்புகழ் நிறுத்தபடி மையோன், which in his opinion is sufficient to prove that he was a Jain. (P. 39.) But, as the author of *Tolkâppiyam* is believed to have been the son of Jamadagni, and as he lived at a time much anterior to the advent of Jainism in the Tamil land, it is improbable that he was a Jain. In the case of *Kalingattu parani's* author, Mr. Ramaswami Aiyengar quotes a stanza attributed to him by tradition, composed in reply to a question by Apayan, in support of the author being a Jain. But apart from the dubious nature of this evidence there is nothing in support of the author's view. On the other hand it is preposterous to suggest that the author of a work professedly devoted to the description of bloodshed, as this work is could have been a Jain, the fundamental conception of whose religion is *Ahimsa*.

The section on the Śiva Nâyanmârs and Vaishṇava Âḻvârs is unfortunately marred by a series of inconsistent and wrong conclusions and misquotations. The author's lack of consistency exhibits itself in such views as the following:—He regards (p. 61) the Tamil work *Periyapurâṇam* as being 'replete with fanciful accounts of miraculous incidents which no modern student of history would care to accept', and almost immediately after this indictment, he relies upon the testimony of this work for historical information for several aspects of Jain and other history, such as the persecution of the Jains, the identification of the Kaḷabhras and others. The most prominent blunder in this section is met with in the attempt made by our author to break new ground in identifying Mahendravarman II as the actual Pallava king converted by Appar, (p. 66). Earlier in the section (p. 65) he says that the first half of the seventh century A.D. was the period of the three saints Appar, Sambandar and Śiruttoṇḍar, Almost immediately, he contradicts this by his statement that Tilakavati, sister of Appar, was a contemporary of Paramêśvaravarman I, and her husband fought this king's battles against the Châḷukyas. It is well-known that this king lived far into the second half of the 7th century. The author adds to the confusion by stating that the Pallava king converted by Appar was Mahêndravarman II. If, as the author says, Appar was yet a Jain spending his life in the Jain-cloisters at Tirupâpuliyûr at the time of the death of his sister's husband in the wars of Paramêśvaravarman I against the Châḷukyas, we are unable to understand how it would have been possible for the saint to have converted Mahêndravarman II, who was the father of Paramêśvaravarman and must have been dead when Paramêśvaravarman I began to rule. Apart from this confusion, into which the author has been evidently led by his ignorance of Pallava genealogy, there is no evidence that Mahêndravarman II was a Jain in the early part of his reign; whereas in the case of Mahêndravarman I, who is usually supposed to have been converted to Śivaism by Appar, his inscription at Trichinopoly appears to contain a clear allusion to this event. (*South Ind. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 28–30.)

As an instance of the author's tendency to arrive at conclusions without evidence, we might point out his view on the prevalence of religious persecution in the Tamil country. He appears to believe in the story of the Jain persecution described in the Śiva traditional accounts, including the impalement of the 8,000 Jains. (P. 67.) For this

purpose the author relies on the work *Periyapurâṇam*, which he himself had previously described as useless for purposes of history. (p 61.) This view of a general Jain persecution by Kûn-Pâṇḍya in the seventh century, which is also shared by certain other writers, is not however supported by any inscriptional or other positive evidence. It is a well-known fact that the Pallava kings were uniformly tolerant of Śivaism as well as Vishṇuism, and this fact strongly militates against anything like a general persecution of religious sects in the Tamil country. The frescoes on the walls of the 'Golden-Lily tank' at Madura (Minâkshi temple) (p. 79), which the author cites in support of the persecution of Jains in the Tamil country, could be, at the earliest, only of the period of Vijayanagar, as the temple was almost completely destroyed during the Muhammadan occupation of Madura (1325–1370). These cannot therefore be relied upon as offering any proof of religious persecution in the days of Appar, Sambandar and Kûn-Pandya, and of the impalement of 8,000 Jains, which appears to be a figment of later Saiva imagination.

The section devoted by the author to the age of the Âlvârs exhibits a confusion in regard to the works of the various Tamil saints. On page 71, for example, the author, in illustrating the acrimonious references from Tondaradipodi-Âḷvâr, quotes from *Nânmugan-Tiruvandâdi*, and *Tiruvoymoḷi*, the well-known works respectively of Tirumaḷiśai-Âḷvâr and Nammâḷvâr. It may be pointed out also that the author categorically considers Nammâḷvâr as the last of the Vaishnava Âḷvârs, though recent research has shown that such a position is wholly untenable. The author's view that the frequent use of the double-plural is characteristic of the period of the Âḷvârs (p. 94) is also inaccurate, as this is true only of one or two of the Âḷvârs, and not all.

On page 76 and elsewhere in the work the author unduly exaggerates the Jain contributions to Tamil literature. According to him the largest portion of the Sanscritic derivatives in Tamil was introduced by these people. In the same strain the author proceeds, "It is a matter of fruitful speculation to inquire what would have been the trend of Tamil literature but for the advent of the Jains and Buddhists, more particularly of the former. In all probability we would never have had the masterpieces of Tamil literature like the *Kuṛaḷ*, *Śilappadikâram*," etc. Such 'fruitful speculation' loses all its interest, as long as it has not been incontrovertibly proved that these Tamil works were the works of Jains, in support of which the author has not quoted any positive evidence. As it is, we must be excused if in the present state of knowledge we look upon the contributions of the Brahmanical writers as well as Buddhists as precious as those of Jains. We have already indicated our doubt regarding the Jain authorship of *Kuṛaḷ*. We are afraid that the author has not advanced any very 'cogent reasons' in support of his view that the author of *Śilappadikâram* was a Jain. In this connection it is pertinent to note that Mahâmahôpâdyâya Pandit Swaminatha Aiyar, Mr. K. S. Srinivasa Pillai and others regard Iḷango-Aḍigaḷ as a Śivaite.

The chronological position of the author in the matter of the dates which he offers for the various Tamil works is altogether untenable. Apart from his views on the age of the Śangam expounded in Chapter VIII, he has ascribed certain Tamil works to particular dates, which are quite unsatisfactory. For instance he thinks (p. 56) that *Nâlaḍiyâr* was composed under the patronage of the Kaḷabhras in hostile occupation of Madura. There are, according to him, two references in this work indicating that the Kaḷabhras were Jains and patrons of Tamil literature. From the context it is plain that the word Perumuttaraiyar, whom the author equates with Kaḷabhras, which occurs twice in this work, is used in the plural, and in the sense of the three great Kings (Mûvêndar), and not in the sense of a specific dynasty of the Muttaraiyar known to us from inscriptions. In this connection the author imports a great deal of confusion by attempting to iḍentify the Kaḷabhras both with the Muttaraiyar and with the Karnâṭakas mentioned in the account of the Mûrtinâyanâr in the *Periyapurâṇam*. (p. 55.) There is no indication that the Muttaraiyar kings were Jains, and the inscriptions that we have of these people do not lend support to this view. It seems to be premature to conclude, as the author does, that the Kaḷabhras were the Muttaraiyar, and that the period of the Kaḷabhras, and the period which succeeds it, was the period when the Jains had reached their zenith. (p. 56.) His date for Vîramdalapurusha of *Chûdamani Nighanṭu* (p. 103), namely the period of Krishnadêvarâya, is not supported by evidence and cannot be accepted as correct.

Finally, the section of the work devoted by the author to a re-examination of the age of Śangam seems to abound in misleading and undigested conclusions. It is not our intention to weary the readers of the *Antiquary* by enumerating these and discussing them in detail. We shall content ourselves with examining one or two typical arguments relied on by the author to substantiate his conclusion that the age of the Śangam was posterior to the accepted date. One of these is based on the Pallava datum. According to the majority of scholars, the Śangam works do not contain any reference or allusion to the Pallava kings known to us from a large number of inscriptions and are therefore pre-Pallava in character. The author takes exception to this apparently correct position and puts forward his own interpretation that the Pallavas were not unknown to the Śangam works, where they were called the

'*Tiraiyar.*' He carries this theory to absurd lengths by stating that the absence of the word Pallava in the mention of Vishnugopa in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta is sufficient to prove that in the fourth century A.D. the name Pallava was little used by them and that Vishṇugopa was Tirayan. (P. 143.) Unfortunately for the author the terms Pallava and Pallavamaharaja frequently occur in the copper-plate charters of the third and the fourth centuries A.D., the Prakrit and early Sanscrit charters, of which the author is evidently ignorant; but the term *Tiraiyar* which according to our author was the name of the Pallavas in the early times is conspicuous by its entire absence in the Pallava records known to us. It is difficult for us therefore to join with the author in his view that the Pallavas of Kânchîpuram were known to the Śangam as the *Tiraiyar.* We admit that Kanchi was in early times ruled by Tondamân-Ilam Tirayan and that the name *Tiraiyar* occurs in the Śangam works frequently. But the connection of these with the Pallava kings remains doubtful and has yet to be proved.

In support of the identification of the Tiraiyar with the Pallavas adumbrated by the author, numismatic evidence is sought to be obtained by the attribution of the ship-coins of the Coromandel coast to the early Pallava rulers. On page 143 the learned author says " One important information is furnished by Dubreuil in his '*Antiquities of Pallavas.*' According to him the Pallava rulers of Kânchî had as emblem on their coins, a ship with two masts. This explains their connection with the sea." A reference to this work of Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil shows that this does not happen to be a fact. In his *Ancient History of Dekkan* where there is a reference to these coins, the learned author attributes these coins to the Sâtavâhana Kings who ruled over the region. (P. 47.)

Finally a reference may be made to Appendix D. entitled "*Misconceptions of Śangam Chronology,*" where in seeking the aid of South Indian palaeography to support his view on the Śangam age he commits woeful mistakes. According to him, the Grantha-Tamil is essentially a Chola script, although we know the earliest Tamil inscriptions in South India belong to the Pallava kings of the seventh century A.D., and no early Chola inscriptions in Grantha-Tamil of similar antiquity have come down to us. According to the author one reason why the Śangam works could not have been written in the period of the first or second centuries A.D. is the absence of 'a proper developed language' (script ?) of a uniform standard in those days. (P. 171.) Here the author has confused the script with language. Surely with the development of language attained in the Kuṛaḷ, which the author accepts as composed in the first century A.D. (p. 44), it should have been possible for the Śangam works to have been composed about the same period. But the author's theory seems to be that it was really the absence of a properly developed script that made it impossible for the Śangam works to have been written much anterior to the period of the Vatteḷuttu inscriptions in the eighth century. He rejects the possibility that these works could have been handed down by word of mouth from teacher to pupil, because according to him only religious poetry could be thus handed down, and not secular works like these of the Śangam. By this process of reasoning the author concludes that 'such an intense literary activity as the one ascribed to the Śangam is to be sought for in the time approximating to the century for which we have the earliest known Vatteḷuttu records.' The absurdity of this theory, which would make works like the Têvâram hymns of Appar and Sambandar almost contemporaneous with the Śangam works, is too patent to need any elaboration.

We are not sure whether many Tamil scholars would agree with our author, when he says on p. 132 that the word '*Podiyil*' in Tamil is *always* used to denote 'the vacant site underneath a tree.' We venture to point to line 40 of *Periya-Tirumaḍal* of Tirumangai-Âḷvâr where the word is used in the sense of Podiya hill. The author's transliteration of proper names is not altogether happy. For one thing he is not uniform in this matter (e.g.) *Silappadikaram, Chilappadikaram,* etc. While he adopts diacritical marks in the case of such names as Tirujnânasambandar, Tirunâvukkaraśar etc. he fails to use them in the case of Vaishṇava Âḷvars such as Toṇdaradipoḍi, Tirumangai-Âḷvâr etc. He uses in his work, such antiquated forms as Tirumazhisai-Âḷvâr "*Pazhamozhi,*" and Sekkizhâr, where we now use Tirumaḷiśai-Âḷvâr, Paḷâmoḷi, and Sêkkiḷar. Happily he does not adopt this method to represent the word Tamil, as one would expect. In conclusion while we are glad that the author has taken such great pains in the attempt to throw light upon an important but neglected chapter of South Indian history, we cannot at the same time resist a feeling that he would have rendered the work infinitely more useful, by avoiding mistakes such as those enumerated in the above paragraphs. The get up of the book leaves nothing to be desired and we do hope that when the present work finds its successor in a second edition, Mr Ramaswami Aiyengar will effect the necessary improvement.

R. G.

39. The Quest of Managori.

(Told by Naurang Sinh, Tahsil School, Fatehpur.)

There was once a Râja who dreamed that in the city of Ajudhya was a maiden, Managori by name, the like of whom the world never saw. In the morning he put five packets of *pan* in front of his *gadi* and said to his courtiers :—" I saw last night in a dream the maiden Managori of Ajudhya. There is no woman in the world so beautiful as she. Whoever brings her to me shall receive the half of my kingdom." When the courtiers reflected on the danger of the task none dared to attempt it. But one named Dariya Rathaur raised the *pan* and said :—" Mahârâj, if thou givest me thy charger to ride and thy five suits of raiment to wear, I will bring thee the maiden."

The Râja agreed and gave him all he asked. The Rathaur went to bid his mother good-bye and told her that he was going in quest of Managori. His mother said :—" Let me give you food for the road." But when she went to look for flour wherewith to cook the cakes, she put her hand into a jar and took up a handful of salt. She was distressed and said :—" How can a journey prosper with an omen such as this ? "

The Rathaur did not heed her words and went off. When he had gone a little distance, he saw a snake crossing his path and on the other side lay a broken vessel of curd. When he saw this he spake these lines :—

Dahine to phuti sar ki matukiya, bayen phenkara siyar ;
Rah kate ka nikra hai kalwa, kaise ke lagihai par ?

i.e., " On the right lies a broken curd pot, on the left howl the jackals. The snake crosses my path. How can I return successful ? "

When he neared Ajudhya he came on several roads and he could not discover which was the proper path. He saw a cowherd sitting on a tree and watching his cattle. To him he said :—

Rukh charante chhuhara re bhaiyya, tu awat aur jat,
Awadnagari ki bhali dagariya utari ke dewa bataya.

i.e., " Brother, you climb the tree and go one way and another. I have missed the way to Awadhnagari. Come down and point it out."

The herd came down and showed him the road, and by and by he came to the garden of Managori. There he met the gardener and to him he said :—

Khirki ke jhakwaiya re bhaiyya, it awat aur jat.
Sitalgarh ki talkh tamaku, tanik tumhun lai jawa.

i.e., " Brother, you peep into every window and go from one place to another. The tobacco of Sitalgarh is tasty ; take a little."

The Rathaur gave him a smoke and then he gave him an *ashrafi*, and the gardener asked him what his errand was. He said :—" I have come here in search of Managori, the fairest of women." The gardener answered :—" Managori comes here daily with her maidens." The Rathaur remained in the garden, and by and by Managori came there. The Rathaur followed her and tried to speak to her. Then a sister of Managori, who had only one eye, said to the maidens :—" I am going to speak to this stranger." They said :—" It is not proper to speak to a stranger ; " but she answered thus :—

Ek lakh ki mor gagari ghailwa, du lakh meri dor ;
Tin lakh ki mori sir ki gudariya, panch lakh mera mol.

i.e., "My pitcher is worth a lakh and the rope is worth two lakhs. My head pad is worth three lakhs and my own price is five."

To this the Rathaur replied :—

Mati ki tori gagari, san ki tori dor ;
Lattan gundhi tere sir ki genduriya, kani kauriya ki mol.

i.e., "Thy pitcher is but of clay ; thy rope of hemp ; thy head-pad is but of twisted rags and thou thyself art worth a cracked cowry."

To this she replied :—

Ek lakh ki beni, aur dui lakh ka jhunna sar
Tin lakh ka mora bana hai ghaghra, sat lakh mora mol.

i.e., "My hair-plait is worth a lakh, my pitcher two lakhs, my skirt three lakhs and I myself seven lakhs."

To which he replied :—

Ek lakh ki beniya, do lakh ki jhunnasar,
Tin lakh ka jobana, ek panahiya ki nok.

i.e., "Thy hair-plait is worth a lakh, thy pitcher two lakhs and thy beauty three, but I would not give the point of my shoe for any of them."

When he said this, he ran away and left one of his shoes behind him ; and when the girl picked it up she saw that the coins of seven kingdoms were broidered upon it. Managori then said her maidens :—"This must be the son of a Râja ; and none of you should speak to him.",

She returned to her palace ; and the Rathaur, not knowing he might have to wait for her return, composed the following verse :—

Sun agili, sun pacchil Râni, sun majhili panaihar.
Tora ghara ka thanda ho pani, to ek lota dehu piyaya.

i.e., "Listen, Râni, whether thou be late or whether thou be early. Listen, water-bearer, who comest between. If the water in thy jar be cool give me a drink."

The one-eyed damsel answered :—

Pani piyasapani piu pyare, nain dekhi jani bhul ;
Jin ghar ki chhail chhabili, tum as lage majur

i.e., "Drink, dear one, drink, if thou art athirst. But be not enamoured of the eyes thou lookest on. I am a maid of a house in which such as thou art hinds."

The Rathaur answered :—

Rajan ke ham chhokra, bhule des kudes ;
Jin ghar ke ham chhokra, tum as lagi panihari.

i.e., "I am the son of a Râja and have lost my way in an evil land. In my house girls like you draw our water."

Then Managori said to the one-eyed maid : "Thou shouldst not exchange words with one who is a stranger and has lost his way. I will give him to drink." So she went to the Rathaur with a *lota* of water, but the one-eyed snatched it from her hand. And when

she took him the vessel, he smote her on the back with his riding whip and raised a grievous weal. He took the *lota* and washed his hands and feet with the water. Managori took up the *lota* and said to him :—" Come to my house and I will tell thee what I desire." To her the Rathaur answered :—

Tumhara to gori naihara, hamara hawai pardes ;
Kal kaja koi mar darai, to kaun kahai ghar sandes.

i.e., " Fair one, this is the house of thy mother and mine is in a strange land. If any one should kill me, who will carry the news to my home ? "

Managori went into the palace and from the upper window she let down a rope, and the Rathaur climbed up and came unto her. In the morning she let him down into the garden, but she forgot to raise the rope. Just then her husband came home from a journey in a distant land, and when he saw the rope he doubted the honour of his wife. He saw the Rathaur in the garden and rushed at him to slay him with his sword. Long they fought, and at the last the Rathaur was slain.

When Managori heard of this, she raised a funeral pyre and, laying the corpse of her lover upon it, she fell upon his breast and both were burned to ashes. When her husband heard of this, he went and bound up the ashes in a sheet. But as he attempted to tie it up, the bundle became larger and larger. Bind it as he would, he could not tie the ashes up. He was amazed at this miracle and sat on the ground and wept. Just then Mahâdeva appeared and asked the cause of his sorrow. When he heard the tale, he pierced his little finger and a drop of his nectar fell on the ashes, and lo ! Managori and the Rathaur stood before them.

Then the Rathaur carried off Managori and brought her to his master. Her husband sat mourning the loss of his wife ; but Mahâdeva poured water on the ground and a second Managori, equal to the first, was formed and he gave her to him as his wife. When the Râja received Managori he was filled with joy and gave the Rathaur noble largesse, even half his kingdom, and they all lived happily ever after.

40. The Wit of the Rânis.

(Told by Harcharan Lâl, Musaha, and recorded by Karamat Ali.)

There was once a Râja who had four wives, but he was so occupied with business and amusement that he never visited them ; and they grieved because none of them bore a son. The youngest Râni was the cleverest of them all, and she made a plan. She got a parrot and taught him to say " Thua, Thua : " " Fie, Fie ; " and then he flew away and sat on a tree in the courtyard of the palace and spoke as he had been taught. When the Râja heard what he said, he was perplexed and called the Pandits of his court to explain. They said :— " Mahârâj, the time is evil and it is proper for you to make sacrifices and feed holy Brahmans " The Râja was not such a fool as to accept this advice. So he called the Dîwân and consulted him. He said :—" Have you consulted the Rânis in the case ? " The Râja answered :— " What can foolish women know of such matters ? Why should I consult them ? " Just then the Rânis sent the Râja a message to say that, if he wished, they could explain the matter. So he sent for them and the eldest said :—

Gaya jaya pinda na parai ;
Bairi ke sir kharag na jharai ;
Pati, pani, pokhar na kuan,
To tako tota pukarai thua.

i.e., "The son who does not go to Gaya and offer holy cakes to his dead father, he who does not take vengeance on his enemy, he who does not sink tanks and wells and maintain the honour of his house, to him the parrot calls Fie, Fie."

The second Râni said :—

Nahin de bhojan, chhajan, basa,
Brat ekadasi nahin upwasa.
Sankar bhagat, na Sursar chhua.
To tota bhi pukarai thua.

i.e., "He who does not give food and shelter to the needy, who does not keep the fast of the eleventh, who is not a votary of Siva, and touches not the Ganges, to him the parrot says, Fie."

The third Râni said :—

Sadhu ki sangat nahin dwij dana,
Ram ka nam nahin sunana.
Jotish, Ved, Puran na chhua
Tota tahi pukarai thua.

i.e., "He that keeps not company with the saints, who repeats not the name of Râma, who reads not the books of astrology, the Vedas and the Purâṇas, to him the parrot says, Fie."

Now the Râja knew that he had done all these duties, and turning to his Diwân he said :— "Said I not that the race of women knew not the affairs of state ?" Then the youngest Râni said :—

Charto rang kumkum nahin lai,
Khatras se mukh suad na pai,
Jo naina mukh adhar na chhua,
Tota tahi pukarasi thua.

i.e., "He who in youth dyes not his garments with saffron, who tastes not the six flavours of food, who regards not the face and eyes of beauty, to him the parrot says, Fie."

"This I have not done," said the Râja. So he embraced his wives and lived happily with them ever after.

41. The Warning of the Dancing Girl.

(Told by Muhammad Muhib Ali of Nasirabad and recorded by Râm Sarup of Budaun.)

There was once a Râja who had a son and a daughter who were possessed of great widsom. His son was of a wilful nature, and one day he went to the superintendent of the Râja's stables and asked him for a horse to go hunting. The officer answered that he could not give it without the leave of the Râja. The prince was wroth and said :—"How long can I stand the tyranny of my father. This very night will I slay him."

That night he went into the Darbar, armed with a dagger and sat near the Râja, intending to kill him when he got an opportunity. As the night passed, most of the audience was overcome with sleep, and the dancing-girl, in order to rouse them and her drummers, sang :—

Bahut gai, thori rahi, aur yah bhi pal pal jat ;
Thore der ke waste kahe kalank lagat ?

i.e., "Most part is spent and little now remains. Why on account of a little time dost thou bring disgrace upon thyself ?"

On hearing this the prince jumped up and gave his shawl to the dancer. The princess gave her a necklace worth nine lakhs, and the daughter of the Wazir gave her father a slap in the face, and he jumped up and began to dance with her in the midst of the assembly.

When the Râja saw this unusual and improper conduct, he was much enraged and called on all of them to explain why they had acted thus.

First the princess said :—"My father, three years ago I was married and the time draws near when my husband will fetch me home. But in the meantime I had fallen in love with another, and this night I intended to abscond with him. When I heard the words of the dancer, I thought that it would be ill to lose my honour when such a short time now remains."

The prince said :—"Father, I was impatient to rule in thy stead, and this night I purposed to slay thee. But when I heard the words of the dancer, I repented of my evil design ; and I knew that in the usual course of things it could not be long before I succeeded to the throne. So I forbore."

The daughter of the Wazir said :—"My father up to this has taken no thought for my education ; and when I heard her words, I thought that soon I would be married and the time for learning would be past. So I struck my father to remind him of his duty."

The Wazir said :—"When my daughter struck me, I thought that perchance she might slay me. For who can tell what an ignorant woman may do. So I thought it wise to feign to be a madman and disturb the assembly, that I might save my life."

Then the dancer said :— "I meant only that it was time for the drummers to wake and for the audience to listen to my song, as the night was far spent."

The Râja was pleased and gave her royal largesse.

42. The Test of Honesty.

(Told by Girwar Lâl and recorded by Mulchand of Kakuba, Agra District.)

There was once a Bania who was going on a pilgrimage, and hearing that the road was beset by thieves, he thought it well to leave his money with some honest person until his return. He saw a shopkeeper sitting in his shop and wondered if he was a proper person with whom to leave the money. As he sat at the shop considering the matter, the servant of a dancing girl came up to buy some *ghi*. The shopkeeper was a rogue at heart and thought that this was the servant of some rich man. So wishing to ingratiate himself with her, he gave her three pice worth of *ghi* for two pice. This still more convinced the Bania that the shopkeeper was a very honest man and he was the more inclined to give him the money. Meanwhile the girl went home with the *ghi*, and when her mistress saw it she said :—"You have brought more than the right amount. It must be some lover of your's who has sold it to you." The girl angrily denied it and brought it back at once to the shopkeeper saying:—"My mistress has sent back this *ghi* because you gave her too much." The Bania thought that the girl's mistress must be a most honest woman. So he went to her house, thinking that he would leave his money with her.

He was talking to the dancing girl about the matter, when a Sadhu came in. The dancing girl gave him at once three cakes and said to him :—" Be off at once." The Sadhu said to himself :—" There must be some roguery afoot, because this woman never before gave me a single cake willingly; but now, the moment I enter her house, she offers me three." So he said :—" What can I do with all these cakes. Take back the rest and give me only one which suffices me." The Bania thought the Sadhu must be a most honest man, and that he would leave his money with him.

When he came to the hut of the Sadhu, he said to him :—" Mahârâj, I have a large sum of money with me and I wish to leave it with you, till I return from my pilgrimage." The Sadhu, who was a very rogue at heart, pretended not to care whether the Bania left the money there or not. So he flung his tongs into a corner of his hut and said :—" You can bury your money there if you wish, and come and dig it up when you return." The Bania did so and went his way.

When he had gone, the Sadhu dug up the money and then he changed the appearance of his house ; so that when the Bania returned, he could hardly believe that this was the same place. But he knew the Sadhu and went to him and asked for his money. The Sadhu addressed him angrily, saying :—" Why do you talk of money ? I never saw you before in my life."

The Bania was in despair when he found that he had been tricked. So he went to the dancing girl and asked her advice. She said :—" I will do a trick and recover your money. But you must give me half of what you get back." The Bania agreed and she said :—" Go to the Sadhu and dun him for the money until I come." So she went and filled several boxes with bricks, and putting them on the heads of her servants, came disguised to the Sadhu and said :—" I am the Râni of Gwalior, and I want to leave all these valuables with you ." The Sadhu was just then arguing with the Bania about the money, and he thought it unwise, just when another matter was on foot, to quarrel about a trifling sum. So he paid him the amount of his deposit. Just then the maid of the dancing girl came running up and said :—" Râni Sahiba, you need not mind leaving your things here, as the Râja Sahib himself has come ." So the Bania went off after thus outwitting the Sadhu.

Then the maid-servant began to laugh and her mistress said :—" What are you laughing at ? " She replied :—" I remember the proverb :—

Jo dhan disai jat,
Adhi dijai bant.

i.e., " When you see that you are losing something, compound for half."

43. Sujan Chand and Nitikala.

(*Told by Bâldeo Sinh, schoolmaster, Sayyidnagar, Jalaun District.*)

Sujan Chand was the Râja of the western land and Nitikala was his Râni. One night the Râja and his Râni were sleeping on a bed of flowers, and that day the Mâlin had left among the rose leaves a single thorn which pricked the tender skin of the Râni. She told her husband and abused the Mâlin for her lack of care. Then the lamp which hung in the room laughed and said to her :—" You fret to-day for a thorn among the rose leaves ; but to-morrow, when you have to carry bricks and mortar on your head, what will you say ? "

They slept through the night, and in the morning the Râni reminded the Râja of what the lamp had said. He knew that its words would come true, and knowing that he could not bear the sight of the affliction of his loved one, he determined to remove her from his sight. So he got a box and shut up the Râni in it, leaving a hole to admit the air, and then he took the box and flung it into the river.

The box went floating down the stream till it came opposite the palace, where lived the sister of the Râja Sujan Chand. Her husband was bathing in the river, and when he saw the box floating down, he sent his servants and they drew it to land. He did not open the box, but, making it over to his Râni, he went to the Darbar and busied himself in the affairs of his kingdom. The Râni opened the box and found inside a damsel so lovely that the world did not hold her equal, and she thought to herself that, if her husband saw the maiden, his love for her would change. So she blackened the girl's face with charcoal, took off her gorgeous apparel, and gave her a suit of rags. When the Râja came and saw her, he deemed her some foul slut, who had been sent away for her foulness, and he made her a servant in his household. He was then building a new palace, so he set Nitikala to carry the bricks and mortar for the masons. Some years were spent in this manner.

One day the Râni was keeping her fast in honour of the Disha Râni, and Nitakala, following her example, fasted also in honour of the goddess. The deity was pleased at her devotion and determined to mend her state and end her days of sorrow. So she brought to the mind of Sujan Chand the Râni whom he had loved, and he set out at once to seek her. By and by he reached the palace of his sister, where his Râni was a maidservant; and his sister received him with love and entertained him with all due respect.

One day it happened that his sister was sitting in the courtyard. Beside her sat her brother, and near them Nitikala was carrying the bricks and stones to the workmen.

The Râni said to Nitikala :—" Go and shampoo the feet of my brother." She went and began to press his feet, and as she pressed them she saw on his feet the marks of royal birth, the lotus sign which marks a king, and the moonlike brightness of his face; and she began to think of her husband and how she too had loved a king and lost his love. So she began to weep, and the eyes of the Râja were opened and he asked her why she wept. She said :—" O Mahârâj, when evil days come, they bring trouble in their train." And then she repeated these lines :—

Barhat nir sampati bibhan man barij barhi hoe;
Ghatat nir puni ghatat nahin, kauj dukh sukh joe.

i.e., " When the water of fortune rises, the lotus of the heart also rises. But the heart, like the lotus, does not sink low."

By this she meant that it is impossible for one used to happiness to accustom himself to trouble. Again she said :—

Kabahun palau shakh men kabhun mahi dikhahin;
Aise he dukh sukh sakal, yah tan gudarat jahin.

i.e., " Sometimes the shoots of the tree grow and sometimes they fall upon the ground. So pleasure and sorrow come and go betimes."

Then she cried :—" Mahârâj, I wept to see the marks of royalty upon thy feet," and she added :—

" I think of how the lamps laughed when I complained of the single thorn among the rose leaves." Then he told his sister the whole tale of Nitikala, and she begged her forgiveness

for her despiteful treatment of her Then Sujan Chand took his Rani home and they lived many days in happiness.

44. Half a lie.

(Told by Thakur Pohap Sinh of Kota, Budaun District.)

There was once a very respectable Kâzi who hired as his servant a man named Pira. Now Pira was given to lying, and whenever the Kâzi sent him on any business he used to shirk it, and, when he came home, would tell all kinds of lies to his master. At last the Kâzi could stand him no longer and sent for him and warned him. Then Pira said :—" When you took me into your service, you knew that I could not help telling a lie now and then." " But," said the Kâzi, " there is a measure in lying. I do not mind your telling half a lie now and then ; but to lie always is bad."

Some business took the Kâzi from home and after some time Pira went to see him. " Is all well at home ? " asked his master. Tears began to drop from Pira's eyes and he said :— " All is well save that your brown dog died suddenly." " What matter," said the Kâzi, " dogs die every day." Then he asked " Of what disease did he die ? " " He had no disease," said Pira, " but when he began to chew the bones of your ox he got choked." " And what happened to the ox ? " " He died from the labour of carrying the bricks." " What were the bricks wanted for ? " " For building the grave of your wife, the Bîbî Sâhiba." Then the Kâzi was overwhelmed with grief and said :—" What happened to the Bîbî Sâhiba ? " " She died of grief at the death of your eldest son." Then the Kâzi fell down senseless with grief.

" Tell the syce," said he " to saddle my horse at once." Pira went out and said to the syce :—" Your master will not go out riding to-day. Take out the horse for a long airing along the road outside the village." The Kâzi waited for a long time for the horse ; but when it did not come, he was perforce obliged to walk, and he was quite worn out when he came to the neighbourhood of his house.

" Let me go in advance," said Pira, "and make all ready that your worship may join in the mourning." So he went on to the Kâzi's house and began to weep and beat his breast. " What is the matter ? " asked the Bîbî Sâhiba. " Alas, alas," cried Pira, " your respected husband, the Kâzi Sâhib, has just dropped down dead." On this the lady began to weep and lament, and when all the neighbours heard the sound of lamentation in the Kâzi's house, they all crowded round the place. But when they saw the Kâzi arrive mourning and beating his breast, they were filled with astonishment and asked what had happened. " O fools," cried the Kâzi, " is it not enough that my wife and son and ox are dead ? Why should I not lament ? " With these words he entered the house, and what was his surprise to find his wife and family lamenting him. When he was somewhat comforted, he asked where Pira was ; but he had by this time made his escape. Then he went out and saw his syce standing outside with his horse. " Where have you been all this time, you ruffian ? " asked the angry Kâzi. And he was about to flog his servant, when the syce managed to convince him that it was all the fault of Pira.

After some time Pira came back, when the anger of the Kâzi was somewhat appeased. " What do you mean by this ? " enquired the Kâzi. Then Pira said :—" This is but the half lie which your worship told me I might tell now and again." " If this be only half a lie, God preserve us from a whole one," prayed the Kâzi. But he so much admired his cleverness that he took him back again into his service.